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**IPSWICH
IN THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY
COLONY**

VOLUME II.

**A HISTORY OF THE TOWN FROM
1700 TO 1917**

BY THOMAS FRANKLIN WATERS
PRESIDENT OF THE IPSWICH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE IPSWICH HISTORICAL SOCIETY
IPSWICH, MASS.
1917

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**NEWCOMB & GAUSS, PRINTERS
SALEM, MASS.**

PREFACE

The first volume of Ipswich history, entitled Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1633-1700, was published in 1905. It was received with so much favor that I have been encouraged to continue my study and research to the present day. To the end that the book may be interesting to many readers, beside students of history, and may be something more than a series of disconnected annals, the topical method, followed in the first volume, has been continued.

I have endeavored to portray as graphically as possible the changing life of the community in successive periods, in the common course of Town affairs and in critical periods of Colonial and National existence, and have not hesitated to make frequent excursions into the contemporaneous history of other towns to secure illustrative material.

The churches have had such an important place, that their history has been made a prominent feature, and as their records are liable to destruction or loss, copious abstracts have been made that the essential facts may be preserved. The extensive fisheries and commerce, which formerly employed many men and gave thrilling and romantic interest to the daily life but are now almost forgotten, have received careful study. The history of the schools, especially that of the old Grammar School, and the Ipswich Seminary, so widely famous in its day, has been told at length.

The field of Ipswich genealogy, however, is so vast and intricate and so much material for students is so readily available in the published Vital Statistics and in the family his-

tories, that it has not been entered. Neither has there been any attempt to compile the list of Revolutionary soldiers and sailors, as the complete record of service is easily found in the bulky volumes published by the Commonwealth. But I have made the narrative of the French and Indian War as complete as possible, with copious extracts from the unpublished records in the Massachusetts Archives, and have endeavored to compile an accurate record of the Ipswich volunteers in the Civil War.

The topographical studies, which constituted Part II of Volume I, have been continued in the Publications of the Ipswich Historical Society, No. XV, The Old Bay Road, No. XVI-XVII, Candlewood, No. XVIII, Jeffrey's Neck and The Way Thereto, and No. XIX, Ipswich Village and The Old Rowley Road. Brief sketches of these localities appear in Chapter XXXII, Along Some Old Roads.

T. F. W.

Ipswich, October, 1917.

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CHAPTER I.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE 18TH CENTURY.

Ipswich began the new century worthily by building a new meeting house on the sightly hill top, hallowed by the two earlier houses of worship. The Town voted in January, 1699-1700, that the new house should be built near the building soon to be vacated, and instructed the Committee to "levell the place for the floor of y^e said new meeting house." The work was pressed vigorously during the summer and in just a year, Judge Sewall notes in his Diary in January 1700-1701, that he heard Rev. John Rogers preach the last sermon in the old meeting house on the lecture day, and that on January 29, 1700-1 "Ipswich people meet the first time in their New Meeting House."

It was a stately edifice, sixty-six feet long, sixty feet broad and twenty-six feet stud. In anticipation of the dignity of the new meeting house, provision was made for a new and much larger bell. A subscription paper was circulated for voluntary contributions, which is of great interest and value, as it introduces us to the fine group of men who were foremost in Town affairs at the turn of the century.

Feb. 29: 1699-'700 A copie of Subscriptions as follows
For encouragement to all well & publick spirited p'sons for
procuring of a bigger Bell for y^e good of y^e Towne.

Wee, whose names are hereafted mentioned, doe promise
to pay toward a Bell of about 5 or 6⁰⁰ weight as followeth,
viz.

	£. s. d.		£. s. d.
John Appleton	4- 0-0	Symond Epps	2-10-0
Jn ^o . Wainwright	6- 0-0	Sam ⁿ Appleton	2- 0-0
Fran ^o Wainwright	3- 0-0	Jn ^o Rogers	5- 0-0
Jn ^o Whipple	2- 0-0	Andrew Burdley	0- 3-0

2 IPSWICH, IN THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY.

James Burnum	2- 0-0	Jn° Whipple, farmer.	0-10-0
Edw ^d . Brag	0-10-0	Jacob Boarman	0-10-0
Nehemiah Jewett	0-12-0	W ^m Goodhue, farmer	0- 6-0
Jn° Lampson	0-10-0	Jn° Pottar	0- 6-0
Nath ^l . Knowlton	0-12-0	W ^m Baker	0- 3-0
Doc ^r Philemon Dane	0- 6-0	Tho ^s . Smith	0- 3-0
Sam ⁿ Hart	0-12-0	Michael Farley	1-10-0
Isaac Appleton	0- 6-0	Mathew Perkins	0- 6-0
Jn° Adams Sen.	0-10-0	Caleb Kimball	0- 3-0
Tho ^s . Jacobs	0- 6-0	Dillingham Caldwell	0- 3-0
Jn° Harris Marsh. ¹	0-10-0	Jn° Shatswell	0- 6-0
Joseph Fuller	0-10-0	Daniell Rogers	0-12-0
Richard Smith	0- 6-0	Dan ^l Rindg	1- 0-0
Edward Nealand	0- 6-0	Francis Crompton	1- 0-0
Phillip Fowler	0-18-0	Joseph Calliffe	0- 9-0
Rob ^t Kinsman	0-18-0	Jn° Appleton Jun.	0-12-0
Jn° Pengry	0-12-0	Andrew Diamond toward a	
Joseph Whipple Jr.	1- 0-0	Pulpit cush ⁿ	2- 0-0
Jacob Perkins Tail ^r .	0- 6-0	Nicholas Wallis	0-12-0
Nath ^l Adams Sen.	0- 6-0	Edm ^d Herd	0- 8-0
Sam ⁿ Smith	0- 3-0	Robert Lord	0-10-0
Elihu Wardel	0-10-0	Widow Straw	0- 6-0
Jn° Denison	0- 6-0	Widow Pottar	0- 3-0
Tho ^s Lull Sen.	0- 6-0	Robert Wallis	0- 6-0

The old bell was sold to the people of Marblehead for £37-10s and Col. John Wainwright was requested in April, 1700 to procure the new one, at a cost of £72 and £1 6s. for the clapper.

With the time of leaving the old meeting house close at hand, a new resolve seems to have been made, that the disorder that had disturbed the public worship for some years, owing to the wanton and perverse behavior of the boys and young men, should be effectually quelled. They were seated by the Town Committee in long rows on the benches reserved for them in the gallery or in other less desirable locations, and as they grew restive under the long prayers and longer sermons, they turned naturally to mischief. The Records and Files of the old Quarter Sessions Court reveal their misdoings. Edward Cogswell, a lad of some sixteen years, pro-

¹ Marshal.

voked the lad in front of him, pulling his new hat, telling him he was such a pretty fellow he didn't need such adorning and the like, and Thomas Bragg at last landed a blow upon his tormentor's nose with dire effect. The same Cogswell, as witnesses testified, was idle in sermon time, "going from one gallerie to another, very idle, with a stick in his hand, going from seate to seate, talking and laughing with boys." (1670). Complaint was made against Thomas Mentor in 1673.

That he carried himself very irreverently and most unchristianly upon the Sabbath days in the time of worship, by setting with his hat upon his head in the time of worship, by taking of maids by the aprons as they came in to the meeting house in the time of worship, by putting his hand in their bosoms and then taking or snatching away their posies or flowers, by laughing and allmost all the time of worship, whispering with those that are like himself and also with very little boys to the ill example of youth, and these the said Mentor has ordinarily done and practised the most of the Sabbaths of this year. (Sept. 1673).

Three young fellows were presented for laughing and spitting in one another's faces, pricking one another in the legs, pulling boys off their seats and "heaving things into the other gallery among y^e garls that sit there and Breaking y^e glass windows." (May, 1674) Elizabeth Hunt, wife of Samuel, made frequent disturbances by her repeated shuffling against the chair of the daughter of her neighbor, so that the girl could hardly save herself from falling to the floor; and one Sunday Thomas Knowlton, Jr., made a bad matter worse by calling out on the Lord's day in prayer time, "Take notis of Goodwife Hunt that makes disturbance there."

For this, Knowlton was sentenced to stand in the meeting house on the next lecture day with a paper on his breast, written "FOR DISTURBING YE MEETING" all the lecture time and pay costs and fees.

The gradual assignment of floor space on which pews were built by the gentry in the latter part of the century brought

some relief, it may be presumed, as families then began to sit together. But there were many boys and young men, who belonged to the poorer families, and some who were bound out as apprentices or servants, and they still sat together and continued their pranks.

Hence the stern regulations published by the Committee of the Town on Dec. 26, 1700.

To prevent the Youth from prophaning y^e Sabbath, & their misordering themselves in times of Gods Worshipp—It is Ordered They shall sitt together in y^e two backside Seats of each front Gallery, which are y^e Seats appointed for them—and that y^e Tything men & others Desired with them Shall take Turn by two in a Day to Sit with them to Inspect them: and such as will not be reclaimed by sd persons Discountenanceing of their Ill manners shall be complained of to the Justices and proceeded with by them as the Law Directs unless said Justices shall Instead of fineing of them—Imprison such incorrigible persons or give them Corporall punishment.

It is Ordered that y^e young men that are not placed in particular seats shall sitt in y^e hindemost fifth seat in y^e no-west mens Gallery next to John Pottars & on the so-east mens Gallery next Mr. Appletons side of meeting-house, and shall be liable to pay as a fine five shillings If they occupy the other seats yt persons are placed in to be recovered as aforesd for y^e use aforesaid.

It is ordered y^t y^e maides and Girls y^t are not p'ticularly Seated Shall sitt in y^e two hindemost fifth seats on y^e no-west Womens Gallery next Jn^o Pottars & on y^e so-east Women's Gallery next Mr. Appletons—.

It is ordered y^t such maids & Girls as y^e s^d seats will not containe y^t are other where provided for shall sett in y^e Alleys below stairs—exceptin y^e Alley in y^e Middle of y^e Meeting house and before y^e mens fust seate, which alley is not allowed to be lumbred with Chairs & stools.

The Tithing men & Constables are Reminded & Desired to take notice of & Informe agst such persons as shall prophane y^e Sabbath betwixt meetings: Who Continue about or in y^e meeting house at noone times: y^t they be proceeded with as the Law Directs & requires and to Inspect such Youths as run in & Out in y^e time of Gods Worship and Complaine to

their parents & Masters unless such will be reclaimed by private Intimations given them.

The Committee Desir y^t all Heads of families would Informe & Warne their children & Servants not disturb y^m selves and the Congregation by making more Noise yⁿ Neede in Goeing up & Downe Stairs in y^e time of y^e Worshipp of God, which Ill practice is very prejudiciall to y^e Auditory as well as Disturbant to serious Well minded persons.

[Lt. Col.] John Appleton

[Col.] John Wainwright

[Mr.] Nehemiah Jewett

[Deacon] Nath'l Knowlton

[Serg.] Sam'll Hart

[Doctor] Philemon Dean

[Mr.] Daniell Rogers

Committee for Ipswich.

At the Town Meeting in March, 1700-01 renewed expression of this serious purpose to secure reverent worship and a well ordered Town was made in the appointing of twenty-one Tithing men, Mr. Robert Paine heading the list, the son of Elder Robert Paine, a retired minister and a citizen of high standing. These men represented all the different neighborhoods and the outlying farm dwellers, Mr. John Whipple, farmer, Lieut. John Cogswell, Mr. Richard Walker, Senior, Mr. Benjamin Marshall, Mr. Isaac Perkins, Senior, Mr. Jonathan Lumas, Mr. John Staniford, Shoreborn Wilson, Timo^r Pearley, Mr. Nathaniel Adams, Sen^r. Alex^r Lovell, Mr. Jacob Davis, Sergt. Robert Lord, Corpⁿ John Pengrey, Sergt. Nath^l Emerson, John Day, Capt. Daniel Ringe, Quar^r Kinsman, Samuell Poland, Thomas Perrin, Jr.

The boys apparently remained in a rebellious mood, notwithstanding this formidable array of tithingmen. On March 14, 1709-10, thirteen tithingmen were chosen and it was "Voted y^t y^e Tythingmen take their turns every Sabbath Day with ye assistance of a Neighbor to look after ye boys y^t y^e Day may not be prophaned by them."

Year by year the misbehavior of the boys was a matter of

public concern. The tithingmen seem to have wearied of their task as Sabbath day police by 1716.

At the March meeting in that year, Samuel Graves was appointed to look after the boys on the Sabbath, and 20 shillings was appropriated as his salary, and more explicit defining of this duty was made in March, 1722, when the Town

Voted, that Joseph Foster be empowered to have the Inspection of the boys that are disorderly on the Lord's Day & Lecture days, & to Correct them as he shall judge meet & necessary in Measure & upon well Executing that Trust for the year Ensuing, the Selectmen are empowered to allow him twenty shillings out of the Town Treasury.

Tradition has it that Mr. Foster, or his successor, pouncing upon the unfortunate lad, whom he detected at his tricks, collared him, led him out of the meeting house, administered the birch freely, and restored him to his place in subdued if not reverent mood.

A Town clock was purchased in 1702. The fear of Indian attack had disappeared so thoroughly that the Town voted to sell the rocks, that made the fort around the old meeting house, to pay for the clock. Where the clock and new bell were placed is open to conjecture. The bell apparently was on the roof in a "turret," so called, but there was no belfry, as the Town voted on May 1, 1712:

That Coll. John. Appleton Esq. & Capt. John Whipple be a Committee to take care of y^e Meeting house, to take down y^e Bell & to build a Belfry to place y^e Bell & sett y^e Turret y^r on & to fence y^e roof of y^e Meeting house when y^e Turret is removed—.

Provision was made for "a room in the meeting house upon the beams by the clock for securing the Town's ammunition."

New regard for the comfort of the horses, during the long Sabbath services, found place as well, and permission was given to several citizens to build sheds, near the present Denison school and the Methodist meeting house. They were modest structures however. Serg. John Lampson was

authorized "to set up a shed nine foot long and nine foot wide."

But the "seating of the meeting" was the most delicate matter. A certain portion of the floor space in the old meeting house had been allotted to prominent citizens as early as 1675, when Major Francis Wainwright was permitted to build a pew. Undoubtedly the same privilege was continued in the new building, but comparatively few enjoyed this extraordinary prerogative. The old order still held for the great majority of the citizens of the Town and they were seated by the Committee appointed for this purpose, with the nicest regard for social standing, wealth or official station. It was a task of embarrassing difficulty and there was constant pressure for special privileges. Only two years after the new meeting house was finished, the Committee for seating, on 23^d Feb. 1702-3, granted liberty to 73 men and 62 women to "build up y^e hindmost seats of y^e several Galleries round sd house at their cost & charge & so sitt y^r in untill removed by consent of the Committee or parties Into some other Seetes or Removed by Death or Inhabitt any other Town or p^recinct.—"

The seating capacity of the new house was taxed so severely in a few years that the Committee for seating granted liberty on Jan. 26, 1710-11, to specified persons "to build a Gallery over y^e Stairs in y^e So East corner of sd House att y^r own Cost & Charge, always provided y^t it doth not prejudice y^e passage up y^e stairs & y^e going Into y^e other Seats & always provided y^t If y^e Towne shall see cause to Erect or build an upper Teer of Galleries Then This Grant to be no obstruction y^r unto."

Record remains of the "seating" in March 1719-20 of the most dignified portions of the meeting house. A group of old men was placed at the communion table, which stood just in front of and below the pulpit: Lieut. Simon Wood, Nathaniel Lord, John Denison, Joseph Quilter, Jonathan Lumas, Serg. William Hunt, Thomas Dow, John Smith and John Harris. Lord and Lumas saw service in King Philip's War in 1675. Dow and Denison were both

wounded in the Narragansett fight in that war, and Denison served also in the expedition against Quebec in 1690. Sergt. John Harris was also at Quebec.

"The Men's Short fore seat in the front" was also reserved for the aged and infirm. Here sat John Grow who died on Jan. 9, 1727, "upward of 90 years," James Fuller, William Baker, 70 years old, Thomas Treadwell of the Island farm of venerable age, John Sherwin, aged 76, and Jeremiah Jewett. James Fuller's wife and William Baker's wife were assigned to the "Women's short fore seat front." Behind these sat the long rows of substantial citizens and their wives. In the men's second seat were Mr. John Appleton, Capt. Isaac Appleton, Mr. James Burnam, Mr. Simon Tuthill, Capt. Daniel Ringe, Mr. Samuel Hart, Mr. John Pengrye, Mr. Joseph Whipple, Mr. Francis Crumpton and Mr. Michael Farley, every man of them wearing his military title or Mr. the sign and title of the gentleman.

In the Women's front seat, on the other side of the alley, sat the Widow Wallis, Widow Hart, Mrs. Sarah Hart, Widow Baker, Mrs. Perkins, Mrs. Fowler, Mrs. Smith, Mrs. Burnam, Mrs. Tuthill, Mrs. Appleton, Mrs. Clark, Mrs. Fellows.

The Men's third seat was occupied by Mr. Oliver Appleton, Mr. Isaac Fellows, Farmer John Brown, so called to distinguish this important and prosperous citizen from the disreputable Glazier John Brown, Sergt. Robert Wallis, Mr. Samuel Wallis, Nathan¹ Adams, William Goodhue, Sergt. Caleb Kimball, Thomas Manning, Daniel Warner and Ensign Abraham Tilton; and in the Women's seat across the alley were the Widow Agnes Cowes, Mrs. Baker, Mr. Oliver Appleton's wife, the Widow Perkins, Mrs. Chapman, Mrs. Ringe, Widow Birdley, the wife of Robert Wallis, Mrs. Denison, Mrs. Potter, Widow Foster and the wife of Farmer John Brown.

Five seats for men were thus appointed and three for women. Seats in the gallery had been assigned years before.

None might presume to sit elsewhere, and a seat of superior dignity than the one assigned was particularly prohibited in the Vote of the Town on May 25, 1724,—“all persons shall be obliged to Observe the Order of the Committee . . . and shall not sit in an higher seat than that which shall be ordered for him, under a forfeiture of five shillings for each offence.”

The glory of the new meeting house was dimmed, however, by one sorrowful event. The minister of the church, Rev. William Hubbard, one of the most conspicuous clergymen of his time, laid down his task when the old meeting house was left. As boy and man, he had known the whole history of the Town. He had come with his father, while a lad in his teens, to the new settlement. He had been graduated from Harvard in its first class in 1642, and in 1656 he began to preach as a colleague with Mr. Cobbett. Forty-seven years he had ministered and few remained in the great congregation who had any remembrance of his famous predecessors. In his own person, he linked the new century with the very beginnings of the Town. The infirmities of age obliged him to give up the active duties of his office on May 6, 1703 and he died on Sept. 14, 1704 at the age of eighty-three.²

Rev. John Rogers, son of President John Rogers of Harvard and grandson of Rev. Nathaniel Rogers who succeeded Rev. Nathaniel Ward, a Harvard graduate in the class of 1684, had begun his ministry as colleague with Mr. Hubbard in 1686 in his twentieth year, but was not ordained until Oct. 12, 1692. For a few months, from August to December, 1702, he performed the whole work of the ministry, but on December 11th, Rev. Jabez Fitch, a young man of thirty years, a graduate of Harvard in the class of 1694, and then a Tutor in the College, accepted the invitation of the church to become a colleague of Mr. Rogers and for the first time in many years a new voice was heard in the pulpit.

² For sketch of his literary work, see “Ipswich, in the Mass. Bay Colony”, Vol. I, page 153.

He was ordained Oct. 24, 1703, married Elizabeth Appleton, daughter of Col. John, June 10, 1704, and on July 7th of the same year, he bought of William Payne and his wife, Elizabeth, only daughter and heir of William Stewart, the dwelling, known in later years as the Deacon Caleb Lord house,³ on the corner of High and Hammatt Streets, recently torn down. Here they made their home and here were born their seven children, Elizabeth, John, James, Margaret, Anne, another James and Mary.

The ministerial salary was a source of constant difficulty. In accordance with the usual custom of the times, it was paid partly in money and partly in wood or produce, and although payment of the ministerial rate was obligatory and could be enforced by legal process, there was frequent delay in the payments. It was ordered on Dec. 26, 1706, by the Town,

That all p'sons y^t are rated to y^e Ministers Salary shall bring in their respective rates at or on y^e last Tuesday in January & y^e first Tuesday in February next & y^t those p'sons y^t do not pay at on or before said days shall pay all their rate in money & such rates as y^e Collectors are forced to fetch shall have two pence on y^e shilling after said day for their paynes from y^e party so neglecting.

For some unimaginable reason, the fire wood that was promised was not easily obtained, and on the same date, it was voted that ten pounds per annum be added to Mr. Rogers's salary "in consideration of want of wood and to make up his salary equal with Mr. Fitch's, w^{ch} was advanced also upon consideration of wood."

Apparently the ministers received their salary in small sums, at irregular periods, and upon their complaint, the Town voted on March 8: 1714-15,

That besides y^e weekly contribution there [shall be] a generall quarterly contribution of y^e Inhabitants for y^e paying

³ Ipswich in the Mass. Bay Colony, Vol. I, pages 354-355.

of their Tax y^t so they may have their Salary in greater sums.

Twenty years of increasing family expense, and constant uncertainty as to the payment of his salary, exhausted Mr. Fitch's patience, and in the summer of 1724, he received an invitation to the pastorate of the church in Portsmouth, which he accepted on the ground that the Town had fallen short of the original contract made with him at his settlement. The whole community was greatly stirred. Not since Rev. John Norton had removed from Ipswich to Boston in 1656, had any Ipswich pastorate been terminated except by death. Never before had the good name of the illustrious Ipswich church been tarnished by the charge that she had not kept her plighted word with her minister, and it was humiliating to her pride, that a minister brought the accusation.

On September 24, 1724, a Committee was appointed by the church and parish to treat with Mr. Fitch and inquire "wherein the Town or parish hath fallen short of their contract with him and Labour to persuade him. . . ."

This Committee made a lengthy report on October 15th, reviewing the original votes regarding his salary, the successive votes of the Town authorizing the Selectmen or Assessors to assess and tax the inhabitants for his support and Mr. Fitch's receipts in the Selectmen's books in his own hand, "though the Receipts for some of the payments bare date some time after the same was due by contract." They proceeded to declare that this lack of promptness was offset by the "improvement of a Parcel of Land at the end of the Town, nigh Dow's corner," still known as the "Parish Pasture," "the Loan of a certain sum of money," (afterward said to have been £100) and "one half of a Considerable Contribution the parish Cheerfully Come Into the Last Year at his motion & Request." Although Mr. Fitch assured the Committee "that if the Parish would make him a generous offer he would give it a Due Consideration," the Portsmouth

church invited a Council of the Churches and Ministers to meet in Boston on October 27th, and advise regarding their call to him to become their minister. John Wainwright Esq, Thomas Berry Esq and Deacon Nathaniel Knowlton were appointed a Committee to represent the Ipswich church and

Use their best Endeavors to Clear up the good name or Reputation of the parish from any Charge or Imputation which hath or may be alledged against them by the said Mr. Fitch and to make it appear so far as they are able that the parish have and Still is willing to give him an Honorable Support for his preaching the Gospel to and among us.

This vote was annulled three days afterwards, on October 26th, as it seemed unwise to lay the whole matter in detail before the Council and it was voted that John Wainwright and Thomas Berry be instructed "to make all possible objections against the proceeding of said Council in Respect to the affair of Mr. Fitch's Removal from us."

A Committee of the Council seems to have come to Ipswich to confer with the church and people, and a meeting had been called for November 11th, at which it was voted "that a messenger be sent to acquaint some Gentlemen that were in Town that if they had anything to offer to said meeting, they were meet." Much debate ensued concerning the dismission of Mr. Fitch to the Church of Christ in Portsmouth, but "it was passed unanimously in the Negative." Furthermore, it was "voted that we do not see occasion to Leave the Determination of the affair Relating to the Removal of Mr. Fitch to Portsmouth to a Council that we understand are acting in said affair," and word was sent to the visiting Gentlemen "that we have voted unanimously not to Dismiss the Rev. Mr. Jabez Fitch." Notwithstanding this action by his church, Mr. Fitch took matters into his own hand and absented himself from his pulpit on Dec. 13, 1724 and the two following Sundays, and again, "from the beginning of March to the beginning of May, 1725."

To relieve the senior Pastor from the burden of carrying unaided the onerous requirement of the two long Sabbath services and the weekly lecture, the Parish voted on January 6, 1724-5, that the son of the Pastor, Mr. Nathaniel Rogers, who had been graduated from Harvard in 1721, at the age of nineteen, "be in nomination to assist the Rev. Mr. John Rogers in the work of the ministry, if he be not pre-Engaged," and also Mr. Benjamin Crocker, a graduate of 1713, and a resident of the Town, if Mr. Rogers could not be secured.

The Parish met on April 7th, for a "friendly conference with Mr. Fitch," but "nothing of an Agreement could be obtained," and shortly after he was installed in Portsmouth.

The young Nathaniel Rogers seems to have rendered acceptable service, as the Parish invited him on April 27, 1725 to assist his father for three months and another invitation for a similar period was given in July. In November, he was invited to assist for a month and in December, to serve for a quarter of the next year, 1726, and then for another month, and at last in April, 1726, two other candidates for the vacancy appeared, Charles Chauncey and William Welstead, and each of these was invited to assist the Pastor for a month on the Sabbath and Lecture day.

Meanwhile at the March term of the Sessions Court in Ipswich, 1726, the Rev. Jabez Fitch brought suit against the inhabitants of Ipswich, alleging that they had paid him nothing from March 1st to Dec. 13th, 1724. Although the Parish appointed a Committee to contest the suit, calmer judgment prevailed, and eventually the matter was left to referees, and settled by the payment of £65, 10s. No doubt there were many friends who warmly espoused the minister's cause. Mrs. Fitch, as has been mentioned, was daughter of Col. John Appleton. Her mother was sister of the Senior Pastor, and she was own cousin of Rev. Nathaniel Rogers and the other children of Rev. John, all important people in the church and community. She was sister as well of Margaret, wife of President Holyoke of Harvard.

This old and sharply contested wrangle over the salary of Mr. Fitch was scarcely settled, before the Senior Pastor felt obliged by stress of his own straitened finances to present his plea, though the time seemed inopportune. His own pathetic letter tells the simple tale of his need, and the small talk of the Parish.

To the Inhabitants of the first parish in Ipswich, Assembled October the 6th, 1726.

Gentlemen

Notwithstanding In my opinion & I am apt to think In yours also, that my Sallary for Diverse years past has not been made good to me in vallue however it might be in Sum by the Several payments made in those years whereof I have given Due Receipts from time to time [without making any further Demands or giving the Least occasion that I know of for those Reports that have been Raised of Late to your Disturbance as well as mine]. And Notwithstanding It was the want of an Erlier Consideration of & Allowance for the Difference of Species which necessitated my Borrowing of the publick & mortgaging a Good part of my Estate therefor and Selling one p^t after another.

Yet I now Leave the whole to a further Consideration of the good people whom I have Served near Thirty and Seven years to the best of my power. And with whom I would Live in Love and Dy in peace.—And shall be Ready to give a more general & full Discharge to the year Current whenever the parish shall See meet to Call for it.

From yo^r unworthy Servant
In the work of the ministry.
John Rogers.

The parish having taken Into Consideration the message in writing from our Rev^d Pastor, M^r. John Rogers, Respecting the payments made him of his Sallary & of his Receipts therefor and that he is willing to give a General and full Discharge to the parish when desired to the year Current, which they expect from him, Therefore Voted that the parish do unanimously, freely & Cheerfully promise and Engage to Cancel & Discharge the mortgage the said Mr. Rogers has given to the Town of Ipswich for the Sum of One Hundred

Pounds part of the Towns proportion of the Last Fifty Thousand Pounds Loan.”⁴

Settlement with Mr. Fitch having been made, the minds of the people were at last composed and on August 16, 1726, the Church voted on the several candidates for the ministerial office. Nathaniel Rogers received 35, William Welstead 8 and Charles Chauncey 1. At this far remove, it is hard to understand the large preponderance of the vote for Mr. Rogers. Charles Chauncey, the great grandson of President Chauncey of Harvard, and grandson of Rev. Isaac Chauncey, an eminent Puritan minister, had been graduated at Harvard in 1721 in his seventeenth year, and was regarded as one of the most brilliant scholars who had ever taken his degree at Cambridge. His slight form and delicate health may have weighed against him in the estimation of the Ipswich folk, but in the following year, when Mr. Wadsworth of the First Church of Boston was called to the Presidency of Harvard, Mr. Chauncey was chosen his successor as co-pastor with Rev. Thomas Foxcroft. He attained great reputation and was regarded as one of the ablest of the New England ministers. He was liberal in his theology and sternly opposed the great revival of religion, stimulated by the preaching of George Whitefield. William Welstead also was a young man of great promise. He had declined a call to the church in Weston in 1722, and while candidating in Ipswich was acting as tutor in the College. In 1728, he was called to the pastorate of the New Brick Church in Boston, in which he continued until his death in 1753.

It may be imagined that both of these may have surpassed the son of the pastor in intellectual gifts, but the strong family influence and the natural affection for the young preacher who was born among them, carried the day. The Parish voted to concur, “provided he settle on Congregational principles agreeably to the Platform of Church Government.” Evidently there was suspicion of the candidate’s

⁴ See Chapter VII, “Colonial Currency and the Land Bank.”

soundness in his adherence to the old ecclesiasticism. The form of church government was in debate. The rising generation of ministers opposed the continuance of the office of ruling elder. The elder pastor was requested to give assurance that his son would be settled on Congregational principles. He sent a communication to the Parish which was read on November 17th and led to a long and heated discussion. Eventually a salary was voted, £130 in Bills of Credit for three years and afterward £150.

Also provided that if sd Species viz. Bills of Credit or Silver Money should be very scarce or Difficult to be obtained, wee may have Liberty to answer and Pay two third parts of said Sum of £150 annually in good merchantable Barly malt at six shillings p^r Bushel, Indian Corn at five Shillings p^r Bushel, good merchant^{ble} Pork at six pence p^r pound and good Butter at Twelve pence p^r pound. Also provided he Settle himself And is settled and Ordained upon Congregational principles.

Mr. Rogers delayed his reply nearly three months and when it came, it found the Parish in very captious mood. A Committee was requested to wait upon him "and in consideration of Sundrie things Contained in the said Answers previous if not unnecessary to be Inserted therein to the Dissatisfaction of many of the parish then assembled," to request that "he would in a more Concise and peremptory manner give his answer to the said vote." He accepted the details of settlement forthwith and October 18, 1726 was set apart for "the solemn ordination." A Committee was chosen "to make suitable provision for the Council assisting in y^e Ordination . . . scholars and Other Gentlemen," and "to take up & Improve two or three Houses," that the hospitality of the Parish on this great occasion should not be stinted.

No record remains of the service but the report of the Committee, with its itemized account of the expense, throws a flood of light upon the grand scale of entertainment for the visiting ministers and delegates of the churches, which composed the Council.

The first parish in Ipswich D^r To those Persons after named for what they have Advanced towards the charges of the Ordination, vizt.

To Mr. Edward Eveleth October 18th, 1727.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To 19 Gallons of wine at 7/	6	13	0			
To 36 pounds of Courrants at 1-6	2	14	0			
To one neats Tingue 1-3	0	1	3			
To 98 ^{lb} . of flower at 5 ^d	2	10				
To 28 ^{lb} . Sugar 28/	1	8				
To 9 ^{lb} of Raisons at 1-2	0	10	6			
To 2 ounces of Nutmegs 5/	0	5				
To ¼ of pound of pepper 1/		1				
To Six Chickings at 8 ^d		4				
To 2 ounces of Cinnamon at 2-8		5	4			
To 1 ounce of Cloves 3-6		3	6			
To 249 ^{lb} . of Beef at 5 ^d	5	3	9			
To 30 ^{lb} . of pork at 8 ^d		1				

20 19 4 20 19 4

To M^r. Inceas How Octob^r 19th, 1727.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To 122 ^{lb} . of Flower at 5 ^d	2	10	10	20	19	4
To 12 ^{lb} . of Sugar at 11/		11				
To 9 ^{lb} . of fruit at 1-2		10	6			
To 12 Dozen Biskitt		12				
To 2 ounces Cinnamon 5-4		5	4			
To 1 ounce of nutmegs 2-8		2	8			
To 1 ounce of Cloves 3/		3				
To ½ pound of pepper 2-6		2	6			
To 1 ½ of apples 3.		3				
To 3 quarts of mellasses 3/		3				
To 38 ^{lb} . of mutton at 4 ^d		12	8			
To Seven Fowles at 10 ^d		5	10			
To 12 fowles at 5 ^d p ^r pound		10	5			
To 1 peck of Indian meal 1-5		1	5			
To 15/ for the Cook		15				
To making Tables, finding tenders & other provision in my house etc	2	10				

9 19 2 9 19 2

30 18 6

18 IPSWICH, IN THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY.

To Deacon Staniford.				
To Geese, pipes & Tobacco, &c.	18	6	18	6
To Deacon Lord.				
For Butter, Gammon Bacon, Fowls, &c.	3	7	2	3 7 2
carried over				35 4 2
Brought over from y ^e other side				
Thirty-five Pounds, four Shillings and two pence				35 4 2
To Jonathan Fellows.				
To two Barrels of Syder, Bushel Malt & 12 pound Butter	2	1		
				2 1
To Mr. Jonathan Wade.				
To Four Turkey ^s , Horse Keeping, &c. 1	7			
				1 7
To M ^r . Thomas Wade for horse keep- ing	3			0 3
To Mr. Benjamin Appleton.				
To Two Load of wood 24/	1	4		
				1 4 0
To John Choat for 2 geese 4	4			4 0
To James Burnam.				
To Cheese, Fowls, Eggs, Sauces, etc. .	3	9		
				3 9
To Thomas Norton.				
To 28 ^{lb} . of fresh pork at 6 ^d	14			
To 26 ^{lb} . of Salt pork midling at 12 ^d ..	1	6		
To 20 Fowls at 10 ^d	15	8		
To 12 Dozen of Eggs 4-10	4	10		
To half a peck of Carrots 6 ^d		6		
To 3 ^{lb} . 1/2 Candles 3-6	3	6		
To Six Neats Tongues, 4 Dry, 2 green 12		12		
To 26 ^{lb} . of mutton, Some at 5 ^d & some				

4 ^d	1	6		
To w ^t I paid to the Cook 13/	13			
			5	16 6
			49	0 5
carried over				
Brought over from y ^e other side				
Forty-nine Pounds, five pence			49	0 5
To Joseph Foster for his service and				
Attendance, 4 days	16		16	0
To the Widow Holland for her Ser-				
vice and Attendance, 3 days	12		12	0
To Susanna Holland for her service in				
y ^e Cookery	12		12	0
To Mary Brackenbury, an Attendant				
for 4 days	6		6	0
To Nathaniel Potter for a Server ...	4		4	0
To the Committee appointed to pre-				
pare the Necessary ^a for the Ordi-				
nation, their Time and Trouble . 4			4	0 0
Total Charge of y ^e Ordination			55	10 5

Mr. Rogers built in the same year he was ordained, the beautiful dwelling on High St., still called the "Rogers Manse." On Dec. 25, 1728, he married Mary, the widow of Major John Denison and daughter of President Leverett of Harvard, a year older than himself, and their home was established in the new parsonage. Eight children were born here, Margaret, three Marthas, Sarah, Elizabeth, Nathaniel and Lucy. Mrs. Rogers died on June 25, 1756, and the Pastor married Mary, the widow of Daniel Staniford, May 4, 1758. Here Mr. Rogers passed away on May 10, 1775, his widow surviving until Sept. 18, 1779.

The Senior Pastor, Rev. John Rogers, felt obliged to make another communication to his parish a few years later.

To the Inhabitants of the first parish in Ipswich now assembled.

Gentlemen. Whereas, I am now Entering the Fourty-fourth year of my Service to you in the Gospel Ministry,

And have hitherto Supported the House I live in at my own Cost and Charge, which has been very Considerable all along more Especially in the Year past. And the Condition of it being such as Calls for much more Still to be Expended upon it in order to render it Suitable and Comfortable for the future above what I am able to spare out of my Sallary.

Am Therefore Obligated to ask your help and Assistance in Such way and measure as Ye shall think best.

Yours to Serve with the Remains of my Time and Ability.

John Rogers.

Ipswich, March 15, 1732-3.

The Parish responded kindly, granting him the desired assistance.

While the First Church and Parish of Ipswich were wrestling with the problems of keeping order in the sanctuary and of securing worthy successors to the illustrious ministers who had adorned that famous pulpit, Rev. John Wise, the minister of the Chebacco Parish was winning fine renown in the field of letters. Early in his ministry, he had roused the Town to brave resistance of the Andros edict and had suffered fine and removal from his pulpit.⁵ When Sir William Phips made his expedition against Quebec in 1690, by request of the Colonial legislature, he accompanied it as chaplain. In his funeral sermon, preached on April 11, 1725, Rev. John White affirmed of Mr. Wise, "not only the Pious Discharge of his Sacred Office, but his Heroick Spirit and Martial Skill and Wisdom did greatly destinguish him."⁶ When the Witchcraft Delusion swept many of the coolest and best balanced men off their feet, he dared to protest, and addressed a Petition⁷ to the Magistrates, signed by many of his parishioners, in behalf of John Proctor, Jr. and his wife, imploring the favor of the Court for these innocent victims of a false charge.

To his reputation for dauntless courage, he added that of

⁵ Ipswich in the Mass. Bay Colony, Vol. I, Chap. XIV.

⁶ Ipswich in the Mass. Bay Colony, Vol. I, Appendix G., P. 525.

⁷ Ipswich in the Mass. Bay Colony, Vol. I, Page 290.

feats of physical strength. He was a mighty wrestler, and the fame of his prowess went far afield. An Andover man, victor in many contests, heard the report and rode down to the Chebacco Parish to invite a trial of his skill. The story still survives of Mr. Wise's reluctance to enter the lists, but yielding at last to his importunity, he not only threw his boastful antagonist, but picked him up and pitched him over the fence. Whereupon the discomfited wrestler, seeking no further contest, begged Mr. Wise to throw his horse over in like fashion.

His polemic skill and brilliant rhetorical gifts were now to be approved. In the year 1705, on Nov. 5th, a pamphlet was published in Boston addressed to the churches and ministers of New England, entitled, "Questions and Proposals."

No signatures were appended, but it was well known that it was the work of Increase and Cotton Mather, backed by their friends and admirers in the Association of which they were members. Its purpose was to recommend a change in the old order of Congregational self-government of the churches, substituting a Presbyterian form, with an annual Council, and practically depriving the lay-members of the churches of any voice or vote in their deliberations. Five years passed, allowing ample time for common discussion of this revolutionary scheme. Then Mr. Wise declared himself in a book published in Boston in 1710, bearing the title:

THE
CHURCHES QUARREL
ESPOUSED:

OR A
REPLY

In Satyr, to certain Proposals made, in Answer to this Question,—What further Steps are to be taken, that the Councils may have due Constitution and Efficacy in Supporting, Preserving and Well-Ordering the Interest of the Churches in the Country?

BY
JOHN WISE, A. M.
PASTOR TO A CHURCH IN IPSWICH

Wherefore rebuke them sharply, that they may be found in the faith. Tit. 1. xiii.
Abjiciendus Pudor, Quoties urget Necessitas.

He obeyed the Biblical injunction to the letter. Unabashed by the celebrity of the authors, the quiet Chebacco minister considered the "Questions and Proposals" and replied to them with extraordinary power.

Indeed at the first cast of the eye, the scheme seems to be the spectre or ghost of presbyterianism, or the government of the church by classes; yet if I don't mistake there is something considerable of prelacy in it, only the distinct courts of bishops, with the steeples of the churches, tythes, surplice and other ornaments, do not show themselves so visible, as to be discerned at the first look, yet with a microscope you may easily discern them really to be there in *Embrio et in Rerum natura*—There is also something in it which smells

very strong of the infallible chair, to assume the power of making rules, to engross all principles of progress, the right of election, the last appeal, the negative vote and all superintending power in matters ecclesiastic, as the prerogatives of clergymen, distinct from all other estates and ministers in government: or thus, for the clergy to monopolize both the legislative and executive part of common law, is but a few steps from the chair of universal pestilence and by the ladder here set up, clergymen may, if they please, clamber thus high; for when they are invested with what is in these proposals provided and intended for them, who then can controul them but the Almighty himself?⁸

He proceeded to consider the "Questions and Proposals" in detail, replying to each with acute logic and ample learning, but always using the every day speech, maxims of homely common sense and a constant play of keen wit and droll humor. He was maintaining the privilege of the laymen to enjoy the liberty they had always found in the churches and he used the common people's talk of "Hobson's choice," "one swallow does not make a spring" and many proverbs. Sailors knew the aptness of his reflection: "If men are placed at helm to steer in all weather that blows, they must not be afraid of the waves or a wet coat." The soldiers whose campaigns he had shared, heard the language of the camp and the battlefield:

Dont you hear from the top of yonder proud and lofty mountain the enemies trumpets, and their drums beating a preparative? Therefore let all the good soldiers of Christ be compleat in this and all other parts of their armour, and at an hour's warning, unless you reckon your treasure not worth defending.⁹

To the objection that candidates for the ministry were too young and needed to be controlled by some higher power, he replied:¹⁰

⁸ The Churches Quarrel Espoused. Pages 104, 105.

published with A Vindication of the Government etc., edition of 1772.

⁹ The Churches Quarrel Espoused. Page 93.

¹⁰ The Churches Quarrel Espoused. Page 126.

If Christ is preached, all is well. And as to our case, we may say, despise not the day of the small things, all men must have a beginning and every bird which is pretty well fleg'd must begin to fly. And ours are not of the nest where *Icharus* was hatched, whose feathers were only glewed on; but these belong to the angelic host and their wings grow but from their essence; therefore you may allow them, with the lark, now and then to dart heavenward, though the shell or down be scarce off their heads.

It is not how old, but how capable a person is, which is the main point to be enquired after here. Therefore where (in some good measure) there is an honest life, a gracious heart, an orthodox head, and a learned tongue, there is no such reason to send such youths to *Jerico* with *David's* messengers, (though their beards are not yet grown) to wait upon time and nature, for such an accomplishment; for certainly these recited are the principal in the argument. It is a story in the history of Persia, "That when the Grecians sent some very young noblemen upon an embassy to that court, the Persians reflected upon the Grecian republic, for sending beardless boys on so grave a message to so mighty a monarch," To which the young Grecians very smartly answered, "That if state policy did consist in beards, then he goats would do for ambassadors, as well or better than men." I must confess, I am somewhat of their mind:—

The suggestion that "the state of religion may be the better known and secured in all the churches" by the new form of church government roused him to an outburst of singular and thrilling eloquence.

Religion in its infallible original, the wisdom and authority of God! in its infinite object, the ineffable persons and perfections of the divine essence; in its means, the gospel of salvation; In its inspired, wakeful and capacious ministry; in its subject, the inestimable, immortal soul of man; in its transcendent effects, (1) In time, the charming peace and joys of conscience (2) In eternity, the joyful retreat and shouts of glory, is the most incomparable gift of *Paladium*, which ever came from heaven; amongst all the favours of the father of lights, there is none parallel with

this; when disclosed in its beauty, it ravisheth all the intellects of the universe; and challenge may be made, that the prerogatives and glory belonging to all the crowned heads in the world, do bow and wait upon its processions thru the earth, to guard it from its innumerable and inveterate enemies. Yet in paying our veneration and attendance, we must distinguish right and place everything properly, and the means must be proportionate with the end and agreeable in their natures or otherwise whilst we go about to accomplish a good end, viz. the security of religion by improper means, we may lose our attempt and have no thanks, but be blamed for our pains; for we must not do evil, that good may come.

It is certain, that the church of Christ is the pillar of truth, or sacred recluse and peculiar asylum of religion and this sacred guest, religion, which came in the world's infancy from heaven, to gratify the solitudes of miserable man, when God had left him, hath long kept house with us in this land, to sweeten our wilderness state and the renowned churches here are her sacred palaces. Then certainly it is not fair for her lovers, under pretence of maintaining her welcome in greater state, to desolate her pleasing habitations, tho' they stand somewhat low like the myrtle grove.

Zach. 1: 8 &c.¹¹

And again, with striking beauty and tenderness.

View once more, from some lofty promontory or Pisgah, those goodly tents and tabernacles of Israel! Listen! Is not God with them, and the shout of a king amongst them? Are they not as valleys spread forth, and as gardens by the river side, which the Lord hath planted? And yet, notwithstanding, may we, must we under your conduct, break up their fences, to give them another sort of culture?¹²

Again and again Mr. Wise affirms the essential democracy of the Congregational church government.

Principle V. All Englishmen live and die by laws of their own making. That they are never pleased with upstart law-makers.

¹¹ The Churches Quarrel Espoused. Pages 133, 134.

¹² The Churches Quarrel Espoused. Page 152.

Principal VI. That English government and law is a charter-party settled by mutual compact between persons of all degrees in the nation, and no man must start from it at his peril.

Principal VII. Englishmen hate an arbitrary power (politically considered) as they hate the devil.

The very name of an arbitrary government is ready to put an Englishman's blood into a fermentation; but when it really comes and shakes its whip over their ears, and tells them it is their master, it makes them stark mad; and being of a memical genius and inclined to follow the court mode, they turn arbitrary too.¹⁸

It so happened that the "Questions and Proposals" bore the date Nov. 5, 1705, Guy Fawkes' Day. Mr. Wise seized upon this with keen relish.

The fifth day of November has been a guardian angel to the most sacred interest of the empire: It has rescued the whole glory of church and state, from the most fatal arrest of hell and *Rome*. That had I been of the cabal or combination which formed these proposals; so soon as I had seen and perceived the date, (as I imagine) my heart with king David's, would have smote me and I should have cried out, *Miserere nostri Deus*: The good Lord have mercy upon us; this is the gun powder treason day; and we are every man ruined, being running Faux's fate! why gentlemen! have you forgotten it? It is the day of the gun powder treason, and a fatal day to traitors.

Again, at the close of his "Reply" he exclaims:

Blessed! Thrice blessed day! Uphold and maintain thy matchless fame in the kalendar of time, and let no darkness or shadow of death stain thee; let thy horizon comprehend whole constellations of favorable and auspicious stars, reflecting a benign influence on the English monarchy. And upon every return, in thy anniversary circuits, keep an indulgent eye open and wakeful upon all the beauties (from the throne to the footstool) of that mighty empire.

And when it is thy misfortune to conceive a monster, which may threaten any part of the nations glory, let it

¹⁸ The Churches Quarrel Espoused. Pages 146, 147.

come crippled from the womb or else travel in birth again, with some noble hero, or invincible Hercules who may conquer and confound it.

"The Churches Quarrel Espoused" made a profound impression and contributed largely, we may believe, to the complete discomfiture of the authors of "Questions and Proposals." Prof. Moses Coit Tyler's critical estimate¹⁴ is highly eulogistic:

Upon the whole, this book has extraordinary literary merit. It is, of its kind, a work of art, it has a beginning, a middle and an end,—each part in fit proportion, and all connected organically. The author is expert in exciting and in sustaining attention; does not presume upon the patience of his readers; relieves the heaviness and dryness of the argument by gayety and sarcasm; and has occasional outbursts of grand enthusiasm, of majestic and soul-stirring eloquence. In tone, it is superior to its time; It is a piece of triumphant logic, brightened by wit and ennobled by imagination; a master specimen of the art of public controversy.

In 1717, seven years after the publication of this book, Mr. Wise published a more formal and elaborate defence of the Congregational form of church government. It was entitled:

* "A History of American Literature during the Colonial Time." II, 110.

A
VINDICATION
OF THE
GOVERNMENT OF NEW ENGLAND
CHURCHES

Drawn from Antiquity: the Light of Nature: Holy Scripture: its Noble Nature: and from the Dignity Divine Providence has put upon it.

BY
JOHN WISE, A. M.
PASTOR TO A CHURCH IN IPSWICH.

There are none to guide her among all the Sons whom she hath brought forth; neither is there any that taketh her by the hand of all the Sons that she hath brought up.

Isa. li. 18.

Say ye unto your Brethren Ammi and to your Sisters Rurahamah.

With its abundant quotations from the Church Fathers and from classic literature, often rendered into felicitous verse, by its stately and dignified style which restrained him from indulgence in the personal invective and biting sarcasm of his earlier "Reply", but lacked nothing of sustained interest, the "Vindication" was a notable argument for the largest liberty in church affairs.

The noblest mortal in his entrance on the stage of life, is not distinguished by any pomp or of passage from the lowest of mankind; and our life hastens to the same general mark: Death observes no ceremony, but knocks as loud at the barriers of the court as at the door of the cottage. This equality being admitted, bears a very great force in maintaining peace and friendship amongst men.

From the natural equality of men, he argues that the natural form of government is a democracy.¹⁵

The end of all good government is to cultivate humanity and promote the happiness of all, and the good of every man in all his rights, his life, liberty, estate, honor, &c, without injury or abuse done to any. Then certainly it cannot easily be thought, that a company of men, that shall enter into a voluntary compact, to hold all power in their own hands, thereby to use and improve their united force, wisdom, riches and strength for the common and particular good of every member, as is the nature of a democracy; I say it cannot be that this sort of constitution will so readily furnish those in government with an appetite or disposition to prey upon each other or embezzle the common stock; as some particular persons may be when set off and intrusted with the same power. And moreover this appears very natural, that when the aforesaid government or power, settled in all, when they have elected certain capable persons to minister in their affairs, and the said ministers remain accountable to the assembly; these officers must needs be under the influence of many wise cautions from their own thoughts (as well as under confinement by their commission) in their whole administration.: And from thence it must needs follow that they will be more apt, and inclined to steer right for the main point, viz. The peculiar good and benefit of the whole and every particular member fairly and sincerely.

He defines a democracy:¹⁶

This is a form [of] government, which the light of na-

¹⁵ A Vindication of the Government, etc. p. 40.

¹⁶ A Vindication of the Government, etc. p. 39, 40.

ture does highly value and often directs to, as most agreeable to the just and natural prerogative of human beings.

. . . . Man's original liberty after it is resigned, (yet under due restrictions) ought to be cherished in all wise governments; or otherwise a man in making himself a subject, he alters himself from a free man into a slave, which to do is repugnant to the laws of nature.

A second edition of the "Vindication" and "The Churches Quarrel Espoused," in a single volume, with the Platform adopted in 1648 and other documents, was published in 1722, and in 1772 just fifty years later, when the liberties of the colonies were being invaded, the "Vindication" was published again and widely distributed, and a second edition was called for as a sober, strong and unanswerable demand for liberty. The political ideas of the Chebacco minister were voiced again by the patriot leaders, and reappeared in the immortal Declaration of Independence. Prof. Tyler well observes.¹⁷ "He was the first great American democrat" and further remarks:

Upon the whole, no other American author of the colonial time is the equal of John Wise in the union of great breadth and power of thought with great splendor of style; and he stands almost alone among our early writers for the blending of a racy and dainty humor with impassioned earnestness.

¹⁷ A History of American Literature during the Colonial Time. II: 114, 115.

CHAPTER II.

QUEEN ANNE'S WAR.

The Treaty of Ryswick in 1697 was followed by four years of peace on both sides of the Atlantic, but in 1701, the conflict began again, ostensibly over the question of succession to the Spanish throne, but in reality over the old question of the supremacy of Protestant or Catholic. The twelve years' war which followed is known in European history as the War of the Spanish Succession, in American annals, as Queen Anne's War.¹

The Marquis of Vandreuil, the French Governor at Quebec, adopted at once the former policy of sending parties of French and Indians to attack the frontier towns of the Colony, and the approach of a French fleet to ravage the coast was looked for at any moment. In the Spring of 1701, the General Court appropriated £100 for repairing the fort at Salem, and £40 for repairing the fortification at Marblehead, provided each Town made equal appropriation.² Ipswich made prompt response when the call to arms came. Captain Samuel Chadwell was ready with his sloop, "The Flying Horse," and a full crew in March, 1702-3. Eleven Ipswich men were enrolled beside the Captain, Thomas Newman, Capt. Quat^r., — William Fellows, Pilot, Mr. Francis Perkins, W^m. Nicholls, Gunner, Daniel Fuller, Daniel Ross, Richard Stevens, Ed. Talbot, Daniel Gilbert, John Russell, Coxⁿ., Jn^o. Martin. Men from Salem, Gloucester, Portsmouth and three foreigners made up the quota of 38 officers and crew.

¹ Channing, *History of the United States*, Vol. II, 537.

² *Mass. Archives*, 70: 528, 530.

A breezy letter from the Captain to the Governor is preserved in the Archives.³

Newcastle, March 1, 1702-3.

These certifie y^r Hon^r yt I am just now Riddy to Sayle for y^e bay of fundey, having on board forty men whose names are as p^r y^e Inclosed.

I shall Indeavor to be a punktual observer of her Maj^{ty} Hon^r & his Excellency's Instructions.

I am y^r Hon^{ty} most Humble & most obadiant Servant.
Sam^l Chadwell.

On March 23, 1702-3, a company of forty-eight men, detached by Major Francis Wainwright on an expedition to the Eastward, started from Ipswich under Major John Cutler, with Lieut. Matthew Perkins sceond in command. They marched until the 7th of April, to York and Salmon Falls, meeting no enemy, but fierce discord arose in the ranks over the peculations of the commander, who sold his provisions and kept his men short. Capt. Perkins brought formal charges against him, and a Court-Martial at Newbury in February, 1703-4, cashiered Major Cutler and declared him ineligible for further service.⁴ Samuel Clark of Ipswich was at Pemaquid Fort two years after he had been impressed and received several wounds, barely escaping with his life. Lame and disabled, he received 40s annual pension in 1703.⁵

The whole Eastern country was soon in the throes of war. At Wells, 39 were killed or carried away; Cape Porpoise was left desolate; Saco lost 11 killed and 24 captives. Major March of Newbury was in command of the Casco Fort. Decoyed out by the Indians, he narrowly escaped death, and was saved only by the opportune arrival of reinforcements. Jabez Sweet, an Ipswich soldier, petitioned for relief in 1749, on the ground of his great deeds on that eventful day. According to his narrative, he and Capt. Humphrey Hook alone ventured out, killed one of the Indians and brought in Col.

³ Mass. Archives, 62: 432, 433.

⁴ Acts and Resolves, VIII, 598-601.

⁵ Mass. Archives, 71: 6.

March, receiving a wound in the collar bone and in the right elbow.⁶ John Bragg also was in Capt. Hook's company at Saco and received injuries for which an annuity of £8 was granted him in 1708.⁷ Rev. Jeremiah Wise, son of Rev. John Wise, of Chebacco, was the chaplain at Fort Henry, Saco, in 1704.

Two hundred Indians attacked twenty men at work in the fields at Black Point and killed or carried away all but one. Berwick suffered severely and the report came that one captive was burned alive. But the most dreadful experience was allotted to Deerfield, which was assailed in the dead of night on Feb. 29th, 1704. Fifty-three were killed on the spot and more than a hundred, including Rev. John Williams and survivors of his family, were carried back to Canada.

Amesbury, Haverhill and all the towns on the Merrimack river were the frontier. In April, 1704, the order was sent to Capt. Christopher Osgood of Andover to build three block-houses on the bank of the Merrimack, 12 feet wide, 15 feet long, with a fire place at one end and a covered well, after the pattern of the Newbury block house.⁸ Forty pounds sterling was allowed for every Indian scalp and the soldiers were promised that every Indian child under ten years should be sold as a slave and the price should be theirs.⁹

One of the most distressing incidents of the war was the condition of the captives in Canada. While they suffered no great physical hardship after their arrival in Quebec, great pressure was brought to bear upon them to renounce their Puritan faith and enter the Catholic church.

Not a few were won, and the daughter of Rev. John Williams of Deerfield not only renounced her religion but married an Indian husband and reared an Indian family. Though she visited her old home in after years she could never be persuaded to return to civilized life. Children of

⁶ Mass. Archives, 73: 383.

⁷ Mass. Archives, 71: 487.

⁸ Acts and Resolves, VIII, 442.

⁹ Mass. Archives, 70: 211.

tender age were carried away to be held for ransom. Haverhill, Salisbury, Amesbury, Newbury, Kittery and York mourned the loss of many little ones. Ipswich parents lived in constant dread of a like calamity.

Operations on a large scale against the French and Indians began in the Spring of 1704. An expedition, under the command of Major Benjamin Church, sailed for the Maine coast but failed to inflict any reprisals and proceeded to Port Royal and Nova Scotia. No attack was made however and the expedition proved a dismal failure.

To promote enlistments, the General Court passed an Act in November, 1704, providing,

If any company shall voluntarily enlist themselves under a proper officer, . . . at their own charge, without pay, they shall be allowed and paid . . . for every Indian enemy by them slain, being men or youths capable of bearing arms, the sum of one hundred pounds p^r head, and for women or other males or females above the age of ten years, Ten pounds p head, the scalp to be produced and oath made, . . . also the benefit of all Plunder and prisoners under the age of ten years . . . provided no reward to soldiers for Indians slain under ten years.¹⁰

During the month of July, 1706, attacks were made by the Indians on Amesbury, Reading, Dunstable, Wells and Hampton Falls. Ipswich was liable to be attacked at any moment. The troops were called to arms repeatedly and hurried away to the defence of the frontier. The account of John Griffin¹¹ at Haverhill Ferry reveals the frequent passage of our Ipswich soldiery over the Merrimack.

July 6, 1706. Captin John whipell of ipswich with forty-five men and horses.	£1 2s 6d.
July 9: 1706 left simon wood of ipswich with twenty fut men	3s 4d.

¹⁰ Mass. Archives, 71: 102.

¹¹ Mass. Archives, 121: 127.

Again in February, 1707, Lieut. Whipple's troop hurried to the relief of Groton.¹²

The Haverhill ferry man notes again:

July 18: 1707. Captin Whippell of ipswech with thurty-nine men and horses and came back the 28 of june(?)

£1 19s 0

September 27: 1707. captin whippell with thirty men and horses

0-15-0

On August 15th, 1706, the Governor nominated Col. Samuel Appleton of Ipswich to the Council for the very delicate and responsible office of Commissioner to the French officials at Quebec to arrange for the ransom of the captives, and the nomination "gave unanimous satisfaction" to the Council and was approved by the General Court.¹³ The Brigantine "Hope," Capt. John Bonner, was secured and Col. Appleton sailed Aug. 30th from Nantasket under a flag of truce. Judge Samuel Sewall had suggested that a suit of clothes should be made for Rev. John Williams of Deerfield, and the Commissioner, no doubt, carried them with the five Bibles, which were forwarded for the spiritual comfort of the exiles.

Captain Appleton, as he was frequently called, arrived home on Nov. 21st, bringing fifty-seven of the captives, including Rev. Mr. Williams and his two sons. "These were all that could then be got ready, and the rest are expected in the Spring."¹⁴

A second and far more formidable expedition against Port Royal was decided on in March, 1707. The General Court voted on March 21st, to raise a thousand able soldiers and gather a fleet of transports to be convoyed by Her Majesty's ship of war, "Deptford," and the Province Galley, with a hospital ship. Preparations were pressed vigorously and the fleet sailed from Boston on the 13th of May. Ipswich men

¹² Acts and Resolves, VIII: 677. Mass. Archives 123: 11, 12, 13, 15, 21, 22.

¹³ Acts and Resolves, VIII: 118, 618, 621, 661, 662.

¹⁴ Acts and Resolves, VIII: 642.

had a conspicuous part in the expedition. Col. John March of Newbury was the Commander-in-chief.¹⁵ The Field Officers of the First Regiment (of the red) were

Francis Wainwright of Ipswich, Col.
 Samuel Appleton of Ipswich, Lieut. Col.
 Shadrach Walton of Newcastle, N. H., Major
 Companies.

Col. Wainwright, Captain
 Matthew Perkins of Ipswich, Lieut.
 Abraham Tilton of Ipswich, Ensign

Lieut. Col. Appleton, Captain
 Isaac Appleton of Ipswich, Lieut.
 Edward Wade of Ipswich, Ensign

The second regiment (of the blue) was commanded by Col. Winthrop Hilton of Exeter. Twelve companies composed the first regiment, eleven, the second. The company rolls can not be found in the Archives, but the original roll of Col. Wainwright's company has been preserved.¹⁶

April 4th, 1707.

The several names of Ipswich men y^t Is Enlisted und^r y^e Command of Coll. Francis Wainwright upon an Expedition to port Ryall.

Capt. Matthew Perkins
 Ensine Abraham Tilton
 John Smith Sen^r.
 John Clarke
 James Fuller Jun^r.
 Philemon Wood
 Joseph Killom
 John Whipple
 Jacob Brown
 Sam^l Lamson
 Daniel Dane

¹⁵ Acts and Resolves, VIII: 690-692.

¹⁶ Now owned by Mr. Frederick A. Kimball. Other names are mentioned on Page 39.

Daniel Rindge
Francis Quarls
Matthew Annable
Joseph Bowles
Jacob Bennit
John Goodhue
John Stockwell
John Handly
Samⁿ Fraile
Ebenezer Knowlton
Edmond Rand
Timmothy Knolton
John Smith
Nath^l Dike, drummer

The transports included the sloop, "Mary and Abigail," Thomas Newman of Ipswich, Master. Five whale boats were impressed from Ipswich as well. The sloop "Industry", in 1708, and the sloop "Mary" in 1709 were employed as flags of truce to Port Royal. The sloop "Nightingale" was chartered in 1710 for an express to Port Royal.

A Council of war on board the "Deptford" on the 17th of May decided the plan of attack. An order was passed that Col. Appleton with about three hundred and twenty men, comprising his own company and five others and Capt. Freeman's company of Indians, should land on the north side of the basin of Port Royal, while the Commander-in-chief with the rest of his force landed on the south side. The soldiers landed in the manner agreed upon, but so late in the day and at such distances from the fort that they were obliged at nine o'clock in the evening to take up quarters for the night, without having reached a place suitable for a camp. While on the march, Capt. Freeman's company on the left flank of Appleton's regiment had a warm skirmish with forty or fifty of the enemy but lost no men. Early in the morning of the next day, both regiments moved forward. Appleton's men were ambushed by about sixty of the enemy in a deep gully and lost two men. Pressing on they took

two prisoners and by noon reached a point north of the fort.¹⁷

Five days of skirmishing and marching hither and thither followed. The artillery failed to co-operate. The Commander-in-chief, though personally brave, proved wholly inadequate to the grave responsibilities devolving upon him. General despondency and distrust in their leaders prevailed in the camp and at a Court Martial convened on the 31st of June, it was decided that the attempt on the fort should be abandoned. The fleet returned to Casco and while lying there, Col. Francis Wainwright wrote to the Governor, under date of June 17, 1707:

I hope the Gentlemen we sent are waiting upon y^r Excell^y, an acc^{ott} of our proceeding at Port Royall and the state of that place w^{ch} will be without doubt far Different To the acc^{ott} given by that *Impudent Lying Hill*.¹⁸ and will make such a discovery of Truth to y^r Excell^y and the General Court as Really to Beleeve (by a good Reinforcement of five hundred good efficient men, provision and ammuniti^{on}, etc.) that by a long Seige we might Reduce the Fort To very great distress and if we Beseag^e it long Enough To surrend^r I doubt not.

I must again offer my Opinion, now is the Time or Never. And I had Rather return and use all possible Endeav^{rs} for the Subdueing of them and their Fort, Then to my family whom I love very well.

I am hearty sorry for any Mistakes we have made, And I doubt not but all wise men will call them so rather than Acts of Cowardice.

William Dudley, son of the Governor and Secretary of the expedition, wrote his father of the serious disaffection in the camp, many of the soldiers deserting and the general desire that Col. March should be deposed from chief com-

¹⁷ Acts and Resolves, VIII, Notes p. 715, 716.

¹⁸ Samuel Hill in the sloop "Charity" had been dispatched as a messenger to Gov. Dudley with a report of the failure of the expedition. Acts and Resolves VIII: 716, note.

mand. He commented tartly on Col. Appleton's reputed ambition for a higher command and reflected upon his courage in action.¹⁹ In another letter, he represented that Col. Wainwright was "much concerned that he should be rendered a Coward," and in his behalf, asked the Governor to send two Frenchmen (prisoners) to Ipswich, "as soon as may be . . . to help his husbandry forward."²⁰

A part of Capt. Perkins's company had been released on July 16, 1707: John Goodhue, John Whipple, Joseph Killam, Samuel Lamson, Daniel Dane, Francis Quarles, Joseph Bowles, John Stockwell, Samuel Fraile, Timothy Knowlton, Samuel Hassen, John Haskell, John Pulsifer, Jonathan Young, William Thomson, Sen., William Thompson, Jr. and John Smith.²¹ The names of Hassen, Haskell, Pulsifer, Young and the two Thomsons do not appear in the original roll.

Orders were sent to Col. March to return to Port Royal but the chief command was transferred to three Commissioners, Col. Elisha Hutchinson, Col. Penn Townsend and John Leverett, Esq., who sailed at once. They joined the expedition at Passamaquoddy and at once superseded Col. March by Col. Wainwright, as General in command. They arrived on the 10th of August and several sharp skirmishes followed, in which the French had the advantage. Discouragement and insubordination again prevailed.

Col. Wainwright wrote the Commissioners on Aug. 15, 1707,²² reporting lack of ammunition, the departure of many sickly and unserviceable soldiers, the need of axes "to cutt down the house frames w^{ch} will not burn," and concluding:

"This very minute Col^o. Wantons Comp^a under y^e Command of Lt. Cudworth: were all drawn up, fitt for a march To desert. I went Immediately to y^e Lt. and ask^t if he intended to head them Deserters, he Told mee no: I Resolu^d

¹⁹ Mass. Archives, 51: 164, 165.

²⁰ Mass. Archives, 51: 169.

²¹ Felt, *History of Ipswich*, Appendix, p. 325.

²² Mass. Archives, 51: 170.

and told them if any man Moue^d one step in that nature I would shoot them down. I also Immediately sent Capt. Dimmick & Comp^a to bring them in, and To Take away their Arm^s. Accordingly they Came and after an admonition, they promised *unum et omnes* to be obedient and doe the best service they can I am yo^r humble servant,
Francis Wainwright.

The French received reinforcements and became more aggressive; the Indian allies grew intractable and insolent; dysentery and "mighty swellings in their throats" weakened the soldiers. "In fine" Wainwright wrote, "most of the forces are in a distressed state, some in body and some in mind; and the longer they are kept here on the cold ground, the longer [?] it will grow upon them, and I fear the further we proceed the worse the event. God help us."

On August 21st the ships weighed anchor and in a few days sailed for home. Sixteen men had been killed and as many more wounded.²³ The results of the expedition were so unsatisfactory that a Court Martial was ordered but it never convened.

One distressing event of midsummer, in the year 1708, caused general alarm and grief. On a Sabbath morning, August 29th, Haverhill was attacked again by the Indians. Captain Samuel Wainwright, Capt. Simon Wainwright and Lieut. John Johnson were slain with thirteen others, including the minister, Rev. Benjamin Rolfe, his wife, Mehitable, and baby Mehitable, two years and seven days old. The grave stones in the old Burying Ground tell the sad tale.

A third expedition against Port Royal was decided upon early in 1710. Capt. Matthew Perkins commanded a company of which George Hart was Ensign. The Ipswich sloop, "Hopewell," 55 tons, John Chadwell, Commander, was included among the transports, conveying Capt. Perkins and his company of 60 men.²⁴ Capt. Beamsley Perkins of Ips-

²³ Acts and Resolves, VIII: 743-745.

²⁴ Mass. Archives, 71: 622, 71: 625 gives Samuel Chadwell, Master of the "Hopewell."

wich had commanded the sloop "Marlborough", one of the vessels of war which guarded the coast in the fall of 1709.²⁵ He now commanded Her Maj. frigate "Despatch," which was used as an hospital ship on the Port Royal expedition, and Abraham Perkins was one of the sailors.²⁶ The fleet sailed on Sept. 18th and captured Port Royal without difficulty on Oct. 1st. Corporal William Quarles and Ebenezer Knowlton, both of Ipswich, served in this expedition.²⁷ The muster rolls which remain omit the names of the hardy and brave men who served in the ranks. The few names which are known were preserved by chance.

In the year 1711, a campaign against Quebec was projected, as it was evident that the reign of terror along the whole frontier would not cease until the French stronghold should pass into the hands of the English. A formidable fleet with a large force of land troops came from England and fifteen hundred provincials were embarked in Boston. Fogs and storms were encountered in the River St. Lawrence. Ten ships went on the rocks, nine hundred lives were lost, and the remnant of the powerful expedition returned in haste without having struck a blow.

Nicholas Woodbury of Ipswich presented a petition to the General Court in 1720, certifying that in November, 1711, he was impressed into the service and sent to the Eastward under Capt. Herman. He served until the following April, when he was captured by the Indians at Wells and carried to Canada, where he remained a captive for nine years, finally securing his release by paying £32 ransom. He received £60 for his expense and injuries which permanently disabled him.²⁸ Philip Amy and David Burnham of Ipswich and James Emery were in the same service.²⁹

The Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 closed the war. By this instrument, France ceded to England Nova Scotia and New-

²⁵ Acts and Resolves, IX: 95.

²⁶ Mass. Archives, 63: 184, 190.

²⁷ Mass. Archives, 71: 603.

²⁸ Acts and Resolves, X: 46.

²⁹ Acts and Resolves, X: 152.

foundland but the privilege of drying fish on the coast from Buena Vista to Cape Riche was reserved.

It brought little relief to the people of Ipswich and the frontier towns. The French soon gathered strength and denied that the cession of Acadia included more than the extreme eastern end of Nova Scotia, though it was understood that it included the Maine coast as well.⁸⁰ Hostilities in Maine began again in 1719. The painful and disheartening task of recruiting and impressing soldiers and sending them forward was again necessary and many quiet homes were filled with anxiety and dread. Col. John Appleton presented his accounts for billeting soldiers in Sept. 1721,⁸¹ and again in November, 1723.⁸² Col John Denison's account for soldiers impressed in June was settled in Dec. 1723.⁸³

Captain Daniel Epes received his orders in August, 1723.

Having drawn forth the Troop of Horse under y^r Command & taken effectual care that they may be well mounted, arm'd and furnished with sufficient ammunition agreeable to orders received from y^r Colonel, you are required without any delay to move with your whole troop to the Fronters & guard the Towns of Amesbury, Haverhill, Dracut and Dunstable on the east side of the Merrimack river, the space of fourteen days and until you be relieved by Capt. [Matthew Whipple's]⁸⁴ Troop.

Divide your Troop into such Parties as you shall find most Convenient & as ye defence of those Towns shall demand & so as to have the whole body together upon any Emergency. Give me & also your Col. [Appleton] (—) immediate notice of the day of your entering upon Duty, Your Officers & Soldiers must subsist themselves & they will be allowed for it out of the Publick Treasury & likewise wages for their Service. I expect you be very faithful & Diligent in the

⁸⁰ Channing, History of the United States, Vol. II, p. 544.

⁸¹ Acts and Resolves, X: 137.

⁸² Acts and Resolves, X: 226.

⁸³ Acts and Resolves, X: 386.

⁸⁴ This and a later erasure are in the original order, Mass. Archives, 72: 111.

performance of this Duty that so no Disaster may befall the Inhabitants by Your neglect, hereof fail not.

You are to give an acct from Time to Time of the Marches you make & of everything y^t happens therein.

Y^r Servant,

W^m. Dummer.

Boston, Aug. 29: 1723.

Captain Epes owned and occupied the great Castle Hill farm and his enforced absence at this time of year was particularly inconvenient. We can appreciate the spirit of his letter in reply to the Governor's.

Honrd Sir. These are to inform your Hon^r That I receiv'd your Orders dated Sept. 13, sent p^r Mr. Ames last night in which your commands are that I shall still stay In the service until your further orders; whose commands I am allwayes with cheerfulness, Ready to Obey as far as I am capable of.

But praying at this Time your Hon^{rs} compassion on our Troop the most of my men have verry bad coulds some y^e feav^r and ague their Victuals and provisions all gone and spent the fourteen days being out and compleated according to your hon^{rs} order Therefore with submission pray your Honors favor in sending another Troop as soon as possible for our Relief for they will be fresh men and Bring Their own provision as we did, and pray sir please to lett us go home to the harviest being allmost all country men, or els we cannot subsist and after that I shall be willing to come again when your honor shall be pleased to command me. Sir I have been as serviceable as I think possibly I could in garding the Towns I had the care of as p^r my Journall will appear nothing more at present.

Remain your hon^{rs} most obedient serv^t.

Daniel Epes.

Haverhill, Sept. 16: 1723.

per corporill Bown by whome I hope to hear good news from y^r Hon^r.

To Hon. W^m. Dummer, Gov. In Boston.

The sum of £185 4s was voted to Capt. Epes on account of

wages and expenses, from Sept. 2 to Sept. 23.⁸⁵ Major Matthew Whipple's Troop was on duty from Sept. 16th to Sept. 30th.⁸⁶

The valuable fishing industry along the coast of Nova Scotia was greatly injured by the frequent attacks of the Indians upon the vessels. A petition to the General Court, June, 1723, of a considerable number of persons in Salem, Marblehead and other towns in the County of Essex, engaged in this business, declared that many of their vessels were taken by the Indians on the coast of Nova Scotia in the summer of 1722 and several of their men murdered in barbarous fashion. They prayed the Court to send out a vessel, well equipped and manned with thirty-five good men, to patrol the fishing grounds from the Isles of Shoals to Cape Sambre, to guard the fishermen the coming summer.⁸⁷ The sloop "Endeavor" performed this service from June 15th to Oct. 2nd, 1723.⁸⁸

Ipswich fishermen along this coast suffered severely. The story of the attack on Lieut. Tilton was told in verse by an unknown rhymester and published in "The New England Courant" of Dec. 17, 1722.⁸⁹ The narrative is so vivid, that it deserves a permanent place in our annals.

"TRAGICK SCENE"

A Brief Narrative or Poem Giving an Account of the Hostile Actions of some Pagan Indians towards Lieutenant Jacob Tilton, and his brother Daniel Tilton, both of the town of Ipswich, as they were on board of a small vessel at the Eastward; which happened in the summer time in the year 1722. With an Account of Valiant Exploits of the said Tiltons and their victori-Conquest over their insulting enemies.

Down at an eastward harbcur call'd Fox Bay,
They in a Schooner at an anchor lay.

⁸⁵ Acts and Resolves, X: 390.

⁸⁶ Acts and Resolves, X: 391.

⁸⁷ Acts and Resolves, X: 290.

⁸⁸ Acts and Resolves, X: 372.

⁸⁹ Ipswich Antiquarian Papers, May, 1880.

It was upon the fourteenth day of June,
 Six stout great Indians in the afternoon
 In two Canoes on board said Schooner came,
 With painted Faces in a churlish frame;
 One of them call'd *Penobscot* Governor,
 The other Captain *Sam*, a surly cur,
 The other four great Indians strong and stout
 Which for their ill design they had picked out.
 Said Governor and Sam with one more went
 Down in the forecastle bold and insolent;
 Unto Lieutenant Tilton they apply'd
 Themselves, and down they sat one at each side;
 The other plac'd himself behind his back,
 Waiting the other's motion when to act.

INDIAN.

What's matter Governor my men detain
 And no send hostage home to me again?
 What's matter he no good, but all one Devil?
 What! no love Indian! Governor no civil.
Penobscot Indian Governor great Man.
 All one Governor Shute,—says Captain Sam.

TILTON.

Great while since we from Boston hither came,
 We poor fishermen are not to blame.

INDIAN.

Your Boston Governor no good me see;
 Our Governor much better man than he.

These Cannibals thus in their Indian pride
 The best of Governor's scorn and deride.
 But they at length to hasten their design,
 From underneath their Blanket pull'd a line
 With which his Arms they would have compass'd round,
 But he so strong and nimble was not bound
 Till he got out the Cuddy door at last,
 Before they had obtained to bind him fast.
 These Cannibals being both strong and bold
 And upon him kept fast their Indian hold:
 They got him down with their much struggling,
 And bound his arms behind him with their string.

The other three which kept above the deck,
 Also had their design brought to effect.
 Looking about him presently he found
 They had his brother *Daniel* also bound;
 For they with him had acted even so,
 One at each side and one behind did go,
 And down they sat, he not aware of harm,
 The rogue behind him fasten'd on each arm,
 And twitch'd them back; the other two with line
 Him pinioned: so thus they were confined.
 They ty'd said Daniel's legs he could not stand,
 Nor help himself neither with foot nor hand.
 They struck them many blows on face and head,
 And their long Indian knives they flourished:
 Triumphant over them and saying, Why!
 You so stout man that you no Quarter cry?

TILTON.

What Indian mean to act so in this thing,
 Now Peace between the English and French King.

INDIAN.

Hah! no: me war, your Governor no good,
 He no love Indians me understood.

TILTON.

What ails you now, you sturdy Captain Sam,
 Do Indian now intend to kill and cram?

INDIAN.

We Governor Shute's men kill and take,
 Penobscot (All one) Boston Prison make.
 You English men our Indian land enjoy
 They no surrender, then we them destroy.
 Indian bimeby take Captain Westbrook's fort,
 Some kill, some captive take; that matchet sport.

On board them a young lad, and not confin'd
 They made him hoist the anchor to their mind.
 Then admiral of this same harbor rid,
 In mighty triumph none could them forbid.
 So two of these black rogues in their canoes,
 On Shore they go to carry back the news:

So was but four of them on board remain'd
Of whom this favour Daniel then obtained
For to unty his legs and ease his hand,
That he might have them something at command.
After which thing he presently contrives
What method then to take to save their lives,
While they were plundering so busily.
He saw a splitting knife that was near by,
To which he goes and turns his back about,
Eyeing them well, lest they should find him out;
And so he works said knife into his hand,
With which he cuts his line, but still doth stand.
Although two of said Indians him Eye'd
They did not know but he remain'd fast ty'd.
Two of said Indians were plundering,
Down the forecastle while he did this thing.
The other two so watchful and so shy,
And on him kept a constant Indian eye,
That he stands still waiting till he could find
A time when they did him not so much mind:
But when for plunder they to searching goes
Then his contrivance presently he shows:
He to his Brother *Jacob* runs with speed,
And cuts his line: now both of them are freed.
The Indians now alarmed hereby,
In Indian language made a hideous cry,
Crying *Chau hau, chau hau*, for they espy'd
That both these Englishmen were got unty'd;
Like roaring Lyons with an ax and knives
Made violent assaults to take their lives;
But God who had determined to save,
Undaunted courage unto them he gave:
That they with such a manly confidence,
Altho unarmed, stood in their own defense;
And tho they had from these blood thirsty hounds
Received many dismal stabs and wounds,
While in their skirmish blood was up and hot,
No more than Flea bites them they minded not.
Said Daniel still retain'd his splitting knife,
Who nimbly ply'd the same and fit for life;
With one hand fended off the Indian blows,
And with the other cross the face and nose

Of Captain Sam, until his pagan head
 Was chop'd and gash'd, and so much mangled;
 Bits of his Indian scalp hung down in strings,
 And blood run pouring thence as out of Springs.
 Jacob said Governor so managed,
 He was so maul'd and beat, that he so bled
 His Indian head and face with blood was dy'd,
 (See what comes of his swelling Indian pride,)
 Of him he catch'd fast hold and up him brings
 Unto the vessel side and overboard him flings.
 Then Daniel presently took Captain Sam,
 And brought his Hand about his Indian ham,
 And to the vessel side he nimbly goes,
 And his black carcass in the water throws.
 Now by this time behold Jacob his brother,
 Of these black rogues had catch'd up another,
 And overboard his Indian carcass sent,
 To scramble in the water as he went.
 Then the said Daniel run the fourth to catch,
 At which the rogue a nimble jump did fetch,
 And over board he goes and swims to shore;
 This only rogue escaped out of four.
 One of the other three he swimm'd part way,
 At length sinks down and there was forced to stay.
 Two of the other rogues with much ado,
 Got out of water into a canoe,
 Which to the Vessel side was fastened,
 Themselves awhile in it they sheltered.
 Said Indians on board had left a gun,
 Unto the same said Jacob Tilton run,
 Catching it up to shoot them it mist fire,
 Which disappointed him of his desire.
 He catching up a stout great setting Pole,
 With all his might he struck them on the Jole,
 Giving them many blows upon the head,
 Over they turns, and sunk like any lead.
 We think our Country now at Peace might rest,
 If all our Indian foes were thus suppress.
 Let God the glory of such conquest have,
 Who can by few as well as many save.
 Then having thus despatched this Indian crew,
 Then presently consulted what to do:

Three more Canoes laden to the brim
With Indians as deep as they could swim,
Come padling down with all their might and main,
Hoping the valient Tilton's to retain.
Daniel, which was both nimble, stout and spry,
He fetch'd an ax, and running presently
He cuts the cable; then they hoist the sail,
Leaving their Neighbours, that they might bewail
Over their Governor who in dispute,
Had termed himself as great as good as Shute.
Before that they had sailed many miles
Their wounds began to be as sore as boils,
From whence the blood run stream'ng thro the cloaths,
Quite from the shoulders down unto their toes,
There they sat down in woful misery,
Expecting every moment when to die;
Not having anything to chear their heart,
Nor dress their wounds to ease them of the smart.
And verily we think had perished
Had not the lad, which has been mentioned,
Been very helpful in this sore distress.
What reason then had they of thankfulness
That God hath spared him from this Indian crew
For to help them when they could nothing do.
After they had from foes escaped thus,
They sailed and came into Mintinnicus,
Nigh twenty four hours if not more,
They were a-coming from the former shore:
Here they among the English find relief,
Who dress their wounds which ease them of their grief.
Their course for Ipswich town they next contrive,
Where in few days their Vessel did arrive:
Through so much danger, misery and pain,
They are returned to their friends again.
Thus have I summed up this tragick scene,
As from their mouths it told to me has been;
No alteration, but in some expressions
Us'd other words: then pardon such digressions
Since I us'd such only for the sake of verse,
Which might not less nor more than truth rehearse,
Your candid servant in this poetrie
Described in letters two

W. G.

The summer of 1724 brought a more startling tragedy. John Wainwright, Esq., one of the most prominent men of Ipswich, Clerk of the General Court for many years, wrote the Governor the full details as soon as the report was received.⁴⁰

Ipswich, July 13: 1724.

May it Please yo^r Honour

Just now arrived a fishing shallop from the Eastward, the skipper whereof appearing before me, made oath to the inclosed Declaration which I thought necessary to Express to your Honour.

The Skipper of the Shallop informs me & I am apt to be of his opinion that there is a great probability of making reprizal of the Shallop the Indians have taken, if not of recovering the men & surprizing some of them, who are at present very bold in enterprizing & boarding the fishing vessells on the Eastward shore. There is a sufficient number of the fishermen & other men & vessels now ready, who are very willing to go with all the dispatch & expedition your Honour may please to order down to the Eastern Shore & who I am fully persuaded will do their utmost to decoy & Surprize the Enemy, if they may have y^r Honours Command & Direction therein.

They may have provisions, ammunitiion etc. as soon as orders are given therefor.

Mr. Eveleth the Bearer is able to give more particular acc^t of the matter than Time will allow to inform yo^r Honour in writing.

I am,

Y^r Hon^{ty} most obed. humble serv.

John Wainwright.

The "Declaration" alluded to in this letter is undoubtedly the same in substance with the following:⁴¹

Sylvanus Lakeman of Ipswich, of lawfull age declares that he was out on a fishing voyage from Ipswich and in company with a fishing shallop on board of which was John Caldwell, skipper, Daniel Rindge Jun^r & some others, and being at anchor a fishing about two or three Leagues South of the

⁴⁰ Mass. Archives, 52: 19.

⁴¹ Mass. Archives, 72: 270.

Seil Islands on the tenth day of July, Anno 1724, about sun an hour high in the morning a schooner laid that John Caldwell, Rindge & others on board being manned with Indians as the Deponent could easily observe, he being not above an hundred rodts or thereabout from the said shallop, and the said Indians did then & there take & Capivate the said John Caldwell, Daniel Rindge Jun^r & others that were on board the said shallop, & immediately cut her cable & made sail after the Deponant but he being Surprized Instantly cut his Cable & got away from the Indians, who pursued him in the schooner & shallop but could not get up, and the Deponant verily believes that the Indians did kill the said Caldwell and Rindge for that no account has been had of them from that day to this as he has heard of.

Silvanus Lakeman.

Ips., May 22: 1727.

Sworn to before John Wainwright.

This sworn statement no doubt accompanied the petition of Martha Rindge in June, 1727, which certified that her late husband Daniel Rindge, while on a fishing voyage with John Caldwell and others at the Seal Islands, near Penobscot Bay, was captured by an Indian privateer schooner and in all probability all were killed.

That the Petitioner is left with several small Children & in poor Circumstances & has now an Opportunity of advancing her Circumstances in many respects by Marriage to one John Wood of Ipswich And for as much as the three Years stated by Law are not fully expired Therefore Praying the License of this Court to intermarry, the said Law Notwithstanding.⁴²

Orders were given to Capt. Durrell of the ship "Sea Horse," to dispatch part of his men in three fishing vessels.⁴³ Mr. Wainwright's suggestion was duly honored as well, and he was authorized to supply Capt. Stephen Perkins and Silvanus Lakeman with provisions and ammunition for their vessels to fit them against the Indians.

⁴² Acts and Resolves, XI: 140. It was granted June 10th.

⁴³ Mass. Archives, 52: 20.

Penhallow⁴⁴ tells the story of the two skippers from New Hampshire with about 40 men in their shallops, who came up with the Indians but were afraid to attack. "However, Dr. Jackson from Kittery and Sylvanus Lakeman from Ipswich with a lesser number gave them chase and fired very smartly with their small arms although the enemy had two great guns and four pateraroes, which cut their shrouds and hindered their pursuit for some time, but being fixed again they followed them with greater resolution and drove them into Penobscot, where a greater body being ready to cover them, he was forced to desist."

Lakeman's account was presented in December and it was voted by the General Court that £65 14s be paid him.⁴⁵

Another petition of similar character was forwarded two months later.⁴⁶

May it please Your Honour.

Lt. Abraham Tilton, the bearer and a Number of men from this Town are Disposed to Scout the Woods above the Frontiers in Quest of the Indians and to Secure the Towns on the Act of Sixty pounds p^r Scalp.

I tho't it proper he should wait on Your Honour for Direction and Subsistance.

I am Your Hon^{ty} most obedient Humble Servt

John Appleton.

Ipswich, Sept^r 15, 1724.

Lieut. Tilton was a younger brother of Lieut. Jacob and Daniel, the heroes of the "Tragick Scene." The possibility of revenge for the indignities they suffered, coupled with the great financial profit from slaughtering his foes, opened an alluring prospect to the doughty Lieutenant. There is no record, however, that his appeal received favorable consideration. John Fillmore, another Ipswich man, gained much credit in the same year for the valorous part he had in capturing a pirate crew and their vessel and bringing them to Bos-

⁴⁴ Indian Wars.

⁴⁵ Acts and Resolves, X: 556.

⁴⁶ Mass. Archives, 52: 47.

ton.⁴⁷ He is said to have been the great grandfather of Millard Fillmore, President of the United States.

Col. John Appleton presented an account for billeting soldiers, impressed in His Majesty's service in Dec. 1724⁴⁸ and a later account in the following June.⁴⁹ The prevalent discouragement arising from these repeated calls for men is reflected in his letter⁵⁰ of June 23^d.

Ipsw^c June 23^d, 1725.

May it Pleas Yr Hon^r

You^r Hon^r Order came to my hand on Tuesday, y^e 22th, the 23th they march^d Capt. Joseph Golds Comand^r a full Troop to the Eastward according to y^e Hon^r order.

The Troop in y^e Regiment of Late do not consist more than 40 Men besides theire Officers considering the difficulty & dang^r of their Marching in the Estward parts. I have taken out of Ipswich & Rowley Troop to make him a full Troop to y^e numb. of six^{ty} men, they are all likely men & are well fitted & goe out wth good Courage if I have transgress^d I pray that yo^r Hon^r would signify it to me, I had no ord^r to subsist the men: I ordered every man to take 3 or 4 days provision to carry them to Wells; & I assured them it would be allowed as heretofore.

I am Y^r Hon^r most humble Servant

John Appleton.

Happily relief was at hand. John Stoddard and John Wainwright were appointed Commissioners to treat with the Penobscot Indians and secure their allegiance to the English.⁵¹ They went to St. George's River and found the Indians, freed from French influence by the death of Sebastian Rasle, ready to negotiate. An agreement was arrived at in July, and was ratified by Penobscot chiefs who came to Boston, where a formal treaty of peace was settled between the Eastern Indians and the English inhabitants of New England and Nova Scotia, in December, 1725. For nearly twenty years thereafter, New England was little disturbed by Indian attacks.

⁴⁷ Drake's History of Boston.

⁴⁸ Acts and Resolves, X: 543.

⁴⁹ Acts and Resolves, X: 728.

⁵⁰ Mass. Archives 52: 207.

⁵¹ Mass. Archives, 52: 210¼, 217, 220.

CHAPTER III.

SOME GREAT FUNERALS

Judge Sewall's Diary, under date of August 3^d, 1711, bears the mournful entry:

Col. Francis Wainwright dies at his own house in Ipswich. Left Salem for his last July 25, the day before his first apointed wedding day, which Appointment was remov'd to the last of July. He was taken sick at Ipswich on the Lord's Day, July 29 and died on the Friday following at 10 m., his Bride being with him. 'Tis the most compleat and surprising Disappointment that I have been acquainted with. Wedding Cloathes to a Neck cloth and Night cap laid ready in the Bride's Chamber, with the Bride's Attire. Great Provision made for Entertainment. Guests several came from Boston and entertained at Mr. Hirst's, but no Bridegroom, no Wedding. He was laid in a new Tomb of his own making lately and his dead wife taken out of another and laid with him.

Tuesday, Aug. 7. Bearers. John Appleton, Esq. Col. John Higginson, Esq. Daniel Epes, Esq. Stephen Sewall, Esq. Lt. Col. Savage and Mr. Daniel Rogers, Mrs. Betty Hirst, the Bride was principal Mourner.

Col. Wainwright had attained distinguished honors. He was born on Aug. 25, 1664, was graduated at Harvard in 1686, married Sarah Whipple, March 12, 1686-7, who had died in her 38th year, on March 16, 1709-10. He was Colonel of a Regiment, a member of the Artillery Company, Feoffee of the Grammar School, Representative to the General Court, Commissioner of Excise for Essex and Justice of the General Sessions Court. He was stricken, appar-

ently while in full health and strength, at the family mansion, on Sunday, July 29th.

On Thursday, Aug. 2, he made his will, in which he made bequests.

To y^e church of Ipswich y^e sum of five pounds money to be Layd In a peice of plate for y^e Lord's table.

To Mrs. Eliza. Hirst of Salem, with whom I had contracted for Marriage, for y^e Love I bare to her, y^e sum of one hundred pounds money.

To my kinswoman, Mrs. Mary Whipple, who hath been kind to me in health and sickness, y^e sum of Ten pounds.

To y^e Reverend Mr. Jo. Rogers, min^r, y^e sum of five pounds.

To y^e Rev^d Mr. Jabez Fitch, the sum of Ten pounds.

To my loving & good friend Dan^l Rogers, school-master, five pounds.

I will and desire my mother Epes may have a mourning sute given by my executors att my funeral.

As he had already given 250£ to his daughter Sarah on the occasion of her marriage to Stephen Minot of Boston, he gave the same sum to his daughters Elizabeth and Lucy. He appointed his "loving brother, Capt. John Whipple,"¹ and his son-in-law, Stephen Minot, his executors.

Judge Sewall has recorded the stately company of pall bearers at the funeral on August 7th, Tuesday of the following week. Judge John Appleton and Daniel Rogers, the school master, neighbors and friends and Captain Daniel Epes of the Castle Hill Farm, a Justice of the Court, represented the Town, which was so deeply afflicted in his death. Judges Sewall and Higginson and Col. Savage gave further distinction, as representatives of the judiciary and the military. But it remains for the carefully preserved accounts of the administrator, Mr. Minot, to reveal the extraordinary pomp and parade of that ancient funeral.

In accordance with the usage of the times, funeral rings,

¹ His sister Sarah was Col. Wainwright's first wife.

scarfs and gloves were provided for the mourners, but Captain Minot made most extraordinary and lavish expenditure. The Ipswich merchants and tailors were disregarded, as wholly incompetent to provide fitting accompaniments for so grand an occasion, and orders were given broadcast to the foremost tradesmen and artificers of Boston.

Ebenezer Wentworth received orders for
 2 sup. fine hats at 40/ each, 2 common hats at 18/ each,
 9 dozen gloves and a mourning gown delivered Mr. Minot,
 the whole order amounting to £15- 7- 6

Ezekiel Lewis provided
 6 doz. mens white and colored gloves @ 30/ = £9- 0- 0
 4 doz. womens white and colored gloves @ 30/ = £6- 0- 0
 9 mourning fans @ 4/ 1-16- 0

Benjamin Walker's bill indicates gloves of finer quality for the inner circle of mourners:

6 yds. $\frac{3}{8}$ fine black broadcloth	£8- 5- 9
12 yds. mourning crape @ 4/	2-10- 0
1 doz. men's sattin topt gloves	2-12- 0
1 doz women's sattin topt gloves	2-12- 0
6 pr. women's loyned Shammy	2-11- 0
a total account for the funeral of	£26- 1- 7

From Peter Cutler came an account for

1 ps. Cloth Rash	£8 5- 0
7 $\frac{1}{2}$ yds. fine muslin @ 12/, 3 hatts @ 8/	5-14- 0
3 pr. black shammy gloves 8/, 1 pr. black hose	2-14- 0
	<hr/>
	16-13- 0

Oliver Noyes furnished

6 $\frac{1}{2}$ yds. black queen's cloath @ 40/	13- 0- 0
7 yds. black queen's cloath	14- 0- 0
7 $\frac{1}{2}$ yds. black queen's cloath	15- 0- 0
sundry silk laces & ferret 11/12	11-12
	<hr/>
	42-11-12

From the shop of merchant Andrew Faneuil came 35¼
ells of Lute-string @ 10/6 18-10- 1

The items of Col. Thomas Savage's bill indicate a carte
blanche order for his finest goods:

20 yds. fine bro. cloath @ 27/	27- 0- 0
24 yds. fine durange	3-19- 0
3 doz. best new fash coat buttons	6- 0
5 doz. breast ditto	3- 4
5 yds. white fustian	12- 6
black cloth to Walker's boy	6
14 yds. best Lute string @ 9/8	7- 2- 0
38 yds. black Sallopeen @ 5/6	10- 9- 0
21½ yds. shalloon @ 4/	8- 6
13 yds. finest shalloon 4/	2-12- 0
6 yds ½ garlix 2/	13- 0
3 doz. coat buttons	6- 0
5 pr. superfine hose @ 14/	3-10- 0
12 yds. catgut gauze ¾	2- 0- 0
18 yds. black cloath	3- 6- 0
1 pr. boys gloves for W ^m Alden	2- 6
3 yds. broad Love ribbind	6- 0
2 yds broad cadex	0- 6
4 yds. broad Italian crape	1-12- 0
½ yd. durance at 3/	1- 6
25 yds. black & w ^e silk crape @ 2/6	3- 2- 6
36 yds. allamode 5/3	9- 9- 0
	<hr/>
	85- 9- 2

The tailors and dressmakers of Boston must have been hard pressed to fashion all this broadcloth and durance or durange, a stout cloth made in imitation of buff leather, the fustian and the worsted fabric called shalloon into men's garments, and the lute-string and crape and ribbons into mourning garb for the daughters and the bride elect. Dame Bridget Pead presented her account.

for y^e funeral, making 3 suits of morning @ 10/ 1-10-

George Shore's bill for "making a Black suit of Cloathes 1-10- 0; Coat Colning 2/6 breaches puffs 2/6 buckram 2/6" was 1-18- 9.

It seems needless extravagance that Captain Whipple should have needed the art of a Boston tailor to provide his mourning garb but Peter Barber's account was:

To making a black cloath coat and west cott and	
breeches for Capt John Whipple	1-15- 0
washe leather pockets for y ^e breaches	4-
	<hr/>
	1-19- 0

Most melancholy of all was the bill which was rendered by John Cotta.

"sundrys for your wedding clothes," which Sewall says were displayed in the Bride-chamber.

1711

July 23. To making a Coate Jacket & breaches of	
Cloath loop'd w th goold & wrought in vellome	2-12- 0
14 yds. durance @ 3/	2- 2-
5½ yds. white fustian @ 2/8 pockets ^s	17- 8
3 doz & 1 coat buttons at 24/ doz.	3-14- 0
4 doz. & 1 breast buttons at 6/ doz. silk 7/6	1-12- 0
¾ oz. goold thread at 13/ oz.	1- 2- 9
⅞ yd. goold lace at 20/ yd. and wodding 2/6	1- 0- 0
Making a coat of black cloath 20/	1- 0- 0
making 2 jackets & breaches of hol ^d loopt	1-12- 0
11½ yds holland at 5/ yd., 5½ yds Linnen 3 2/9	3-17- 7
6 doz. buttons at 8/ oz., thread etc.	8-
	<hr/>
	27- 8- 7

Thomas Selby provided

"a light coll^d Compigne Perrewig" at a cost of £6-10-00. The order for the gold rings may have been too large for any one goldsmith, so it was divided among three craftsmen.

Edward Winslow provided :

18 gold rings, 1 oz. 13 dwt. 12 gr.	10- 8-10
making and wast at 2/6 per ring	2- 5-10
to the half making 12 more damage	12- 0
	<hr/>
	13- 5- 0

John Coney's bill for twelve and the "fashioning" was £9-14- 6 and Shubael Dummer's bill for a similar number was £8- 7- 6.

These mourning rings, usually enamelled in black or black and white, and decorated sometimes with a death's head or a framed lock of hair, upon which the initials of the deceased were engraved or "fashioned", were given at funerals to near relatives and persons of note in the community.

Henry Sharpe furnished

ye Hatchment & Scutcheons for funerall	
1 hatchm ^t of armes	3-10- 0
y ^e freem and cloth	1- 8- 0
26 Escutcheons att 3/6	4-11- 0
10 yards of buckram 3/	1-10- 0
	<hr/>
	10-19- 0

This was the most pretentious equipment of all. The hatchment consisted of canvas stretched upon a square black frame, placed with one of its corners uppermost and bearing the coat of arms of the deceased. It was placed in front of the house at a funeral or attached to a hearse. On this occasion, as the body was borne on a bier, it was given a conspicuous place, probably before the house. Escutcheons were attached sometimes to the livery of the horses or perhaps to the pall. These twenty-six escutcheons all found conspicuous place. John Roberts, the Boston undertaker furnished the "paule" at an expense of twelve shillings and

had three pounds and thirteen shillings for his services and expenses. Presumably the account for the pall was for rental only, as it was usually of heavy purple or black broad-cloth, and was often owned by the Town. The pall-bearers held it by the corners or sides, and the actual carrying of the body was often performed by young and vigorous men.

The custom of prayers at funerals was gaining ground in the beginning of the eighteenth century and Mr. Rogers and Mr. Fitch, the ministers, may have had a funeral service. Then the stately procession formed and the spacious High Street was filled with a curious crowd of town's folk and from all the country round to see the imposing array of pall bearers, with their hat bands and scarfs of crape, the principal mourner, Mrs. Hirst, in her weeds of woe, the afflicted family and the long line of relatives and friends, and not least, John Roberts, master of ceremonies, bringing the last touch of Boston display. At the grave, Judge Sewall or one of the ministers may have pronounced a brief eulogy. The place of burial is marked with a flat stone, with the simple inscription

Here lies entombed the body of Colonel Francis
Wainwright, Esq., who died August y^e 3, 1711.

Aetatis 47.

And his virtuous consort, Mrs. Sarah Wain-
wright, who died March y^e 16, 1709. Aetatis 38.

With three of their youngest children, John,
Francis & John, who died in their infancy.

The total funeral charges as they were grouped by Mr. Minot, amounted to £415-18- 4. The real estate was inventoried at £1914, the personal £4132- 5- 1, including the negro Mexey, valued at £40. Large as this outlay was, it was surpassed by the executors of Capt. Daniel Ringe, a soldier in the Indian wars in his young days and a prominent citizen, though he never attained such place and dignity as Col.

Wainwright. He died on November 30, 1738, at the age of 80 or 84, in different records.

He owned a farm in the Hamlet and a homestead on the Turkey Shore Road, adjoining the old Howard mansion, now owned by Prof. Arthur W. Dow. The total inventory of his estate was £1679-15- 6. His daughter, Hannah, married Capt. Thomas Staniford, int. Dec. 27, 1707 and Mary married Major Ammi Ruhamah Wise, int. 21: 1m, 1713. Major Ammi Wise and his brother Daniel were merchants and the furnishings for the funeral of the aged father-in-law opened a golden opportunity for their business. The funeral charge, due from the estate, indicates how well the opportunity was improved. It included many interesting items:

7 yds. Broadcloth a £3- 5- 0	22-15- 0
56 yds. silk crape @ 11/	30-16- 0
4½ yds silk crape @6/6	1- 9- 0
24 yds silk crape @ 8/	9-12- 0
24½ lace a 16/	17- 0- 0
24½ yds lace a 16/	17- 0- 0
5/8 yd. Broadcloth for shoes	2- 0- 8
38½ yds. of Cypress @ 9/	17- 6- 6
16 yds. Hat crape @ 6/6	5- 4- 0
4 handkerchief @ 16/	3- 4- 0
4 yd. cyprus sent Mrs. Hart	1-16- 0
3 pr. men's hose @ 30/	4-10- 0
3 pr. women's hose @ 35/	5- 5- 0
To velvet for the cape of a coat	2- 2- 6
10 yds. alamode @ 18/	9- 9- 0
16 yds. Padusoye for y ^e w ^o @ 40/	32- 0- 0
the Widow's Apron	2- 0- 0
1 pr. silk gloves	1- 6- 0
9 yds. Drug ^t @ 25/	11- 5- 0
3½ yds. Drug ^t @ 10/	1-15- 0
9 yds. calamanco for w ^o 8/	3-12- 0
14 pr. black gloves @ 9/	6- 6- 0
73 pr. w ^t glov ^s 7/	26- 5- 0
Jacob Hurd the rings	14- 6- 0

There were material and trimmings for suits for the men, costing £17-18-10 for Capt. Staniford; £30- 9- 2 for Ammi Wise and Jn^o Wise, his seventeen year old son; 12 yds. of crape for Thomas Staniford's wife, 4-16- 0; 12 yds. for Mrs. Crompton, 4-16- 0; and the Ipswich tailors had busy times in the making and good prices for their work.

Eben Smith	17-14- 0
Robert Potter	2- 0- 0
Robert Holmes	2-15- 0
Nath. Smith	3- 2- 0
Mrs. Sutton	0-15- 0
Mrs. Rust	12- 0
Shoemaker	3- 0- 0
The total charge was	29-18- 0

Sixteen gallons of wine were provided at an expense of £8-16- 0. Here again the mourning outfits included everything from the long crape bands for men's hats and the cypress for women's hoods, to shoes and stockings. The total account with Major Ammi Wise and Daniel, who administered, was £420-13-11, a full quarter of the estate.

The custom of extravagant display had reached absurd excess. For the funeral of Gov. Burnet in Sept. 1729, the General Court ordered mourning clothes for his children, servants and slaves, funeral trappings for coach and horses, and gloves and rings for the members of the Council, Judges, Ministers, military officers and a multitude of others, and an appropriation of £1097-11- 3 was needed to cover it. At the funeral of the wife of Gov. Belcher in 1736, it is said that over a thousand pairs of gloves were given away, and at Andrew Faneuil's, three thousand were distributed.

But public opinion was already against such practices. Judge Sewall notes in 1721 the first public funeral "without scarfs." In 1741, the General Court passed a law that "no Scarves, Gloves (except six pair to the bearers and one pair to each minister of the church or congregation where any

deceased person belongs) Wine, Rum or rings be allowed to be given at any funeral under the penalty of fifty pounds."

In one case at least, this law was enforced. At the Salem Court, on Christmas day, 1753, Jeremiah Lee of Marblehead, "for giving Rings and Gloves more than are allowed by law at the funeral of his father, Samuel Lee," was fined £50, half to be given to Edm. Trowbridge, Esq., the informer and the other half to the poor of Marblehead.

Gradually this costly display disappeared and the funeral expense involved only a fine mourning dress for the widow. As late as May, 1760 however, Andrew Burley provided for a family funeral

9 pairs men's white gloves	7- 4- 0
5 prs men's black gloves	4- 0- 0
7 prs. women's white gloves	5-12- 0
3 pr. women's black gloves	2- 8- 0
2 yds. crape	1- 5- 0
1½ yds. Rib ^d , 1 yd. ferrit	12- 2
4 pr. Butt ^a	8- 0
buckles	7- 6

Mrs. Hannah Burrill relict of Hon. Theophilus Burrill and sister of Pres. Holyoke of Harvard College, died in Cambridge in November, 1764. The Boston Evening Post of November 26, contained the item:

Her remains were interred last Thursday, without the expense of mourning apparel, agreeable to the laudable method now practised in Boston. As this is the first example of the kind in that Town (Cambridge) and introduced by a Gentleman of so worthy and respectable a Character, we doubt not it will acquire Imitation.

That there was still crying need of reform in the prevailing fashion is evident from a communication to the same Boston newspaper on June 18, 1765.

. Many families in lower orders will save themselves from inevitable ruin and our brethren in the country towns who (in conformity to a foolish custom) have often subjected their farms to pay funeral charges—keeping of dead bodies unburied in the heats of summer for four or five days (which has been often the case) till they have been so putrefied as to become intolerable to all about them, due to this pernicious custom, the mourning (as it is called) not being ready for the funeral the practice too frequent for taylors and others to work all Saturday night and sometimes in the next morning, to get mourning ready.

Nathan Bowen of Marblehead noted in his Journal:

1765, Jan. 8: Capt. Curtis's wife interred in the new mode without mourning to the approbation and applause of all persons who attended viz. the principal gentlemen of the town and many others. And it is hoped the mode will prevail in town to the saving of thousands per annum.

Extravagant and needless expenditure still occurred as late as 1785, when a large number of the citizens of Newburyport signed a mutual agreement² to adopt more modest mourning and abolish vain display.

We, the subscribers, taking into consideration that the extravagant use of mourning and the great and unnecessary expense often laid out at funerals are not only one great mean of draining our country of its money, encouraging the importation of unnecessary foreign manufactures, but also the impoverishment, sometimes ruin, of private families: do hereby solemnly agree and promise to and with each other, that as soon as fifty heads of families in this town shall have signed this agreement, we will not wear nor suffer to be worn by any of our families at the funeral of any of our relations or friends, any other mourning dress than a black Crape or Robbin on our arm or hat, for gentlemen and a black plain Bonnet, Gloves or Mitts, Robbin and Neck-lace for ladies:— That we will not give Gloves, Scarfs or

² Salem Gazette, August 24, 1785.

Rings at funerals, nor use any coffins, not made of wood of the growth of some of the United States. We will not assist or attend and that none of our families shall attend at any funeral where this agreement is not observed in all parts and according to the true spirit thereof complied with

Newburyport, August 3, 1785.

The Town of Boston adopted a by-law^s in 1788, forbidding scarfs, gloves or rings at any funeral, "nor shall any wine, rum or other spirituous liquor be allowed or given at or immediately after or before" under penalty of 20 shillings fine.

Ipswich, no doubt, shared in this reform and by the end of the century, modest and becoming mourning, and simple funerals were the universal custom.

^s Salem Mercury, May, 1788.

CHAPTER IV.

INNS AND INN KEEPERS AND THE TRAFFIC IN STRONG DRINK

The inn or ordinary had a large place in the community in the early days. Travellers made their slow journeys on horseback and a lodging place for man and beast was necessary at frequent intervals. The social usages of the time required a common tap-room, well warmed and lighted, where the gossip of the day might be retailed over the pipe and glass. Provision must be made for the sitting of the Courts and the entertainment of the magistrates and the ordinary met this public need for many years. The Sabbath congregation, chilled to the marrow by the long morning service in the cold meeting-house, gladly hastened to the inn to enjoy its good cheer until the hour of afternoon service. Committees of the Town and men of business resorted thither to discuss their affairs.

From the beginning a serious effort was made by the Court of Assistants to secure the orderly conduct of public houses and to control the sale of intoxicating drinks. No one might presume to put out his sign and open his doors without a license, nor could the shopkeeper retail his liquors without similar authority. Robert Roberts was licensed to sell in Ipswich by the Court of the Assistants in 1635. Goodman Firman and Goodman Treadwell received licenses in 1639 and Richard Lumpkin had then opened his ordinary on "Damon's Corner," as it is now known, and his widow furnished supplies for the soldiers who marched against the Indians in 1643.

Evidences of disorder in the inns soon appear. In 1647, the Court of Assistants forbade the game of shuffle or shovel-board at houses of public entertainment, "whereby much precious time is spent unfruitfully & much wast of wine & beare occasioned thereby." This law was passed "upon complaint of great disorder y^t hath been observed & is like further to increase." At the same session, however, the Court illustrated the wise and rightful use of these commodities, as it judged, by ordering twelve gallons of sack and six gallons of white wine to be sent "as a small testimony of y^e Corts respect to y^t revrend assembly of elders at Cambridge."

Again in 1653, the Court dealt severely with the loose manners of the time and with the dangerous beguilements of the inn.

Upon information of soundry abuses and misdemeanors, comitted by soundry persons on the Lord's day, not only by childrens playing in the streets and other places, but by youths mayds and other persons both strangers and others uncivily walking the streete and fields travailing from towne to towne going on shipboard, frequenting common houses and other places to drinck sport & otherwise to misspend that pretjous time which things tend much to the dishonor of God, the reproach of religion, greiving the souls of God's servants and the prophanatjon of the holy Sabboath.

It was therefore ordered:

that no children, youths, majds or other persons shall transgresse in the like kind on poenaltje of being reputed greate provokers of the high displeasure of Almighty God and further incurring the poenaltje heerafter expressed namely that the parents and governors of all children about seven years old (not that we aproove younger children in evill) for the first offence in that kind shall be admonished, for a second offence shall pay as a fine 5s. and for a third 10s. etc.

This law is to be transcribed by the constable of each towne and posted uppon the meeting house doore, there to remajn the space of one month at least.

But the evil was not abated and in October, 1658, the Court again voiced its abhorrence of these transgressions.

Whereas by too sad experience it is observed the sunn being set both every Saturday & on the Lords day, young people & others take liberty to walk & sporte themselves in the streets & fields—too frequently repayre to houses of entertanement & there sitt drincking—it was ordered that they be arrested forthwith.

Robert Payne, the Elder of the church, William Bartholomew, the Town Clerk, and Jeremy Belcher received licenses to sell in 1652, but Belcher trifled with the law and in 1658 he petitioned the Court of Assistants, humbly craving the remittance of the fine of 52£ imposed on him by the last Ipswich Court for selling strong water, powder & shot. The Court considering that "the petitioner is a poore & an honest man, not using any such trade," abated the fine to 5£.

Corporal John Andrews of the White Horse Inn on High Street offended the proprieties in 1658 and many of the prominent citizens petitioned¹ the Quarter Sessions Court not to renew his license, as he kept open doors until past nine o'clock and encouraged the young men in drinking and playing unlawful games. There were but two ordinaries in the town at this time, the other being kept presumably by Mr. John Baker, who had received license to draw wine in 1647. Upon "complaint and information of divers strangers for want of needfull and convenient acomodation and entertaynment at the other ordinarye and the intymation of the selectmen of the need of two" license was refused the Corporal and granted to Deacon Moses Pingree, as a discreet and trustworthy person. His dwelling was located on the corner of East and Hovey Streets. John Baker owned and occupied the land on the west corner of East St. and Brook St. or Spring Street.

¹ See Facsimile of petition, etc., in Ipswich, in the Mass. Bay Colony, vol. I, pp. 359, 360.

In 1661, Daniel Ringe, whose dwelling was on the Turkey Shore road, was licensed to keep an ordinary but "not to draw beer above a penny a quart and to provide meate for men & cattell." John Perkins, Andrew Peters and John Whipple were licensed in 1662, the last to sell not less than a quart at a time and none to be drunk in his house. All were bound "not to sell by retail to any but men of family and of good repute nor to sell any after sun sett, and that they shall be ready to give account of what liquors they sell by retail, the quantity, time, and to whom."

Quartermaster John Perkins, finding the business profitable, sought license in 1668, to keep an ordinary. He received permission to open his house and draw wine, but not to sell to townsmen to be drunk in the house. In the same year, he bought an eight acre lot² with "house, barns, stables, sellers, out-houses etc." on High Street, north of Mineral, and his inn became a popular resort for towns-folk and strangers. Evidently the Quartermaster allowed large liberties to his patrons, for his house became the scene of violent disorder. In March, 1672, there was a shooting affray. Mark Quilter, a notorious toper, was ordered away, the candle was blown out and some one shot him in the darkness.³

At the same Court, the Quartermaster was presented for suffering gaming in his house, and yet again for a boisterous out break on training day, after the militia had been dismissed. There were few holidays to break the monotony of the work-a-day life, and the periodic training days opened the way very naturally to many extravagances. Every man of military age was obliged to be present and at the close of the evolutions, the whole company was dismissed in the center of the village. A crowd of roysterers betook themselves to the Perkins Inn on this occasion and their behavior was so scandalous that they were summoned to Court.

² Ipswich in the Mass. Bay Colony, vol. I, p. 364.

³ Court Records, 18: 83, 88.

We present, Mr. Dudley Bradstreet, Mr. Nath^l Wade, Mr. Tho^s Wade, M^r. Samuel Jacobs, Jn^o Wainwright, Thomas Bishop, Elihu Wardell, Jn^o Cogswell, M^r. Nath^l Rogers, Mr. Sam^l Rogers, Mr. Ezekiel Rogers, Mr. John Broun, Jn^o Lee, Edward Nealand, Mark Quilter, for disorder in Quar. Perkins house upon a trayning day in shooting of pistols in the house after the colors were lodged & for breach of the peace.⁴

It was a strange conglomeration, the son of Simon and Ann Bradstreet, three sons of the Reverend Nathaniel Rogers and two sons of Mr. Jonathan Wade, wearing their proud title of "Mr.", young John Wainwright and John Cogswell, hobnobbing with fellows of the baser sort, in a very democratic spree!

Such disturbances were of frequent occurrence no doubt. An ordinance of 1663, required that troopers and soldiers

shall not either singly or in companies remaine in armes & vainely expend their time & powder by inordinate shooting in the day or night after their release.

After a September training in 1681, John Newmarch's man-servant assaulted the tithingmen, John Leighton and Daniel Hovey, near midnight. They deposed in Court that

they heard the Honorable Maj. Gen. Denison when he dismissed his band, say to the company that they should repair to their homes and not show the world their folly to be a shooting of their guns or to that effect. We went to places where we supposed rudeness to be and one of these places was the home of John Berrie.

There they found the man in a drunken condition, who assaulted them, and finally went staggering "up the Long Street warder."

Notwithstanding the frequent brawls at the Perkins Inn, it does not seem to have lost caste. Even the supreme auto-

⁴ Court Records, 91: No. 18.

crat of the town, Maj. Gen. Denison, did not think it beneath him to step in for a drop of comfort, and have a cheerful word with the waitress. Frances Young testified, that one day when she was at her father Perkins's, "she carried the Major General a glass of brandy and the Major General said, "Bety you are welcome to towne."⁵

Thomas Bishop's house, near the site of the Public Library, was open to the public and Joseph Lee and William Downing had an altercation there one March day in 1663, after the Lecture, "shoving one another in the corner and Downing was struck in the face by Lee." Young John Spark or Sparks, known to us first as an apprentice of Obadiah Wood, the "biskett baker", continued at his trade with Bishop; when Samuel Bishop succeeded to the business on the death of his father, Sparks went across the street and bought of Thomas White, a house with two acres of land, on or near the spot now occupied by the residence of Miss Lucy Slade Lord, in February, 1671-2. In the deed, he is styled "biskett-baker" and his deed of sale in 1691 included a bake-house, but he had received license in Sept. 1671 to sell "beere at a penny a quart, provided he entertain no Town inhabitants in the night, nor suffer to bring wine or liquor to be drunk in his house."⁶

His hostelry was known far and near. Here the Quarter Sessions Court held its sittings. Major Samuel Appleton, Assistant, issued a warrant to the Marshal to secure the appearance of every one who knew anything of the will of Thomas Andrews, the schoolmaster, before him at "Goodman Sparks", July 12, 1683. Mr. Andrews died at the house of Samuel Bishop and Bishop was charged with concealing his will. John Gamage was summoned "to make personal appearance at Court now setting at Jo. Sparks, there to answer to his presentment for rayling and scurrilous

⁵ Court Records, 35: 56, March 29, 1681.

⁶ Ipswich in the Mass. Bay Colony; vol. 1, p. 345.

speech, &c.", Sept. 29, 1685. The Worshipful Major Nath. Saltonstall held Court here in March, 1685-6, and Judge Samuel Sewall entered in his Diary, on Tuesday, March 13th, 1687-8,

I lodge at Sparks, Mr. Stoughton and Capt. Appleton came to see me.

An ancient bill⁷ of Court expenses in June, 1687, reveals some interesting items.

	£	s.	d.
June 8. Lodgings & breakfast	1-01-	9	
3 flagons beer 1/9 marshal etc		3-	0
sheriff, beer & wine 9 ^d		0-	9
11 Dinner w th wine & beer to it	1-	2-	0
Syder 3 ^d 10 dinners 2 ^a	1-	0-	3
Marshall's dinner		1-	0
Lemonade 12 ^d 1 qt. wine 12 ^d		2-	0
flagon beer 4 ^d wine 12 ^d		1-	4
3 lodgings		0-	6
	<hr/>		
	2-13-	4	
4 horses, 3 nights		6-	
1 pt. wine to constables		0-	6
	<hr/>		
	2-19-	10	

Under the Andros government, the rigid excise laws seem to have rendered the legal sale of liquors unprofitable. The Court of Common Pleas, sitting at Ipswich, Sept. 28, 1686, granted licenses to John Sparks and Abraham Perkins, who succeeded the Quartermaster, keepers of ordinaries; and "liberty to sell drink without doors" to Mr. Francis Wainwright, Mr. John Wainwright and Mr. Michael Farlow (Farley).

The conditions of Recognizance required of an innkeeper were minute and repressive.

⁷ Court Records, 47, No. 40.

[He] shall not suffer any unlawful play or Games, in said house, garden, orchard or elsewhere, especially by men servants or apprentices, comon laborers, Idle persons, or shall suffer any Town Inhabitants to be in said house drinking or tipling on y^e satterday night after y^e sunsett or on y^e Sabbath day, nor wittingly or willingly admit or receive . . . any person notoriously defamed of for theft, Incontinency or drunkenness . . . nor keep or lodge there any stranger person above y^e Space of one day and one night together, without notice thereof, first given to such Justice or Select-man as above said.

Having paid for their licenses, Sparks and Perkins proceeded to bring illegal sellers to judgment. They made complaint against John Tod of Rowley, who declared that he had found the excise so great under the new government that he had taken down his tavern sign and given up business. They complained as well of John Knowlton, Jun., cordwainer, John Juet, Sen^r., Obadiah Wood and Steven Cross, for selling without a license.

Capt. Stephen Cross was given to lawless misconduct from his youth. At the age of seventeen, in 1667, he was one of the wild young fellows who dug up the Sagamore and carried his skull on a pole. In the following year, he affronted the Court and reproached the Major General. In 1669 he disturbed the peace of Sabbath worship by fighting with Thomas DeBlanchet and wounding him in the mouth. He was master of the sloop, "Adventure", engaged in coast-wise trips and had prospered sufficiently by 1684 to buy the former dwelling of Richard Saltonstall, Esq., on the South side. The home of the titled aristocrat descended in his hands to most ignoble uses.

Two years after Cross gained possession, he was presented for selling without a license. John Brown, Jr., 20 years old; Edward Dear, two years older; Benjamin Dutch, 21, and Nath. Rust, Jr., a lad of nineteen, acknowledged that they had played shuffle board at Cross's house and had

drinks frequently. Captain Cross commanded a company in the expedition to Quebec and his war-like temper was aggravated no doubt by his martial experiences. He was presented again for drawing and selling drink in 1691 and an execution for debt was served on him at the same time. John Harris, the Marshal, testified to an exciting reception when he went to the Captain's house to arrest him in default of appearance at Court.

Then Capt. Cross tooke his nacked sword & he ran to y^e said Low, who was to assist me & he tould him that he would Run him through if thur was no more dayes in y^e world & after y^e said Cross had forced y^e s^d Low out of y^e hous, he came to me—& clapt the point of his Rapier to my breast & bid me git out of his hous & touch him if I durst with many more bad speeches which I cannot well remember.

Benjamin Dutch afterwards owned and occupied the house and was licensed to sell at "The Orringe Tree." In 1724, when he had probably built the dwelling on North Main St., occupied by Mr. William Willcomb for many years, he was authorized to transfer his license to his new house.⁸

Following the fortunes of the Sparks Inn, the Court Record of March, 1693, bears the entry:

John Sparks, ye Tavern keeper in Ipswich, having laid down his license and y^e house being come, as is said into ye hands of Mr. John Wainwright, license is granted for keeping of a tavern there to any sober man whom Mr. Wainwright may secure.

John Rogers, the sadler, was licensed to sell drink and

⁸ Court Records, Ipswich, in Mass. Bay, vol. I, pp. 348, 464. The ancient house, known as the Merrifield house, was torn down a few years ago. Much of the frame, including a great door post with slot for the wooden latch, had been used in an earlier structure, and an old fire back was found, upside down, in one of the fire places. Evidently the Saltonstall house, situated on or very near the same site, had been torn down and all available material used in the later dwelling.

keep a public house in 1696 and Mr. Wainwright was ordered at the same Court, to procure a suitable tenant, to live in the house "where John Rogers is now an innholder." His inn was called "The Black Horse." Thomas Smith, Innholder, kept a public house nearby in 1707, which came later to John Smith, "the Taverner", and in 1737 Nathaniel Treadwell opened his inn, perhaps in the same house now owned and occupied by Miss Lucy Slade Lord.⁹

From time to time, the ministers voiced their complaint against the multiplication of ordinaries and the excessive drink habit. Rev. John Higginson addressed a Memorial to the Court in 1678, declaring that he was credibly informed that there were then in Salem, about fourteen ordinaries and public drinking houses, some licensed, others unlicensed, and that four more were seeking license, "when it is well known till within this few years, 2 ordinaries were judged sufficient for Salem."

A Memorial was sent to the Governor, May 30, 1694, by "many ministers of y^e Gospel, then meeting in Boston", lamenting

the declining, decaying, (if not) dying state of Religion
.... the more gross out breakings of this sin of world-
lyness, in prophaneness & sensualitie, more especially in y^t
most notorious and scandalous way of drinking & company
keeping in Taverns & Alehouses:

The Memorial proceeds:

"Be pleased, therefore, wee pray you to take notice: that the thing w^{ch} wee more particularly designe & desire to obtaine by this our Address, it is; That it may be againe inacted into a Law That all Ordinaries & licensed houses, may be reduced & regulated in thir improvem^t to ye entertainm^t of Travellers & strangers only: & that all Town dwellers be expressly phibited drinking in them, at any time, upon any occasion, which wee pray may be past in such

⁹ Ipswich, in the Mass. Bay Colony, vol. I, p. 347.

strict & severe forme, respecting both ye letter & sence of it, as that no subterfuge may be found, by any latitude or ambiguity of expression, from ye prohibition & restriction of it; for it appears by wofull experience y^t it is become impossible to regulate or restraine those multitudes w^{ch} are given to drinking: Otherwise than by shutting up the doores of such houses agst them.

Wee are y^e more importune, in this from y^e consideration of ye fatall & lamentable effects of this way of sining, considering how many psons have bin totally debauch^t & destroyed, body & soule, by drinke, how many professors have bin utterly blasted by it, (not only) as to subsistence, but (more wofully) as to family worship, w^{ch} (through drinking in Alehouses) is too often either totally neglected or else horribly phaned in ye pformance of it.—

Wee are sensible y^t y^e worldly interest of y^e Trade of drinks doth bespeake too much indulgence vnto this way of sining & make it soe difficult to provide & proceed in good earnest & effectually by law agst it, w^{ch} still lyes & wee feare may remaine as our insuperable obstruction vnto a thorough reformation of this (hithervnto) incorrigible & incurable evill, Vnless that interest bee so far deserted; that trade so far retrenched & soe regulated as y^t it may noe more prove soe destructive unto us, as it hath done.

Right Honorable & much Hono^{cd}, Let it not (wee pray you) seem strang unto you y^t wee express so great a concerne in a matter, w^{ch} may seem to others but of little concernm^t. Town dwellers drinking in their Town Ordinaries, being soe common & customary & accounted a matter of lawful liberty, & thence pleading inocency: it may be thought unreasonable, so strictly to inhibit it, but: *licitis perimus omnes* had wee not seen it impossible to regulate ye vse of it, or to prevent ye destructive abuses of it before mentioned, wee should have been silent.

Another Memorial in the name of the ministers of the Province, dated May 27, 1696, again begged for summary check upon these evils.

We humbly propose y^t (as to y^r number) houses for y^e retaile of strong drink may be limited by law & made

as few as may be, & y^t noe Certificate from select men should be accepted to make a man capable of Licence, except it expresseth y^t ye man is a man of Integrity, honesty, walking (as to what appears) with all Good Conscience towards God & all men. We could be Glad y^t none might set & abide in such houses but strangers only, However we pray y^t Young Men & Maids, y^t Children & servants, might be totally inhibited tipling in y^{er} owne towne publiq houses by law, and if six or seaven hundred Children and servants (and indeed excessive wages tempts many to serve in such houses) be annually bred up in seeing and hearing the ungodly deeds of y^e Wicked that frequent such houses & are trayned up in a Way that they will not forsake when they are old! What an extensive Ruine will hence spread itself upon the rising Generation and how can or will the means of Grace profit them at all? Why should some small Towns have no lesse than six Taverns, & in ten miles Riding, Ten open houses be allowed? But it is the Ungainsayable importunity of some Poor People & their Friends & the weaknesse of some Select Towns men that have poured out this vial of Mischief upon the Land.¹⁰

In March 2, 1696-97, the House adopted the report of its Committee, requiring Tithingmen to present to the Justices, "the names, Surnames, Conditions & qualletyes of all such as Continue tipling in Inns etc." "all such as keep houses where unlawful Games are used & such as sell Drinks without Lycence, etc."¹¹

In June, 1710, the Court ordered special search for violations of the law, as excessive drinking & tipling had much increased, and in 1715, complaint was made, that many

are so bold as to sell strong drink w^{thout} Lycense & other who have Lycense only to sell as Retailers w^{thout} doors yet presume to sell to be drunk w^{thin} y^r Doors or Yard, Garden, orchard or back side after y^e manner of Inholders to y^e eluding or trifling with y^e Law etc.

¹⁰ Acts and Resolves, vol. VII, pp. 537-540.

¹¹ Acts and Resolves, vol. VII, pp. 557.

A Committee of which Michael Farley was a member, was appointed to search out offenders. John Browne was summoned into Court in March, 1713 and fined 5/ for drunkenness, or to be set in the stocks one hour and pay the costs, but the same Court opened the door wide to his weakness and more drunkenness, by granting a license to Daniel Appleton as a retailer, and to John Walker, to keep a public house of entertainment.

Francis Crompton's hostelry claimed a share of the public patronage, at the close of the 17th century. It was located in the park-like meadow, opposite the Heard mansion, on South Main Street. Judge Sewall notes, "ate roast fowl at Crompton's". A retinue of slaves waited upon the patrons of the house. Sewall also mentions lodging at Staniford's house in 1716. Capt. Matthew Perkins, who lived in the old Sutton house¹² on the road to Jeffrey's Neck was called "Taverner" in 1723. The Selectmen approved his application for license as an innholder, "at the sign of the blue anchor," in 1719. Benjamin Dutch, at the sign of "The White Boy" received license, in 1719. In July, 1722, the Selectmen recommended to the Quarter Sessions Court for license, Nath. Emerson, Jr., "his dwelling being at the entrance of the harbor, where our fishery is employed". The cellar of this house is still visible on the slope of Great Neck, near the ancient fishery.¹³

The ledge in front of the old Seminary building, before the widening of the road rendered it necessary to blast much of it, afforded room for buildings. With an eye to business, one John Stacy, being incapable of labor, presented a petition to the Town in 1733, setting forth, "that there is a convenience on the northerly side of the Rock by Ebenezer Smith's for setting an house upon" and "praying he may obtain a grant for setting a house for selling cakes and ale etc. for

¹² Jeffrey's Neck and the Way Thereto. Pub. of Ips. Historical Society, No. XVIII, pp. 8, 9.

¹³ Jeffrey's Neck and the Way Thereto. Page 64.

his livelihood." His request was granted and the poor man's last days were made comfortable no doubt by his humble traffic. He died on March 3d, 1735, and his widow sold the house and land to John Wood, who conveyed at once to Samuel Ross, blacksmith, April 29, 1737. He built a blacksmith shop which passed in due time to Samuel Ross, Jr. and Joseph Lakeman Ross and the smithy served its public use until 1834.

John Wainwright, Esq. and Capt. John Hobson were appointed by the General Court, a Committee to farm out the excise in the County of Essex, in July, 1737. Thomas Berry and Benj. Lynde, Esq. were joined to this Committee. Daniel Epes, Esq. of Salem was appointed Commissioner of Excise for the County. He informed against Nathaniel Smith for selling strong drink April 10, 1738 and he was fined 10£, one third for the poor of Ipswich, the other two thirds to Mr. Epes as farmer of excise and informer and costs of Courts. Benjamin Studley was fined 3£ in 1749, for suffering young persons and others to sit in his house, drinking and tippling, and Benjamin Wheeler of Ipswich, trader, paid a like fine in 1750 for selling rum without a license.

Joseph Newhall of Ipswich presented a petition to the General Court in 1747,

showing that he is now in possession of a house in said Town, which has been improved for many years as an Inn or Tavern, called the Ship Tavern, Praying that he may be allowed to keep an Inn or Tavern there,

and it was granted, subject to the approbation of the Selectmen.

In April, 1750, the Legislature passed an excise law, which levied a tax upon tea, coffee, etc.

For every pound of tea, twelve pence.

For every pound of coffee, two pence.

For every gallon of arrach, two shillings and six pence.

For every pound of snuff, six pence.

For all china ware, five per ct. ad valorem, at the retail price.

In June, 1751, a tax was laid upon all brandy, rum and other spirits distilled, upon all wines sold at retail and upon lemons, limes and oranges used in making punch or other liquors mixed for sale . . . to be paid by every taverner, innholder, common victualler and retailer. The rate was four pence for every gallon of brandy, rum and spirits, distilled, six pence for every gallon of wine, four shillings for every hundred of lemons or oranges, a shilling and six pence for every hundred of limes. In June, 1754, the rate on tea was reduced to four pence and on coffee to a penny. Licenses to deal in these commodities were also required. Under this excise law, Samuel Swasey of Ipswich, shipwright, was fined 40 shillings in March, 1752, for selling tea, etc. without a license, and in July of the same year, William Dodge, shop keeper, was found guilty by a jury of the same offence and was fined 5£.

When the French and Indian War began, the Legislature deemed it necessary to provide two armed vessels for the defence of the fishery and the trade of the Province, at an expense of seven thousand pounds. This was provided by a tax of six pence per ton on all ships and other vessels, except coasting, whaling and fishing vessels, entering any port, six pence a pound on tea, two pence on coffee and five per ct. on East India ware. (Oct. 19, 1756) By the limitation of the Act, this excise was imposed only during the continuance of the war and in 1763, the Legislature passed a law, removing the tax on shipping in that year but retaining the other taxes until November 1st, 1765.

In an ancient account book, now in the possession of the Historical Society, Dummer Jewett, an Ipswich shopkeeper

of this period, kept a list of his purchases of rum, coffee and tea for several years, as the excise law required him to do.

From May 26 to Nov. 20th, 1761, 451 gals, 2 qts.

From Feb. 11, 1762 to Feb. 1763, 768 gals.

From March 1763 to Mar. 1764, 1401 gals.

In April, 1763, he sold to Joseph Appleton, Esq., 33¼ gals.; Jabez Treadwell, 33½ gals.; Joseph Wells, for shipment, 31 gals.; Capt. Thomas Staniford, for shipment, 225 gals.

In 1764, he sold to Elizabeth Day, 68½ gal.; shipped by Joseph Hunt, 34½ gal.; shipped to Virginia, 130 gal. The bulk of this great quantity of Newbury and West India rum was sold in the ordinary course of trade.

His purchases of coffee in 1762 totalled 286 pounds and in 1763, 292 pounds. He bought 58 pounds of tea in 1761, 114 in 1762.

Jabez Treadwell, a cooper by trade, bought the house of Edmund Heard,¹⁴ in November, 1761. Mr. Heard had received a license to retail, which was transferred to the new owner.

John Adams came frequently to Ipswich in the practice of his profession as a lawyer and always stopped at Treadwell's Inn.¹⁵ His allusions¹⁶ to the landlord and other guests lend a piquant interest to the old landmark.

June 19, [1779]. Tuesday morning. Rambled with Kent round Landlord Treadwell's pastures to see how our horses fared. We found them in the grass up to their eyes.;—excellent pastures. This hill, on which stands the meeting house and court-house, is a fine elevation, and we have here a fine air and the pleasant prospect of the winding river at the foot of the hill.

He "drank balm tea at Treadwell's" on June 29th as he

¹⁴ The old dwelling west of the hardware store of Mr. John W. Goodhue.

¹⁵ See page 75

¹⁶ The Life and Works of John Adams, (Diary) II: 236, 240, 281, 337.

journeyed to Falmouth, now Portland. Again on June 22, 1771, he was at Court and spent a week.

22. Saturday. Spent this week at Ipswich, in the usual labors and drudgery of attendance upon court. Boarded at Treadwell's; have had no time to write. Landlord and landlady are some of the grandest people alive; landlady is the great granddaughter of Governor Endicott,¹⁷ and has all the great notions of high family that you find in Winslows, Hutchinsons, Quincys, Saltonstalls, Chandlers, Leonards, Otises and as you might find with more propriety in the Winthrops. Yet she is cautious and modest about discovering it. She is a new light;¹⁸ continually canting and whining in a religious strain. The Governor was uncommonly strict and devout, eminently so in his day; and his great, great granddaughter hopes to keep up the honor of the family in hers, and distinguish herself among her contemporaries as much.

"Terrible Things sin causes", sighs and groans, "the pangs of the new birth. The death of Christ shows above all things the heinous nature of sin! How awfully Mr. Kent talks about death! how lightly and carelessly! I am sure a man of his years, who can talk so about death, must be brought to feel the pangs of the new birth here, or made to repent of it forever. How dreadful it seems to me to hear him, I that am so afraid of death, and so concerned lest I an't fit and prepared for it! What a dreadful thing it was that Mr. Gridley died so!—too great, too big, too proud to learn anything: would not let any minister pray with him; said he knew more than they could tell him; asked the news, and said he was going where he should hear no news" etc.

Thus for landlady. As to landlord, he is as happy, and as big, as proud, as conceited as any nobleman in England; always calm and good natured and lazy; but the contemplation of his farm¹⁹ and his sons and his house and pastures and cows, his sound judgment, as he thinks, and his great holiness, as well as that of his wife, keep him as erect in his

¹⁷ Nathaniel Treadwell married 1st, Mercy Smith, int. May 29, 1725, who was the mother of all his children; 2nd, Hannah Endicott, int. July 28, 1750.

¹⁸ The "New Lights" were the disciples of Whitefield and Tennent.

¹⁹ Jeffrey's Neck and the Way Thereto, pages 45-47.

thoughts as a noble or a prince. Indeed, the more I consider of mankind, the more I see that every man seriously and in his conscience believes himself the wisest, brightest, best, happiest, etc. of all mankind.

I went this evening, spent an hour and took a pipe with Judge Trowbridge at his lodgings.²⁰

Mr. Adams left Boston again on March 28th, 1774, and "rode with brother Josiah Quincy to Ipswich Court",²¹ arriving on Tuesday,

. . . . put up at the old place, Treadwell's. The old lady has got a new copy of her great grandfather, Governor Endicott's picture²² hung up in the house. The old gentleman is afraid they will repeal the excise upon tea, and then that we shall have it plenty; wishes they would double the duty, and then we should never have any more.

Capt. Nathaniel Treadwell bequeathed his "tavern house" to his son Jacob, who continued the business. He entertained a distinguished company of French travellers, the Marquis de Chastellux and his friends in the year 1782. The Marquis was a member of the French Academy, and served as Major General in the allied army under Count de Rochambeau. Accompanied by the Baron de Talleyrand, Montesquieu and Vaudreuil, his brother officers, he made an extensive tour on horseback. On Nov. 13th, 1782, having been entertained in sumptuous fashion by Mr. John Tracy, a prosperous merchant of Newburyport, the Marquis resumed his journey. He noted the events of the day in his diary.

At the end of 12 miles is Ipswich, where we stopped to bait our horses, and were surprized to find a town between Newbury and Salem, at least as populous as these

²⁰ Diary, p. 281.

²¹ Diary, p. 337.

²² The portrait of Gov. Endicott is now in the hall of the Essex Institute, Salem, the gift of John White Treadwell, son of Jacob and grandson of Capt. Nathaniel.

two sea-ports, though indeed, much less opulent. But mounting an eminence near the tavern, I saw that Ipswich was also a sea-port. I was told however that the entrance was difficult. . . . Ipswich at present has but little trade and its fishery is also in the decline²³

Nathaniel Treadwell, 3^d, "innkeeper" bought a house and land from John Hodgkins, Jr. in 1806. He kept his tavern here until 1818, when he sold to Moses Treadwell, who continued the business. His most distinguished guests were General LaFayette and his suite, who were entertained several hours on Aug. 31, 1824, and left at ten o'clock at night for Newburyport.²⁴ The tavern was owned later by Frederic Mitchell, William G. Brown and others, and in its enlarged and remodelled form serves the public still as the Agawam House.

On the corner now occupied by the dwelling of Dr. William E. Tucker, Increase How kept an inn for many years in the middle of the eighteenth century. His widow, Susanna, married Capt. John Smith in 1762 and kept an inn in the Andrew Burley house on Green St.²⁵ The How tavern fell to his daughter, Susanna, who married as her third husband, Capt. Richard Homans of Marblehead in 1776. Gen. Washington lunched here in 1789.²⁶ Major Joseph Swasey succeeded as innkeeper in 1792, and Samuel Smith was host in later years. Abner Day bought the house now owned by Mr. George H. Green, of the heirs of John Patch in 1814,²⁷ and kept an inn, which was known later as the Franklin House, under the management of Capt. Samuel Day.

Thomas Staniford kept a public house and as he was a Selectman, it was a very natural thing that the honorable

²³ *Travels in North America*, 1780, 1781, 1782, p. 213.

²⁴ *Felt, History of Ipswich*, p. 207.

²⁵ *Jeffrey's Neck and the Way Thereto*, pages 42, 43.

²⁶ *Ipswich, in the Mass. Bay Colony*, vol. I, page 476.

²⁷ *Ipswich, in the Mass. Bay Colony*, vol. I, page 478.

Board of Selectmen, which included Michael Farley, Elisha Brown, Jonathan Cogswell of the Chebacco Parish and John Hubbard of the Hamlet, should hold their meetings with their associate. An old bill reveals the mingling of business and pleasure by the fathers of the Town.

Selectmen to Thos. Staniford Dr.	£	s	d
March 11, 1771, to flip	4	6	
March 11, 1771, to 2 dinners, 7s, 6d, flip 4s 6d	19	6	
April 1, 1771, to punch	9	0	
June 6, 1771, to punch	9	0	
July 1, 1771, to tody	5	0	
July 9, 1771, to punch	9	0	
Sept. 10, 1771, to 4 dinners at 8s, 2 bowls punch at 9s	2	10	0
Sept. 14, 1771, to punch	9	0	
Sept. 24, 1771, to punch	9	0	
Sept. 31, 1771, to 5 dinners at 10s, punch, tody and flip	3	8	6
Oct. 14, 1771, to 5 dinners at 10s, flip 9s	2	19	0
Oct. 16, 1771, to 5 dinners at 10s, flip 9s	2	19	0
Oct. 18, 1771, to 5 dinners at 8s, flip 9s	2	9	0
Oct. 22, 1771, to punch 9s, tody 10s, flip 7s 6d	1	6	6
Dec. 11, 1771, to 5 dinners at 10s, flip 25s	3	15	0
Dec. 12, 1771, to 2 dinners at 10s, flip 10s	1	10	0
Dec. 13, 1771, to 4 dinners at 10s, flip 15s	2	15	0
Dec. 14, 1771, to flip	5	0	
Dec. 25, 1771, to 5 dinners at 10s, flip 25s	3	15	0
Jan. 13, 1772, to 5 dinners at 10s, flip 27s 6d	3	17	6
Feb. 6, 1772, to flip	5	0	
Feb. 18, 1772, to flip 20s, tody 2s 6d	1	2	6
	36	11	0
Feb. 24, 1772, to flip 10s, tody 10s	1	0	0
	37	11	0

The house now owned and occupied by Mr. Warren Boynton was bought by Jeremiah Ross in 1809 and used by him as a tavern. The name "Ross's Tavern" is still remembered. The Court Records contain the recommendation of Capt. Tristram Brown and the ponderous oath which he took before entering upon his responsible office.

We, the Subscribers, Selectmen of the Town of Ipswich, do approve of Capt. Tristram Brown as a retailer of Spirituous Liquors in said Town, for the year ensueing and we do hereby recommend the said Tristram as a person of sober life and conversation, suitably qualified and provided for the exercise of such an imployment and firmly attached to the Constitution and Laws of the Commonwealth, and we further certify that the circumstances requiring the licensing of the said Tristram have arisen since the usual time for granting licenses held by the Court of Sessions, and that the public good requires that the said Tristram should be licensed.

John Choate	} <i>Selectmen</i>	
Jabez Farley		
Eben ^r Lord, Jr.		
		<i>of</i>
		<i>Ipswich.</i>

I, Tristram Brown, do swear that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and that I will to the utmost of my power defend the Constitution and Government thereof, against traitorous conspiracies and all hostile and violent attempts whatsoever.

Tristram Brown

Sworn April 6, 1821.

Similar licenses were recommended for John B. Lord and Ebenezer Caldwell, Jr.

These Ipswich inns flourished for many years. From its central location in the County, Ipswich was made a shire town. The Supreme and Superior Courts, as well as the Probate Court, held their sessions here and there was a great number of judges, lawyers and their clients and jury men to be fed and lodged and many horses and carriages re-

quired attention. Political conventions of both parties met here. Many came to record wills and deeds. Being on the high road between Boston and the East, a constant stream of travel passed through the town, and many travellers stopped for a meal or for a night's rest. It was no small affair to minister to the needs of Sir William Phipps dashing along the road from Kittery to Boston in his gorgeous chariot, with its four horses, liveried driver and footmen, when he stopped for lunch, or for one of the Royal Governors travelling in equal state. Gov. Samuel Shute, "attended by some of the Chief Gentlemen, both of New Hampshire and this Province, set out from thence [Portsmouth] for Boston & Lodged that Night at Col. John Appleton's of Ipswich, where he was very handsomely Entertain'd that Night & next Morning, as his Excellency had been at Dinner in going to New Hampshire on the Tuesday before."²⁸ Gov. Belcher dined at Col. Appleton's in March, and again in December 1733.²⁹ Humbler lodgings at the public inns no doubt were provided for the coachmen and servants of these high dignitaries.

Though the Eastern and Piscataqua Post was established prior to 1704, a post rider on horseback probably sufficed to carry the mail. The first public stage seems to have appeared in April, 1761, when Mr. Bartholomew Stavers advertised his venture:

For the Encouragement of Trade from Portsmouth to Boston

A LARGE STAGE CHAIR

with two good horses well equipped will be ready by Monday, the 20th instant, to start out from Mr. Stavers, innholder, at the Sign of the Earl of Halifax, in this town (Portsmouth) to perform once a week, to lodge at Ipswich the same night, from thence through Medford to Charlestown

²⁸ Boston News Letter, Oct. 15-22, 1716.

²⁹ Pepperell Papers.

ferry, to tarry at Charlestown till Thursday morning, so as to return to this town the next day, to set out again on the Monday following. It will be contrived to carry four persons besides the driver.

In November, 1762, announcement was made that the "Stage Chaise will run, except in bad weather, through the winter." The fare from Portsmouth to Boston was \$3. Travellers evidently appreciated the convenience and in May, 1763, Bartholomew Stavers announced

The Portsmouth *Flying Stage Coach* is now finished, which will carry six persons inside; runs with four or six horses . . . goes through Newbury to Boston and will put up at good inns on the road where good entertainment and attendance are provided for the passengers in the coach.

A few years later, the stage had passed into different hands or a competitor made his appearance. The Essex Gazette of Dec. 4th, 1770, has this advertisement:

Benjamin Hart hereby acquaints the Public that he has left riding the single Horse Post between Boston and Portsmouth and now conveys Passengers from Boston to any Town between it and Portsmouth . . . in the same Post Stage, Curricule or Coach, lately improved by Mr. John Noble.

He announced that fresh horses would be kept at Ipswich and that the stage would reach Newbury the same night. Mr. J. S. Hart started from Portsmouth, each coach making a round trip every week. John Greenleaf announced in 1776,³⁰ that he had provided himself with a genteel coach, to be used as a stage-coach between Portsmouth and Boston. Daniel Prince, Postrider to Portsmouth, informed the public in 1784 that he left Salem at 7 o'clock every Tuesday morning and reached Portsmouth the same day. "He carries bundles and transacts business with care & punctuality

³⁰ Boston Gazette, Dec. 30, 1776.

and at reasonable rate."³¹ Mr. Akerman succeeded Mr. Prince as Postrider and he announced on Sept. 21st, 1784, that by order of the Postmaster General, he would leave Boston every Tuesday and Portsmouth on Friday, and that a mail would leave Boston every Friday on the Portsmouth stage.³² Two Postriders made their weekly trips in October.³³

Frequent allusion is made in letters and diaries of the period to the extreme discomfort of travellers in Winter, over the rough roads, chilled to the bone by the piercing winds, alighting at intervals for a hasty lunch and being roused before daylight at the wayside inn to resume the journey. Mid-summer brought experiences equally trying. On Monday, July 2, 1798, there was such excessive heat, that

the four coach horses belonging to Mr. Greenleaf's stage coach, which started from Boston for Ipswich with the mail and passengers were so excessively hurt by the heat of the day that their lives or limbs are actually dispared of, and the four which started from Ipswich for Portsmouth, really died soon after their arrival in town.³⁴

But the constantly increasing population and the growth of business compelled travel and its volume increased by leaps and bounds, until in a single day in 1838, seventeen stage coaches and four post chaises passed through the Town. With the building of the railroad in 1839, this all ceased. The Courts were removed and the Registries of Probate and of Deeds. The highways were silent, travellers were few, and many a wayside inn closed its door.

³¹ Salem Gazette, June 29, 1784.

³² Salem Gazette, Sept. 21, 1784.

³³ Salem Gazette, Oct. 19, 1784.

³⁴ Salem Gazette, Aug. 3, 1798.

CHAPTER V.

LAWS, COURTS AND JUDGES.

By Royal edict, after the accession of William and Mary to the English throne, Superior and Inferior Courts of Judicature were established and Courts of General Sessions. Each of these held a regular session in Ipswich and the quiet life of the ancient Town was greatly stirred by the coming of the Court, the assembling of jurors, and trial of cases of every sort, civil and criminal.

The Superior Court, composed of a Chief and four Associate Justices, was the tribunal of final appeal. For many years, Samuel Sewall was one of the Judges at the Ipswich term and his Diary affords most entertaining glimpses of cases tried before him and a variety of interesting social episodes.

He lodged at Sparks's on March 13, 1687-8 and on May 21, 1695, at the widow Appleton's.¹

May 24, Friday. Walk to Argilla and visit Madam Symonds,² who sits up in her chair but is weakly.

May 25: In our way home divert to Col. Apleton's³ who keeps house by reason of a Sore Leg. The day is very hot, which makes us almost faint by that time we reach Lewis's.

He was at Ipswich again on Nov. 4, 1699 and makes his entry.

¹ Perhaps Mrs. Mary, widow of Samuel Appleton 3d, son of Capt. John, who died Aug. 16, 1693.

² Mrs. Rebecca, 3d wife and widow of Dep. Gov. Samuel Symonds, died July 21, 1695.

³ Col. Samuel Appleton at the Appleton farm. He died May 15, 1696.

Capt. Appleton⁴ of Ipswich dies. He was an Israelite indeed, a great Ornament of that Church and Town.

He invited the ministers to dine with him at Mr. Rogers's⁵ on one occasion, and the venerable William Hubbard, Mr. Gerrish of Wenham, Mr. Payson of Rowley, Mr. Capen of Topsfield and Mr. Green were his guests. Governor Joseph Dudley came to Ipswich May 15, 1711 on his return from Piscataqua.

In the evening the Court waits on his Excellency at Madam Wainwright's. Went with Mr. Rogers to our Lodging about Nine.

Returning from his mother's funeral in Newbury, in mid-winter, 1700-1, where he spoke a tender and beautiful eulogy at her grave—"I could hardly speak for passion and tears," he says—he hurried to Ipswich and heard Mr. Rogers preach the lecture, which was the last sermon preached in the old meeting house. "Mr. Rogers prai'd for the prisoner of death, the Newbury woman, who was there in her chains."

On July 15, 1701, he notes:

To Ipswich: Try Esther Rogers. Jury next morning ask' advice, then after brought her in Guilty of murdering her Bastard daughter. July 17, Mr. Cooke pronounced the sentence. She hardly said a word. I told her God had put two children to her to nurse. Her mother did not serve her so. Esther was a great Saviour: she, a great destroyer. Said did not do this to insult over her but to make her sensible.⁶

Sarah Pilsbury charged with murdering her young child, was tried and acquitted in May, 1706, and a third woman, Elizabeth Atwood, for a capital offence was condemned in

⁴ Capt. John Appleton, brother of Col. Samuel.

⁵ Rev. John Rogers, son of President John Rogers.

⁶ The Court ordered the Sheriff to erect a gibbet at a place called Pin-gry's Plain, still known as the "Gallows Lot."

1720 and executed. Governor Shute himself brought two suits which were argued before the Court in 1718 and both were decided against him.

The lower Courts passed judgment upon all crimes and misdemeanors of a less serious nature, apportioned the Province tax, issued licenses for the sale of strong drink, and settled a multitude of civil cases. Their records reveal many secrets of the Past that were best forgotten, but many have curious and abiding interest as illustrations of the common life of the times.

The Court itself was of imposing size. The Court of General Sessions at Ipswich in March, 1699, was held by Justices William Brown, John Hathorne, Jonathan Corwin, Daniel Pierce, Dudley Bradstreet, John Higginson and John Appleton. Judge Appleton was of Ipswich, and also John Wainwright who did not sit at this session. In March, 1718-19, sixteen of the King's Justices were present including John Appleton, Daniel Epes, Symonds Epes, John Whipple, Daniel Rogers and John Wainwright, all of Ipswich.

To meet the needs of Courts of such dignity, a Town-House, as it was called, was erected by the Town with the help of the County, in 1704. The vote adopted by the Town specified a building about 32 feet long, 28 feet wide and 18 or 19 feet stud "with a flat roof raised about 5 foot." It was located on the grass plot in front of the Methodist meeting house, close to a huge ledge that reached nearly to its eaves, which was blasted away many years ago. A school room was provided in the lower story and the Court room occupied the upper floor. The King's arms were set up forthwith and the Court convened with becoming dignity. In Dec. 1718, Major John Denison, the sheriff, presented his account of £9 paid for painting the King's arms for the Court House, which was regarded as an exorbitant charge by Abraham Francis, the workman who did it, and the Sheriff was instructed not to pay so much unless he was forced. A steeple

was added after a few years and changes in the interior were planned in March, 1722. Col. John Appleton, Major John Whipple and John Wainwright, Esq. were appointed to

view and consider whether y^e Court Chamber at Ipswich may be enlarged and made more convenient by removing y^e Judges seats or Benches as also by running y^e stairs into y^e steeple part & taking down y^e Chamber Chimney & if they find it can be done conveniently y^t they get it done as soon and as cheap as they can.

The account, amounting to £43-3-4 was allowed in August, 1722, by the thrifty Justices of the Court.

Crimes of violence were dealt with severely. In 1697, Joseph Metcalf, indicted by the Grand jury, for "attempting to poison his wife, Rebecca, by putting rat's bane into her broth and rum and urging her to drink & eat of the same," was sentenced "to be severely whip^t on his naked back this day after lecture, 39 lashes and give bonds for £100 for good behaviour." Three midnight revellers, Robert Cross, John White and James Holmes, for assaulting and breaking open in a riotous manner, the house of Thomas Knowlton, Jr. were sentenced to pay a fine of £10 each or be whipped 20 stripes on the naked back.

Where as great disorders, Inconveniences & mischiefs have been occasioned by reason of some persons not attending y^e rules & directions of y^e Laws of this Province for y^e orderly consummation of marriages,

the Court declared its purpose in 1700 to prosecute at once "all such as have or shall presume to marry persons contrary to said Act." Whereupon John Appleton, the County Treasurer, made complaint against the Rev. John Emerson, minister of Gloucester, for marrying Beamsley Perkins and Hannah Glasier, both of Ipswich, in the year 1697, contrary to the law regarding publishment. He was

sentenced by the Salem Court to pay a fine of £50 and be "forever hereafter disabled to joyn persons in marriage." He appealed to the Superior Court, but died before the case was settled. More mortifying still to the sensibilities of the Ipswich folk, was the complaint which Mr. Appleton brought against the venerable Pastor of the Ipswich church, Rev. William Hubbard, the historian of his time, in the Ipswich Court, for marrying Thomas Larcum and Abigail Woodberry, both of Beverly, in February, 1699-1700, without proper publishment, but he was sentenced to pay the same penalty. The Court sentenced Humphrey Clark, an Ipswich soldier, who had deserted from Capt. Heath's company, the garrison at York, in May, 1704, "to sit upon the gallows in Ipswich with a rope about his neck, the other end thrown over the gallows for the space of one hour on the 8th of June next, at 4 o'clock, also to suffer three months imprisonment and pay the costs of prosecution."

The Sabbath day was guarded watchfully. Joseph Bishop of Beverly was fined 5 shillings and costs in 1698 for speaking profane words on the Sacrament day; and Ebenezer Stewart of Newbury, for scoffing at the Lord's supper on the Lord's day, was sentenced to be whipped ten stripes on his naked back and pay costs or pay 40 shillings fine and costs. John West, an Ipswich farmer, was summoned into Court to answer to the charge of being six weeks wilfully absent from the public worship of God in 1730. He made an effective plea that he was deaf and very infirm and was discharged. Old Zaccheus Newmarch, charged with the same offence, pleaded that he was old and not well able to travel and that he was of the Church of England and went to church at Newbury when the weather and ways were suitable. He too was dismissed on payment of costs. William Bennett of Rowley received less favor at the Ipswich Court in March, 1732. He was sentenced to pay a fine of twenty shillings or "sit in the stocks from half an hour

after four on Thursday next, till six and pay costs." Richard Stevens excused his absence from the Ipswich church in 1734 by his lack of proper winter clothing and was dismissed, but Israel Tucker and Elizabeth Hart, wife of Nathaniel Hart, the cooper, could give no sufficient reason and were fined twenty shillings.

Sunday travelling was severely frowned upon. Mr. Henry Sharp of Salem was arraigned in Dec., 1701 for sending or suffering his calash to go out of town and return, but he proved that it was necessary to carry Mr. Buckley newly arrived from sea, very sick and since dead, who was able to get no farther than Lynn.

On a November Sunday, in 1745, Joseph Hidden of Newbury with six other men and Elizabeth Bailey, appeared to answer to the charge of Sabbath breaking. With unusual discrimination, the Jury found in the case of Hidden, that on November 11th he was a member of the church in Newbury and usually attended there, but that "on the morning of that day he travelled to Ipswich with an Intent to attend the public worship of God there and did it accordingly. If this be a breach of the Law of the Province, we find the said Joseph guilty, otherwise, not guilty." The Court decided that his action was not a breach of the law. John Appleton, Jr., yeoman, paid a fine of twelve shillings and costs in 1785 for unnecessary working on the Lord's day.

In January, 1761, the Province Laws regarding the observance of the Lord's Day were amended, as former laws "have not been duly executed and notwithstanding the pious intention of the legislators, the Lord's Day hath been greatly and frequently prophaned." It was therefore enacted

That no person whatsoever shall keep open their shops, warehouses or work houses, nor shall, upon the land or water, do in exercise any labour, business or work of their ordinary calling nor any sport game, play or recreation on the

Lord's Day, (works of necessity and charity only excepted), upon pain of forfeiting not less than ten nor more than twenty shillings.

That no traveler, drover, horse-coarser, waggoner, butcher, higler or any of their servants, shall travel on the Lord's Day or any part thereof—except by some adversity they shall have been belated and forced to lodge in the woods, wilderness or highways, the night before (and in such case it shall be lawful to travel no further, on the Lord's day, than to the next inn or house for entertainment of travellers.)

Vintners, retailers of strong liquors, innholders or any one keeping a house of public entertainment were forbidden to entertain any of the inhabitants of the several towns or allow them to spend their time about their premises in drinking or idling. It was enacted as well,

That if any person or persons shall be recreating, disporting or unnecessarily walking or loitering or if any persons shall unnecessarily assemble themselves in any of the streets, lanes, wharves, highways, commons, fields, pastures or orchards, he shall pay a fine of five shillings.

If any person, being able of body, and not otherwise necessarily prevented, shall, for the space of one month together, absent themselves from the publick worship of God on the Lord's Day, they shall forfeit and pay the sum of ten shillings.

That no sexton, grave-digger, porter or bearer shall be assisting at the funeral of any person on the Lord's Day, or any part thereof, and no person shall toll any bell for such funeral, unless license be given by a justice of peace, on penalty of twenty shillings.

"Inasmuch as many persons are of the opinion that the Sabbath or time of religious rest begins on Saturday evening," it was further enacted under penalty of ten shillings.

That no person shall keep open any shop . . . or hawk or sell any provisions or wares in the streets or lanes of any town or district, or be present at any concert of musick,

dancing or other public diversion on the evening next preceding the Lord's Day.

Innholders were bound to the same restrictions as on the Sabbath.

To secure the enforcement of these laws it was enacted that wardens should be chosen in every community, "being of good substance and of sober life and conversation," who were authorized to enter inns, or challenge any persons on the highways and report the names of all offenders to a justice of the peace or the grand jury.

Ministers' salaries were greatly curtailed, when paid in depreciated currency, and Rev. John Wise sought relief from the Ipswich Court in 1722. The Court recognized the justice of his complaint, declared that he ought to be paid in the lawful money of New England instead of bills of credit but dismissed the suit, with a recommendation to the Committee of the Parish to compose the matter. Rev. John Rogers of Boxford received judgment in 1748 against his parish. Opposition to the ministry in Chebacco culminated on March 11, 1744, when Daniel Giddings, Thomas Choat and James Eveleth "by loudly speaking to and opposing the Rev. Mr. Theophilus Pickering, tainting his doctrine he then preached, did greatly interrupt and obstruct the celebration of the public worship of God."⁷ They were arraigned in Court but were cleared by the verdict of the Jury.

Theft was a serious matter to the thief when apprehended, and particular severity was meted out to colored thieves. Dick Singer, a young negro, who lately belonged to Mrs. Haskit of Salem and had already been sentenced to be branded in the forehead with the letter B, being found guilty of fresh burglaries in Aug. 1710, the Court ordered that the person to whom treble damage was due under the

⁷ The church was divided by the withdrawal of those friendly to the revival movement of Whitefield and Tennent.

law should dispose of the offender to any of her Majesty's subjects "for y^e Term of his natural life and to return the overplus if any, to this Court."

Major Epes had a mulatto slave, William Smith by name, notorious for his thieving. He escaped and fled from the neighborhood but the widow Martha Holms was indicted for receiving the plundered goods, "well knowing they were stolen," and sentence was passed, that she "be whipt 15 stripes on y^e naked back severely laid on & pay treble damages to owners of goods."

Caesar, alias Auniball, a mulatto man of Ipswich, laborer, on March 20th, 1737, with force & arms entered the fulling mill of Caleb Warner in Ipswich. He stole a piece of all woolen cloth of brownish color, about 13 yards, valued at £8. The sentence was that he pay £24 damage and be whipped 10 stripes on his naked back at the public whipping post. He stole also 8 yards of bluish drugget cloth valued at £5, for which the penalty was £15 and 10 stripes. As he was unable to pay, the Court ordered that Warner may sell him to any suitable person for six years.

Two negro slaves were convicted of poisoning their master, Captain Codman of Cambridge. Sentence was passed upon them in August, 1755. The Boston Gazette noted the judgment of the Court.

That Mark be drawn to the place of execution and hanged by the Neck until dead. That Phillis be drawn to the Place of Execution and be burnt to Death, which the Chief Justice, after having made an excellent Speech, pronounced in a most solemn and affecting manner, [although the Execution must be shocking, 'tis not doubted but the Sheriff may supply himself with an Executioner of the Law without going out of the County].

An executor of the dreadful sentence was duly found and "the greatest number of Spectators ever known on such an occasion" witnessed the grim spectacle.

Changes came to the Court as the years passed away. Peculiar pathos attaches to the death of Daniel Rogers. He was the son of President John Rogers of Harvard and Elizabeth, daughter of Gen. Daniel Denison, and brother in law of his associate on the bench, John Appleton, who married his sister, Elizabeth. He was graduated from Harvard in 1686 in his nineteenth year and became the teacher of the Grammar School. He presented a certificate of approbation signed by Rev. William Hubbard, Rev. John Rogers, his brother, and Rev. Joseph Gerrish to the Court at Ipswich in March, 1702 and was admitted to practice law. Returning from Hampton on the first day of December, 1722, he missed his way in Salisbury, took a wrong path that led into Salisbury marshes, where he was bewildered and lost. He called twice at the nearest house, explaining that he was bewildered and praying for help and guidance that he might reach the ferry over the Merrimac. His body was found some days later.

His gravestone stands in the old burying ground, its inscription now scarcely legible,

Here Lyes Buried
ye body of
Daniel Rogers, Esq'r.
who Dec'd Decemb'r ye 1st
1722. AEtatis 56.

Turbidus ad Laetos Solari Lumine Portus
Sollicitos Nautas per mare fert Aquilo:
Me Borealis Agens Nilidum super AEtheris Axem
Justitiae Solis Luce beavit Hyems.

It may be translated freely:

The stormy North wind drives the anxious sailors over the sea to the harbors rejoicing in the sun light.

The Northern Winter, bearing me above the blasts, has blessed [me] with the light of the Sun of Righteousness.

Col. John Appleton, son of Capt John Appleton and grandson of Samuel, the immigrant, built about 1710 the house on the corner of Market and Central Streets, now owned by Mr. Moritz B. Philipp. Here he made his home for the rest of his life. He represented the Town in General Court in 1697, was a member of the Council from 1698 to 1723, commanded a regiment in the expedition against Port Royal in 1707. After many years of service as Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, he was removed from the bench in 1732 by Governor Belcher on the ground of his age, as he was then eighty, but was made Judge of Probate in the following year and survived until 1739. His death was the occasion of many eulogies and sermons.

Col. John Wainwright, born in 1691 and a Harvard graduate, in the class of 1709, after eight years service as Clerk of the House, became a Justice of the Court and Common Pleas. He died on Sept. 1, 1739.

Thomas Berry, Physician, Colonel in the militia, a Harvard graduate in 1712, Judge of Probate as well as a Justice of the Common Pleas Court, continued on the bench for many years. He died on Aug. 10, 1756. Col. John Choate, Representative to General Court for fifteen years between 1730 and 1761, and a member of the Executive Council from 1761 to 1765, was also Justice of the Court of Sessions and the Court of Common Pleas and was Chief Justice for the last ten years of his life. Col. Daniel Appleton, son of Col. John, and Dr. Samuel Rogers were also Justices of the Court of Sessions.

As the century drew to its close, cases of a new sort appeared, incident to the Revolutionary War. The Rev. Joshua Wingate Weeks of Marblehead was complained of by that Town "as being inimical" in October, 1777. The verdict of the jury was that he was "not a person so inimical to this the united States that his residence is dangerous to the public peace and safety", and the counsel for the Town

said that he would not carry the case farther. The Ipswich Court of March 28, 1780, tried the case of Jonathan Tyler of Boxford, yeoman, charged with purchasing 4000 lbs. of salted pork. The Jury found him guilty of purchasing the pork at a cost of £600, in violation of a law of this State entitled "An Act against Monopoly and Oppression". He was sentenced to pay a fine of £3000, five times the value of the pork, one half to go to the prosecutor and the other to the Town of Methuen, where the offence was committed. The costs, amounting to £185-17- 8, were added to the fine.

The Supreme Court, constituted late in the century, held an annual session in Ipswich in April of each year. The famous trial of Pomp, the Andover negro, for killing Charles Furbush on Feb. 10th, 1795, occurred in June 1795. He had been confined in Ipswich jail since Feb. 12, and after sentence of death had been passed, he was held in jail until the day of his execution, when he was taken to the "Gallowes field", on the corner of the Rowley Road and Mile Lane, and there hanged. The sentences were notably severe at this period. John Williams, convicted at the Ipswich session in June, 1799, of a felonious assault at night, was sentenced to "sit on the gallows one hour with rope around his neck and one end thereof cast over the gallows and publicly whipped on his naked back 20 stripes and pay costs."

Stephen Sessions of Boxford convicted of theft, was sentenced to pay to the injured party \$15.40 "which with the goods returned is treble damages. If he does not pay in 30 days, Davis may dispose of him in service to any person for 3 months." An Ipswich shoemaker was arraigned in April, 1801, charged with the serious offence that

being a person of immoral, profane and irreligious life and conversation (he) did wilfully blaspheme the holy name of God by contumeliously reproaching Jesus Christ, viz. by speaking and uttering the following profane and blasphemous

mous words viz. "I am Christ Jesus crucified," to the great dishonor of morality and religion, to the disgrace and destruction of good morals and good manners against the peace and contrary to the form of the Statute in that case made and provided.

For this he was sentenced to six months imprisonment and for assaults on three different men, fines were imposed.

Cato Haskell, a negro, for an unnatural crime, had to sit in the pillory for an hour, pay costs and spend 3 months in prison. Ichabod Paine of Ipswich had in his possession a counterfeit ten dollar bill of the Farmers' Exchange Bank and was sentenced to the State Prison, five days solitary confinement and six months at hard labor. John Williams stole five pair of shoes, valued at \$5 from the shop of Joseph Hodgkins, Esq., in 1808. His sentence was solitary imprisonment for two months, followed by hard labor for two years in the State Prison. The theft of three silver watches sent Edmund Patrick to prison, twenty days solitary confinement and a year of hard labor.

John Bates stole two silver teaspoons valued at \$2, from the house of Nathaniel Rust and was sentenced to solitary imprisonment thirty days and a year of hard labor. "Sally" Choate, as she was familiarly known, kept a shop, probably in her dwelling, still standing on the turn of the road, opposite Mr. Clark Abell's. John and Charles Whitehouse broke in and stole fifteen yards of bed ticking valued at \$8. They were sentenced to hard labor in the State Prison for three years, the first fifteen days solitary. Stephen Merrill Clark of Newburyport, not yet twenty-one years old, convicted of setting fire to a building was sentenced to be hanged at Salem in October, 1820.

From time to time the most eminent lawyers appeared as counsel in the Ipswich Court. Once at least, Daniel Webster conducted a case and addressed the jury with marvellous power. The late Peter Harvey used to tell the story

with great zest.⁸ One Friday afternoon in the year 1817, three men called on Mr. Webster at his Boston office. Overwhelmed with fatigue from his Congressional duties, he was on the point of slipping away for a fortnight's fishing and gunning, and he had determined to refuse any demand upon his services. His visitors proved to be friends and neighbors of Levi and Laban Kenniston, accused of robbing a certain Major Goodridge on the highway, whose trial would take place at Ipswich the next day. They desired him to undertake the defence, saying that no member of the Essex bar would act on their behalf. Mr. Webster refused point blank on the ground of his fatigue and declared that no fee could tempt him to forego his vacation trip. "Well", was the reply of one of the delegation, "it isn't the fee that we think of at all, though we are willing to pay what you may charge; but its justice. Here are two New Hampshire men who are believed in Exeter and Newbury and Newburyport and Salem to be rascals; but we in Newmarket believe, in spite of all evidence against them, that they are the victims of some conspiracy. . . . We suppose that men whom we know to have been honest all their lives can't have become such desperate rogues all of a sudden." "But I cannot take the case", persisted Mr. Webster, "I am worn to death with overwork, I have not had any real sleep for forty-eight hours. Besides I know nothing of the case." . . . "But you're a New Hampshire man," he continued, "and the *neighbors* thought that you would not allow two innocent New Hampshire men however humble they may be in their circumstances, to suffer for lack of your skill in exposing the wiles of this scoundrel Goodridge. The *neighbors* all desire you to take the case."

Their simple plea carried him back to his country home, and the kindly offices of the neighbors in every time of sick-

⁸ The Speeches and Orations of Daniel Webster with an Introductory Essay by Edwin P. Whipple, page XV.

ness or trouble he had known so often in his boyhood. "Oh! said he, ruefully, "if the neighbors think I may be of service, of course I must go" and with his three companions, he was soon seated in the stage for Ipswich, where he arrived about midnight. The court met the next morning and his management of the case is still considered one of his masterpieces of legal acumen and eloquence.

Circumstantial evidence seemed to settle the guilt of his clients beyond question. No respectable lawyer would risk his own reputation in their defence. No motive could be imagined, which should prompt Goodridge to wound and rob himself. But Mr. Webster after a cross-examination of the accuser, which rivalled the tortures of the Inquisition, turned to the jury. Addressing them familiarly in simple language, as though he were discussing the case at one of their own firesides, he assailed the argument for the prosecution, and appealed to the jury to say under their oaths, whether such inconsistencies and improbabilities should have any weight. "It is for the jury to say", he repeated after every period and when the case was given to them, they said, "Not guilty." Not only were the Kennistons vindicated but the public which almost unanimously had denounced them as villains, deserving the severest punishment, soon recognized their innocence.

Goodridge disappeared soon after the trial. Some twenty years after, Mr. Webster while travelling in western New York stopped at a village tavern for a glass of water. The hand of the man behind the bar who gave it to him, trembled violently. Mr. Webster, looking him steadily in the eye, recognized Goodridge and it was evident that Goodridge knew him.

Eight years after this famous trial, in April, 1825, another case came before the Court, of especial significance. The facts were very commonplace. Mine host, Samuel Smith, innkeeper of the famous old tavern, which is identical in

part, with the present residence of Dr. William E. Tucker, had a bay mare, which had been hired by Mr. John C. Kimball, the cooper, to take a load of cider barrels to Salem. Mr. Ammi Smith, who owned the old Massachusetts Woolen Factory, where Caldwell's Block now stands, had obstructed the highway, as it was claimed, with three cords of wood. The loaded wagon struck the wood, and an empty cider barrel fell on the mare and made her lame for five months. The case had been tried in the Court of Common Pleas, the counsel for Mr. Smith being Rufus Choate, then a young fledgling of a lawyer. He secured a verdict for his client and Mr. Smith recovered the cost of the suit, "taxed at \$3.48." Mr. Smith appealed to the Supreme Court, Mr. Choate appearing again and Asa Andrews, Esq. and John Pickering for the prosecution. The verdict was sustained and Mr. Smith recovered \$32.79, the costs of the suit. In November of the same year, 1825, Rufus Choate, Esq., bringing a certificate of his liberal education and legal studies, which affirmed that he had practised law for two years "with fidelity and ability," was admitted to practise as an attorney before the Supreme Court.

For years afterwards, the sitting of the Court in Ipswich was a great event, for the reputation of the young advocate grew rapidly and he was frequently present. Remembrance of his coal black hair, his piercing eye, and persuasive eloquence still lingers. In the Spring session of 1829, he appeared as counsel in three suits and won his case in every instance. In one of these, Nicholas Woodberry of Hamilton, appellant versus Joseph Patch of Hamilton, who charged him with burning a school house, Asahel Huntington was associate counsel with Mr. Choate and Leverett Saltonstall and Ebenezer Shillaber appeared for the defence. The plaintiff secured the verdict: "\$250 damage for defaming good name and costs of suit, \$167.81."

Other famous advocates came and went. Caleb Cushing

was counsel in an action for debt in April, 1826. Asa Andrews, Esq., the Ipswich attorney, was a familiar figure.

Many weighty cases were argued but the greater part were of small account. They are interesting to the student of history, chiefly from the extreme severity of the sentences imposed and their striking inequality.

In 1824, Charles Farrars of Salem, convicted of stealing eight herrings, six crackers and a junk of tobacco valued at twenty cents, was sentenced to six days solitary confinement and six months hard labor; and on a second charge of stealing fifty cents worth of nails and a gimlet, etc. worth thirty cents, a similar sentence was imposed, to be suffered after the expiration of the first. John Jones of Essex broke into the shop of George W. Heard one night in 1826, forced open a desk and stole a spy glass and some bank bills. He was sentenced to six days solitary confinement and eighteen months hard labor in the State prison. For stealing one silver tablespoon, valued at three dollars from the house of Henry Russell, William Morison was sentenced to six days solitary and a year of hard labor. John Emerson's theft of articles of clothing from William Lakeman cost him a day solitary and eighteen months' imprisonment.

From time to time, a note of alarm was sounded, indicating that projects for the removal of the Courts from Ipswich were being considered. The Town Meeting on Dec. 24th, 1782 adopted a minute; That the Law Courts should be held in the same places as "most conducive to the peace and quiet of the County of Essex." In Sept., 1783, the towns of Newbury and Amesbury having petitioned the General Court that the Courts of Law and Offices of Registry of Deeds and of Probate and Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas and Sessions for the County of Essex may be held and kept for the future in Ipswich, the order of the Court thereon was read in Town Meeting and the Town voted "That the Town is in favor," and also "That the Town will

not be wanting in their Endeavors for the convenient accommodation of said Courts." The sincerity of the Ipswich people was further manifested in the building of a new Town House and Court House jointly with the County in 1793, on the same spot occupied by the old building, built in 1704.

In November, 1808, a remonstrance to the General Court against the proposed removal of the Supreme Court from Ipswich and Newburyport was drawn up. It affirmed that one term of the Supreme and two terms of Common Pleas had been held for a long time here, and that lately the Legislature had established the whole of the Courts of Sessions at Ipswich; also that monthly and regular Probate Courts have always been and now are, and that the Town had lately built a Court House and that chimneys had been erected in said house and a stone jail had been built lately at a cost of \$27,000. As other towns grew into cities and Ipswich fell into a steady decline, the pressure upon the General Court to remove the Courts from Ipswich to larger centers of population grew more and more insistent. It was proposed in 1848 that the Court of Common Pleas should be removed to Haverhill and Lawrence and Charles Kimball and George Haskell were appointed a Committee to oppose this plan. For a time the Town succeeded in its opposition but the removal was soon again in debate. The Town renewed its remonstrance in February, 1854, but in June of that year, the Court of Common Pleas sat for the last time. The Court house was removed to the corner now occupied by the Damon Block and was destroyed by fire in 1894. The bell used by the Court Crier proclaiming with his Oyez, Oyez, the coming of the Court, and two large lustre pitchers which adorned the Bar, the only reminders of the ancient glory of the Ipswich Court which survive, are now in the cabinet of the Ipswich Historical Society.

The Registry of Deeds and of Probate was continued in Ipswich for many years later. From the earliest times,

Ipswich had supplied the Justices of Probate and the Registers. Robert Lord, the first Clerk of the old Quarter Sessions Court, served from 1648 to 1683, and Col. Thomas Wade, the second clerk of writs, held his office from 1684 to 1696. Mention has already been made of the long and useful services of Col. John Appleton, Col. Thomas Berry and Col. John Choate.

Daniel Rogers, whose tragic death has been described, was Register of Probate as well as Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, serving from October 23, 1702 until his death, December 1, 1722.

Col. Daniel Appleton succeeded. He was son of Judge John Appleton and brother-in-law of Judge Thomas Berry. His term of service covered nearly forty years, from January 9, 1723 to August 17, 1762, the date of his death. He too, combined with this, the dignity of a Justice of the Court of Sessions. Dr. Samuel Rogers succeeded in the office of Register and continued in office the rest of his life, from August 26, 1762 to Dec. 21, 1772. He was the son of Rev. John Rogers and grandson of President John of Harvard. A Harvard graduate of 1725, he served the Town and Colony in many positions of honor and usefulness, as physician, Town clerk, Colonel of a regiment, Justice of the Court of Sessions and Representative to the General Court.

For another forty years, Daniel Noyes was the Register. He was a Harvard graduate in the class of 1758, and taught the Grammar School from 1762 to 1774. In that year he was a delegate to the Congress of the United Colonies, and in 1775 he became Postmaster, succeeding Deacon James Foster, the first Postmaster of the Town. He was appointed Register of Probate on Sept. 29, 1776 and held the office until his death, March 21, 1815. He owned and occupied the house on the corner of Market and County Streets, now owned by Mr. M. B. Philipp, which had been the home of Judge John Appleton and his son Daniel Appleton.

The next Register was Nathaniel Lord, 3^d, "Squire Lord" as he was familiarly known, who had been Clerk to Mr. Noyes. He was graduated from Harvard in 1798. Coming to the office of Register with the experience gained as Clerk, it is said that he performed his duties with such orderliness and neatness and originality of method, that the Registry became a model office. His term extended from May 29, 1815 to 1851. During his term of office, the Probate Court and Registry attained the dignity of a building, erected for its own use. For many years, the valuable records had been kept probably in the dwelling of the Register, but a room was fitted up in the new Court house in 1798 for the accommodation of the Probate office and the safeguarding of the books of the Registry. In the year 1817, the County erected a brick building forty feet long, twenty-eight feet wide and one story high, which was occupied December 15, 1817 and at last the Records were deposited in a secure vault.

Mr. Lord's three sons all entered the legal profession. Otis P. became an eminent Justice of the Supreme Court, Nathaniel J. attained high rank and George R. succeeded his father as Register. In the year 1852, the Registry and its Records were removed to Salem and Mr. George R. Lord, having removed to Salem, became Assistant Clerk of Courts, holding the office until his death. True to the family tradition, his son George R. Lord has filled a responsible office in the Clerk of Courts for many years.

The Probate Court continued to sit semi-annually until September 15, 1874, holding its sessions in the Town Hall. During the War of the Rebellion, the vacant Probate building was occupied as the barracks of a military company recruited here by Capt. John A. Hobbs. It was sold to the Lodge of Odd Fellows, December 26, 1867 and was enlarged by the building of an addition on the western end and the addition of a second story.

CHAPTER VI.

DIVISION IN THE PARISH

The Hamlet—Linebrook—The Great Awakening—The South Parish

The ministerial salary occasioned difficulties of a very serious nature. All the inhabitants were assessed the ministerial rates. Many families, however, who dwelt in remote districts, worshipped regularly with the congregations in neighboring towns near their homes and contributed to the support of these churches. This caused a double burden, from which very naturally they sought relief. The Chebacco Parish had been established by vote of the Town on February 15, 1680 and since that time, the residents in that section had supported their own minister, and had been relieved of any obligation to the old parish.

Forty families of the Hamlet, including sixty-five men, addressed a lengthy petition to the Town on May 1st, 1712, praying that they may be allowed to build a meeting house and be set off as a separate precinct. They affirmed that the Ipswich meeting house was too far removed, and that they worshipped regularly and with greater convenience with the church in Wenham. But this meeting house was overcrowded, and some other provision was necessary.

The Town voted to allow the petition on May 22, 1712, if a meeting house be erected and an orthodox minister be called to the pastorate. The boundaries of the new precinct were also defined. But this vote did not exempt the Hamlet people from their regular ministerial rate to Ipswich and

the vote of the Town declared that such payment was necessary.

It will be considered that we have two ministers to maintain, whose salaries must not be diminished and as there have been two ministers here maintained from the foundation of the world, so we hope there will continue to be to the end of the world. . . . If it should ever be otherwise, it will be a shameful degeneracy from the piety of our ancestors.

The Hamlet people petitioned the General Court to be set off as a separate precinct, and their request was granted on October 14, 1713. But the Ipswich people were not disposed to assent to complete separation. The Town voted on December 3^d:

In consideration of the expense of building the meeting house at the Hamlet, all in that precinct be relieved of minister's rate in Ipswich for that year.

and on April 8, 1714:

That our friends in the Hamlet be freed from charge about y^e repairing our meeting house, sweeping sd house & ringing y^e bell.

In the following year, another petition was addressed to the General Court, and on June 7, 1715, the Town voted

That Col. Samuel Appleton, Esq., Nehemiah Jewett, Esq. or either of them Represent y^e Town of Ipswich & attend upon y^e Gen^l Court to make answer to y^e Petition y^e our Neighbors in y^e new precinct called y^e Hamlett hath made to y^e said Gen^l Court for y^e adding some more Inhabitants to y^e precinct.

Some spirited passages followed between the contending parties, but in the course of a few months, the families were definitely apportioned and the new Parish began its independent career with the erection of its meeting house and settling Rev. Samuel Wigglesworth as Pastor.

This did not involve a territorial division however. The Hamlet precinct was not incorporated as a separate town until June 21, 1793, when the name Hamilton was chosen by Dr. Manasseh Cutler because of his admiration for Alexander Hamilton.

Encouraged by the success of the Hamlet petitioners, a group of families living in the district now known as Linebrook made their petition in 1714, and on April 8, the Town voted:

That y^e severall persons hereafter named, who petitioned y^e Town for Ease of y^r Taxes of y^e Ministers rate (by reason of y^e distance) be abated their head or Poll money in y^t Tax, viz.

Abram How	Sam ⁿ Potter
Sam ⁿ Perley	Thom. Potter
Jn ^o Perley	Stephen Perly
Neh. Abbott	Caleb Foster
Isaac Foster	Jn ^o Lampson
Abram Foster	Daniel Foster
Jacob Foster	Isaac Cummings
Abram How, Jun ^r .	Abijah How

Nehemiah Abbott, John Lampson and some others petitioned in June, 1729 that they, with their families and lands might be set off to Topsfield. This was referred to a Committee, which reported that as their taxes had already been remitted by the First Parish to those who went to Topsfield, the petition should be refused, and it was so voted.

Four years later, the men of the neighborhood again presented their grievances, but now addressed the Parish.

March the 21st, 1733-4.

To the First Parish in Ipswich now assembled.

Gentlemen. Greeting. We, the Subscribers, Humbly shew that whereas the Scituation of our habitation is such that we Should Labour under great Difficulty in attending

Divine service where we properly belong, It being six miles therefrom in General And that it is short of Three miles in General to Topsfield where we Constantly attend the publick Worship of God. Therefore we pray that you would take our Great Difficulty into your Compassionate Consideration and abate to us and our Heirs the one half of our parish rate in Ipswich so Long as we shall attend Divine service in Topsfield that so we may be the better Enabled to pay where we hear, and in so doing you will oblige your Humble petitioners.

Abraham Foster	John Neland
Lott Conant	Abr ^{am} Foster, Jun.
Abraham How	John Howlett
Caleb Foster	John Lampson, Jun.
Samuel Parley	Deborah Parley
Thomas Potter	John Lampson
Isaac Cummings, Jr.	John Abbot
Nehemiah Abbott	Jonathan Perley
Samuel Potter	Jonathan Foster
Mark How	Joseph Cummings

The Parish granted their petition, March 21st, 1733. Still they were not content and Lott Conant and his neighbors addressed another petition to the Town at the March meeting in 1736. Whereupon the Town refused their specific request but made a considerable compromise:

Voted that Lott Conant, John Lampson, Caleb Foster, Edward Neland, Samuel Potter, Philip Nealand, Thomas Potter, John Abbott, Isaac Cumings, Jun., Joseph Cumings, Mark How, Jonathan Foster, Allen Perley, Abraham Foster, Jun., John Howlett, Samuel Perley, Jonathan Perley, John Lampson, Junr., that petitiond the Town of Ipswich at their Annual Meeting the Seventh of March Currant. to be sett off to the Town of Topsfield be & hereby are Discharged from all Parish Charge as soon as they shall Obtain from the Great & Gen^l Court the Privileges & Immunities of Parishioners in the Town of Topsfield.

They repeated their request to be set off on May 5th, 1737,

setting forth the difficulties due to remoteness from the meeting-house and declaring that the Town of Topsfield had invited them to be part of their town. Isaac Cummings, of the same neighborhood, desired that he might continue in the First Parish. The Committee reported adversely, but suggested again that they be relieved from paying parish tax to the old Parish, and it was so agreed, on condition that they pay parish charges where they worshipped, and that the approbation of the General Court be secured.

It was reported to the Town on March 5, 1739-40, that the Town of Topsfield refused to receive Lot Conant and others as members of the Parish only. Col. John Choate then proposed that the First Parish relieve them of taxes, yet allow them room in the meeting-house for worship, and a Committee be chosen to negotiate with them. A Committee of the First Parish conferred with them and reported on Dec. 2, 1742, that the West end should not become a Parish but should maintain worship. But on April 12, 1744, the Parish voted that they be set off as they desired and on June 7, 1746, the General Court, upon petition of John Fowler, James Davis and others, Inhabitants of the westerly part of Ipswich and the southerly part of Rowley ordered that,

They be erected into a distinct and separate Precinct, excepting the following Persons and their Estates, viz.^t John Chaplain, Moses Hopkinson, Samuel Stickney, Jun^r, John Dickenson, Thomas Dickenson, George Kilburn, Thomas Wood, Thomas Wood, Jr., John Chaplin, Jun^r, Job Pingre, Aaron Pingree, Jedediah Kilburn, David Perley, Eliphalet Kilburn, Stephen Pingre, unless, the above said Persons give unto the Secretary's office under their hands that they be willing to be joined to said Precinct within twelve months.¹

The farm folk of the "Village" as the district adjoining

¹ Acts and Resolves XIII, 470, 600.

For the history of the new Parish, see Chapter on The Linebrook Parish.

Rowley has been called for many years, who worshipped with the church in Rowley, began their contention on March 4, 1730, when Moses Bradstreet and others desired to be set off to Rowley.

This was referred to the First Parish and was not approved. A second petition followed a few years later, and met with a better reception, but the end was not yet.

Samuel Dresser, Moses Davis, John Harris, Nathaniel Bradstreet, Daniel Dresser, Purchase Jewett and Moses Jewett addressed a Petition² to the Governor and Council on March 5, 1746, declaring that they lived much nearer Rowley than Ipswich and affirming

Many of us belong to the first church in Rowley and Constantly attend the publick worship there and so did our Predecessors Ever Since the first settlement of Rowley as we have understood.

They complained that they were assessed the parish tax and allowed no abatement and prayed that they might be set off to Rowley. The First Parish replied in May, denying many of the statements made by the petitioners and affirming the weakness of the Parish.

With regard to this Parish our Circumstances are bad enough already for besides two Parishes formerly taken out of it about a year ago, We sett off a large part of a third to joyn with some others and this Court was pleased to add thereto a considerable Quantity of Land more than we granted or even than they themselves Expected. Our Income is greatly diminished by the almost total decay of our Trade & Fishery, which used to be a considerable part of our profit. Not only so, our Charge is much Increased as the Poor by this means are Multiply'd upon us. We have always maintained a weekly Lecture and are now in Building two Meeting Houses.

² Acts and Resolves, Vol. XIII, p. 695.

Despite this appeal, the General Court granted the petitioners and their estates, together with the estate of Francis Pickard and Jonathan Pickard lying on the North side of Egypt River "(and that do not now belong to the West Parish in Ipswich)" to be set off from the First Parish and annexed to the First Parish in Rowley, Nov., 1748.⁸

In the midst of these contentions, the "Great Awakening", as it was called, swept over New England. In central Massachusetts, Rev. Jonathan Edwards of Northampton had produced a profound spiritual impression by his sombre and powerful preaching and his services in the pulpit were in great demand. The famous Rev. George Whitefield arrived in Philadelphia from England in November, 1739 and multitudes flocked to his preaching. He did not reach Boston until September, 1740. Great congregations assembled in the old Brattle Street church and in the Old South and were greatly moved. He came to Ipswich on his way to Maine and was entertained at the home of Rev. Mr. Rogers⁴ and preached to a great assembly. "The Lord gave me freedom", he entered in his Journal, "and there was a great melting in the congregation." On his return, he preached again and the tradition is, that not only were men and women struck with an awful sense of sin but Satan himself was so discomfited that he rushed up the steeple stairs and leaped down on the rocky ledge, where his massive foot-print is still found by curious searchers.

Rev. Gilbert Tennent came to Boston in December, 1740, and preached there until March, 1741, with great power. His own story of the meetings informs us:

Agreeable to the numerous bills of the awakened put up in public sometimes rising to the number of sixty at once, there repaired to us, both boys and girls, young men and women, Indians and Negroes, heads of families, aged per-

⁸ Acts and Resolves, Vol. XIII, p. 529.

⁴ Probably Rev. Nathaniel Rogers.

sons, those who had been in full communion and going on in a course of religion many years.

Private societies for religious exercises were formed by the young people and their elders as well. The meeting houses were crowded for a year and ministers often preached in private houses, every evening except Saturday, for a week together. Mr. Tennent preached in Ipswich and the neighboring towns. Rev. Mr. White of Gloucester narrated the revival work in his own church:

There was poured down a spirit of prayer upon young and old, especially the younger sort, and children of five, six or seven years and upward would pray to admiration. And in our parish there have since been formed no less than nine distinct societies of young and old, male & female, bond & free (for one of them is a society of negroes, who in their meetings behave very seriously and decently) who meet, several of them, twice a week, to pray and sing as well as to read books of piety and the rest once a week. And the younger say their catechism to the head of the meeting. And several sermons have been preached to them. The singing of Dr. Watt's Hymns is the chief recreation of Christians when they convene.

Nervous women and men of an excitable temperament had extraordinary experiences. Rev. Ebenezer Parkman of Westborough noted in his Journal in February, 1742:

Mr. James Fay came for me to go and see Isaiah Pratt, who lay in a strange condition at his house, not having spoke nor been sensible since nine o'clock last night. . . . When he regained his senses, he said he had not been asleep, had seen hell and seen Christ, and said Christ told him his name was in the book of life, though the devil had told him there was no room for him in heaven.

In September, 1742, Mr. Daniel Rogers of Ipswich, brother of Rev. Nathaniel, was his guest, having preached

lately at Marlborough. The meetings were then accompanied with crying and screaming and many evidences of great mental distress. The excitement and extravagances grew apace. In June, 1742, one Rev. James Davenport had left his home in Southold, Long Island, being guided, as he affirmed, by the Holy Ghost, and directed where to go, what to do, what to say. He came to Boston in June, but the ministers refused to allow him entrance to their pulpits, and he preached on the Common, his vagaries rousing much disorder. On August 6th, he visited Ipswich and remained several days as the guest of Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, preaching in his pulpit. No record of his services in our town remain, but full and interesting particulars of his boisterous and frantic methods were narrated by Dr. Chauncey, the strongest opponent of the movement in his "Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England", which he published in 1743.⁵

After narrating the confusion occasioned by screaming, shrieking, talking, praying, singing, laughing and even kissing and congratulating one another on their deliverance from the bondage of sin, he continues:

An account of Mr. D . . . t's Preaching not altogether unlike this, a Gentleman in Connecticut wrote to one of the ministers in this Town upon his own knowledge in these words:

At length he turned his Discourse to others and with the utmost strength of his lungs, addressed himself to the congregation under these and such like expressions, viz. You poor unconverted Creatures in the Seats, in the Pews, in the Galleries, I wonder you don't drop into Hell! It would not surprise me, I should not wonder at it, if I should see you drop down now, this Minute into Hell. You Pharisees, Hypocrites, now, now, now, you are going right into the

⁵ It was published by subscription, and the names of Hon. Thomas Berry, Mr. Joseph Calfe and Rev. Mr. John Rogers appear in the list of subscribers. Dr. Chauncey was well remembered in Ipswich.

Bottom of Hell. I wonder you don't drop into Hell by Scores and Hundreds.

* * * * *

After a short prayer, he called for all the Distrest Persons (which were near twenty) into the foremost seats. Then he came out of the pulpit and stripped off his upper Garment and got up into the Seat and leapt up and down sometime and clapt his hands and cried out in these words. The War goes on, the Fight goes on, the Devil goes down, the Devil goes down, and then he betook himself to stamping and screaming most dreadfully.

The Boston Post Boy published a narrative of the disorders occasioned by Davenport and others like him.

This frequently frights the little children and sets them a screaming and that frights their tender Mothers and sets them to Screaming and by degrees spreads over a great Part of the Congregation. And 40, 50, or 100 of them screaming all together makes such an awful and hideous Noise, as will make a Man's hair stand on end. Some will faint away, fall down upon the floor, wallow and foam. Some women will rend off their caps, Handkerchiefs and other Clothes, tear their Hair down about their Ears, and seem perfectly bereft of their reason.

Frightful as were these portrayals of the impending doom of the impenitent, they were no wise more terrible than Jonathan Edwards's sermon "Sinners in the hands of an angry God," from the text, "Their foot shall slide in (due) time." Puritan divines from the time of Rev. Thomas Shepard of Cambridge were wont to dilate on the torments of the lost with great unction. The preaching during the Great Awakening was not so offensive to the more liberal minded men of the times as the gross excesses encouraged by ignorant and fanatical ranters, and this was of less account perhaps than the discredit and abuse cast upon the ministry. Whitefield began to assail "uncon-

verted ministers" at the beginning of his preaching. A correspondent of the Boston Evening Post wrote that

I have several times heard Mr. Tennent declare that the greatest part by far of the Ministers in this land were carnal, unconverted men and that they held damnable Arminian principles and have heard him pray that the Lord would either convert them or turn them out of his Vineyard.

He preached a sermon on "The Danger of an unconverted Ministry." In a sermon preached at Nottingham, published by the Synod at Philadelphia, Mr. Tennent indulged in extraordinary vituperative epithets against the ministers:

Hirelings, Caterpillars, Pharisees, plaistered Hypocrites, Varlets, the Seed of the Serpent, dry Nurses, dead Dogs that cannot bark, blind Men, dead Men, Men possessed with the Devil, moral Negroes, Judases, swarms of Locusts.

As a natural result of such denunciations by these prominent men, a great number of ignorant but fervid exhorters sprang up who wandered from place to place, professing that they had an immediate call from Heaven, who worked their way into many pulpits and failing that, held forth in private houses, and sowed seeds of discord by insinuating that the educated ministry were not sound in the faith, and were false to their ordination vows.

James Davenport, already mentioned, was the chief offender, it would seem, and while he was preaching at Ipswich, the Grand Jury was considering the charges that were made against him. They found sufficient cause to draw up a presentment against him.

That one James Davenport of Southold, N. Y., Clerk, now resident in Boston, under the pretence of praying, preaching and exhorting at diverse places in the Towns of Boston, and Dorchester, . . . in the month of July last and August current . . . did in the Hearing of great

numbers of the Subjects of our Lord the King, maliciously publish and with a loud Voice utter and declare many Slanderous and reviling Speeches against the godly and faithful Ministers of the Gospel in this Province That the greatest part of the said Ministers were carnal and unconverted men; that they knew nothing of Jesus Christ and that they were leading their People blindfold down to Hell and that they were destroying and murdering of Souls by Thousands, the said James Davenport, at the same time, directing and advising their hearers to withdraw from them, the said Ministers, and not to hear them preach, nor frequent the Assemblies of Public Worship, where, they, the said ministers, taught and preached, for that the following and hearing of them was as destructive to the Souls of those who heard them, as swallowing Rats Bane or Poison was to their Bodies, praying the Lord to pull them, the said Ministers, down and put others in their place.

Davenport was tried, and found guilty of uttering these words, but as the Court very charitably regarded him as non-compos-mentis when he spoke, the case was dismissed. While he was in Ipswich, Mr. Pickering, Pastor of the Chebacco Church, refused to allow him to preach in his pulpit. Some of his people were dissatisfied with his opposition to the revival, as they regarded it, and wished him to promote it. Meetings were held in his Parish, attended by Mr. White of Gloucester, Mr. Emerson of Malden and the brothers, Rev. Nathaniel and Rev. Daniel Rogers of Ipswich. Mr. Pickering complained of their intrusion into his domain and a considerable correspondence with Rev. Nathaniel Rogers resulted. In the end, the dissatisfaction became so great that twenty-six members withdrew and formed a new church in Chebacco, called the Fourth Church, in March, 1744.

Daniel Rogers was evidently very progressive in his attitude toward the established polity of the time. In July, 1742, he was ordained at York. A communication in the

Boston Evening Post of Nov. 22, styles it an unlawful assembly

to ordain the said R—s at large, to be a vagrant preacher to the people of God in this land; contrary to the peace of our Lord the King and Head of his Church and to the good order and constitution of the churches in New England as established by the Platform.

Some of the neighboring ministers refused to approve this irregular action. An extremely exciting episode was injected into the revival services in Ipswich by the appearance of Richard Woodbury of Rowley, an itinerant exhorter, who had been ordained in some irregular way to be an Evangelist. The Boston Gazette of July 24th, 1744, tells the story:

Here his language was blasphemous and profane and his public and private conduct ridiculous and absurd. He professed to come as a special messenger from God, authorized not only to teach but to pronounce temporal curses on the rebellious He pretended to cast out devils and work other miracles, and sometimes he drank healths to "King Jesus" and to "the King of Kings and Lord of Lords."

The venerable Senior Pastor, Rev. John Rogers testified that notwithstanding the disturbance thus occasioned for a time, the good work of grace was still going on among the people.

Jonathan Edwards published his "Thoughts on the Revival of Religion in New England" in 1742 and suggested in that work that a history of the progress of the revival should be published at frequent intervals, to receive accounts from every quarter. In accordance with this suggestion, Rev. Thomas Prince, published his "Christian History" for a little while. One of the most interesting communications was the letter from Rev. John Rogers.

Rev. & Dear Brethren :

I shall on the very Day of your proposed meeting, viz. July 7th, (God continuing my Life to that Day) enter on the 78th year of my Age and in the 54th of my ministry. And now desire, as I have utmost reason, to bless God, who has given me to see a Day of such marvellous Power and Grace, particularly in this place, and since the Rev. Mr. Whitefield and Tennent came among us, wherein great numbers of our young people and others of more advanced age, give clear evidence of a saving change wrought in them, and by the fruits of the Spirit shew that they are born of the Spirit, And many Persons of Christian experience before have been greatly revived, enriched with grace, stablished and comforted by a new Influence, in & through the Word read & preached. This I have found by my best Observations, in general and more intimate Conversation with many of these Scores yea, I think I may say, Hundreds living here & in the Neighborhood and with several from distant places, who universally speak the same language, all giving testimony by their Experience to the Truth of Gospel Doctrines of Grace.

John Rogers.

Ipswich, July 2, 1743.

Mr. Rogers died of palsy on Dec. 28th, 1745, in his eightieth year. The Parish bore the expense of his funeral, funeral rings £22-10s., mourning gloves £7-10s, Mr. Pickman for sundries £22-15s. and miscellaneous expense, £141-14s. 1d. The gravestone was erected at the expense of the Parish.

The strenuous resistance of the First Parish to the various petitions for division which have been considered, will appear very reasonable and justifiable, when due regard is paid to an ominous desire for a separation of the people of the South side of the Town, which was evidently gathering force for more than twenty years before the new Parish was established. In the year, 1725, a petition was addressed to the First Parish by certain "inhabitants of the

South side of the River, praying that they may be permitted to build a meeting house and support a minister on their own account. There is no record of the exact nature of this petition, but it is a matter of record that it was read at a legal meeting of the First Parish, November 17, 1725 and referred to a Committee consisting of Thomas Berry, Esq., Samuel Wallis, Jr., Mr. Edward Eveleth, Captain Daniel Rindge, Sergeant Dillingham Caldwell, Mr. Thomas Norton, Lieut. Robert Lord, Mr. Jonathan Fellows, Mr. Daniel Appleton, Mr. John Choate, Lieut. Nathaniel Hart and Mr. John Baker, to consider the petition and report at the next meeting. This Committee reported on the eighth of December, 1725, and it was

Voted, That when and so soon as the Petitioners or a major part of the Proprietors or Inhabitants in the South side of the River have erected and built a public meeting house on the South side the River, and have the Word of God there publicly preached and do acquit their Interest in this meeting house on ye North side the River, Then they, the Petitioners on the South side the river with as many of the Proprietors and Inhabitants living on the South side the river, as shall see cause to Joyn with them, and all those that may regularly and legally be obtained to Joyn with them in Building said meeting house or in Calling, Settleing and Maintaining a minister with them, that shall with their lands and estates on the South side the River, as also all skirts and Pieces of land belonging to out-town persons, in the First Parish in Ipswich, be set off to become a separate and distinct Parish, and shall be freed and exempted from paying to any Parish rate and Taxes here in the North.

For reasons to be noted hereafter the petitioners did not avail themselves at the time, of the liberty thus given them, and there is no further intimation of a desire for separation until 1746, though we may imagine that this desire may have been stimulated afresh by the Parish vote

of April 12th, 1744, whereby the Linebrook Parish was set off.

The meeting house erected in 1699-1700 was now too small for the accommodation of the worshippers. As early as 1731 a Committee of the Parish was appointed to recommend plans for enlarging the house, and from that time onward a variety of makeshifts was constantly proposed to make the requisite room. The old house was rapidly becoming unfit as well for public worship, and Committees on repair succeeded each other rapidly. The great revival under the preaching of Whitefield and Tennent in 1742 added one hundred and twenty three to the membership in about two years and in 1746, it has been estimated⁶ that there were three hundred and four members. On the third of March, following the death of the Senior Pastor, Jonathan Wade, Esq., Col. John Choate and a large number of the inhabitants of the parish "living in ye south side the river", renewed their petition:

The Memorial of the Subscribers, Freeholders and other Inhabitants of y^e sd First Parish Living on y^e South side of the River called Ipswich River.

Humbly Showeth

That the sd Parish thro' y^e Favour of Divine Providence were so increased and many so Remote as to render their Meetings together in One Place Difficult & Inconvenient so long ago as that in the year 1725 on Application made for a Separate Parish on y^e s^d South Side by a large number of s^d South Side Inhabitants y^e s^d First Parish tho' Loath to part with us were so Sensible of the Reasonableness of the Request as to pass a Vote for the Dismission of so many of them as had Joyned or should thereafter Joyn in that affair

That y^e s^d Inhabitants apprehending their Departing from y^e s^d Parish during y^e Life of their Dear & Venerable Pastor, the Rev. M^r John Rogers, who then had been their minister almost Forty years, might not only be Grievous

⁶ Felt, History of Ipswich.

to him, but also Deprive themselves of y^e Benefit of his Future Labours in which they have had the greatest Delight & Satisfaction. These with some other Considerations have Induced them under Circumstances of great Difficulty to continue with y^e s^d First Parish until this Time the afores^d Vote Notwithstanding.

But a Sovereign God having lately Removed our s^d Rev^d Pastor by Death, and y^e Parish being too large & Extensive for one Minister to take Care off, or to meet in One House, We Conceive it necessary to Divide into Two Parishes And as y^e s^d River Running thro' y^e s^d Parish Divides y^e same in a Convenient Manner for that Purpose, We your Memorialists Humbly Pray that you would now Sett off into a Separate Parish all y^e Persons of s^d Parish living on s^d South Side with all their Lands, Meadows & Estates, both Real and Personal now belonging to y^e s^d First Parish on y^e South Side of y^e s^d River

* * * * *

And To Enforce this our Petition We would Beg Leave to Assure our Brethren of the First Parish that it is not from any Dislike off or Discontent towards them or our Surviving Worthy Pastor y^e Rev^d Mr. Nath^l Rogers with whom we could gladly continue were it longer needful or convenient for us, which that it is not may Appear from the Following Considerations.

First. For that the Parish at this Time is so large that is sufficient to make Two either of which will be Considerably larger than most of the Parishes round about us.

Secondly, For that the Parish having now but One Minister and their Meeting House altogether Unfit to meet in, it would Seem Unreasonable for us to joyn in y^e Charge of another Minister & House where we can't be accommodated thereby, but must be attended with Ill Consequences to both Parties.

Thirdly, For that We Apprehend it would be Impracticable to Build One House that would with any tolerable Conveniency or Decency hold all the People at this Time, much less for y^e future should our Numbers Increase as in Reason we may Expect. And to Build an House with a view to continue together that in Human Probability wo'nt

Hold y^e People Crowded never so much or thick One Quarter of the Time the House will last must be a Conduct not easily Accounted for, tho we Humbly Hope y^e great Inconvenience that has attended our Familys thro' want of Sutable Room in the Meeting House for Twenty Years past may Excuse us of Rashness in Desiring more Comfortable Accommodations for the Future.

Fourthly, For that as we are mostly Farmers with large Familys and so Remote from the present House as to Render it Difficult to meet there or to Return Home between Meetings, whereby great Loss & Damage Ensue, Unreasonable to be Born when we are able better to Provide for ourselves which is the present Case, However it may be when a Parish is small as was the Case when they first Built together.

* * * * *

Relying Therefore on your Justice & Goodness upon the Reason Given to Grant this our most Reasonable Petition, we Subscribe ourselves, Gentlemen, your Friends & Brethren.

Isaac Appleton ^r	Stephen Brown
Joseph Appleton	William Brown
Nath ^l Appleton	William Brown, Jr.
Oliver Appleton	John Burnam
Oliver Appleton, Jr.	Thos. Burnam
John Baker	Thos. Burnam y ^e 4 th
John Bennett	John Choate
John Boardman	Samuel Choate
John Boardman, Jr.	Philemon Dane
Timothy ^{his mark} Bragg	Philemon Dane, Jr.
Timothy Bragg, Jr.	John Day
Benj ^a Brown	William Dodge
Elisha Brown	Joseph Fellows
John Brown	Joseph Fellows, Jr.
Nath ^l Brown	Joseph Fowler, Jr.

^r These names have been arranged alphabetically for convenience of reference.

Ebenezer Fuller	Westly Perkins
Nath ^l Fuller	Anthony Potter
Benj. Grant	Daniel Potter
Daniel Hodgkins	Robert Potter
Increase How	Jeoffrey Purcil
Thomas Hunt	Samuel Ringe
Benj. Kinsman	Daniel Ross, Jr.
John Kinsman	Jonathan Ross
Pal ^h Kinsman	Jacob Smith
Thomas Kinsman	Stephen Smith
John Lakeman	William Stone, Jr.
Nath. Low.	Jonathan Wade
Thos. Norton	Nath ^l Wells
Jacob Perkins	Daniel Wood

The Committee to which this petition was referred, reported on March 10th, 1745-6, that it should be granted, but the Parish voted in the negative. A new complication now arose. On the death of Rev. John Rogers in December, 1745, Rev. Mr. Roby was invited to preach a month as an assistant to the Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, who had been the colleague pastor since 1727. His brother, Mr. Daniel Rogers, who had preached "off and on during six years", was a candidate. Rev. John Walley of Boston also preached a month⁸ and on June 12th, 1746,⁹ was chosen to be assistant to Mr. Rogers for six months "by a great majority." A vigorous minority of South side people, however, was pledged to Mr. Daniel Rogers and they intimated that they should desire to draw off and settle him as their minister.¹⁰

Every effort possible in the interest of peace, seems to have been made by the Parish. A Committee was appointed on Sept. 1st, 1746 "to Consider of some Form & Dimensions of a Meeting House & of a place to Sett it, that may

⁸ Parish Record, First Memorial to the General Court.

⁹ Parish Record, First Parish.

¹⁰ Parish Record, First Parish.

be accommodable for this Parish” Col. Thomas Berry, Chairman of the Committee reported a week later.

. . . . Although a meeting House of sixty Feet broad and Eighty feet long may be Built and erected on the Level¹¹ between the Bridge & Maj^r Appleton’s Garden, which might Accomodate the Parish for a long time to Come, yet inasmuch as a considerable number of Persons on y^e South Side appear very Desirous of having a House in some proper place among them whereby their Attendance on the publick Worship of God may be render’d more convenient and accordingly some Determin’d under Couler of the Parish Vote Relating to a Parish on s^d South side past y^e Eighth of December, A. D. 1725 to Separate or Draw off themselves from this Parish unless otherways Provided for their accommodation as afores’d, which Separation should it take Effect beside the Hardship it might Impose on a great if not a greater Number of s^d South Side Inhabitants who appear to be against it might & probably would under the present Circumstances of the Parish Lay the Foundation of the greatest Disorder & Confusion if not Ruin of the whole.

And inasmuch as Two Houses may be Built when needed with ye same or less Cost than the House proposed and with vastly less Difficulty and One of them Sett on s^d South Side convenient for the Inhabitants there and yet not so far off but that another Minister being Settled may together alternately with the Rev^d Mr. Nath^l Rogers Preach in either of them wherby the Peace and Unity of this People may be preserved and a sad Train of Evils Prevented, the Reason of s^d Vote Satisfy’d & every just Complaint of s^d South Side People Remov’d.

Therefore that a convenient Meeting House be at y^e Expense of y^e whole Parish forthwith or as soon as may be Built & Erected on y^e Green between y^e Homestead of Jonathan Wade, Esq. and the Homestead late of y^e Rev^d M^r John Rogers, Dec^d,¹² of the Dimensions of Forty Feet Wide and Sixty Feet long and Twenty-Two Feet Stud, to have a suitable proportion of Sash Glass Eights & Tens to Contain One Tier of Galleries Six Seats Deep to have Sixty Pews

¹¹ Where the monument to the “Unknown Dead” now stands.

¹² The southern end of the South Common.

on the Floor and y^e remainder of y^e Floor to be Built with convenient Seats to be Ciele^d Overhead and in every other Respect to be Finished in a comely sutable & decent Manner. That Four of s^d Pews in such part as y^e Parish shall Direct be Reserved for the Use of Strangers Occasionally Meeting there and the Use of the North side of y^e River People & One Ministerial Pew and that the remaining part of s^d Pews be to y^e Use of such of y^e Inhabitants of s^d South Side as shall Chuse to Buy them. . . .

(The Committee further recommended that when the people on the North side desired, the old meeting house should be taken down and a new one built on a spot determined by the majority, five feet wider, five feet longer and one foot higher, with similar provision for seating.)

And inasmuch as a speedy Settlement of some Orthodox godly Minister of a Blameless Life and of good Report toward all as a Colleague with our present Pastor y^e Rev^d M^r Nathaniel Rogers to Preach &c. Interchangeably with him in y^e s^d two Houses namely the One in the Forenoon on the North and y^e other on y^e South Side and to Change in the afternoon, whereby People of different Sentiments & Inclinations may more likely be Suited at least for one part of the day in the House next to them or all the day by going to y^e House where the Minister Preaches they best like, which any Person is allow'd to do without Offence to others might have an happy Tendency to quiet the Minds of all and continue that Peace with Truth that this Parish has so long been Blest with.

The Parish voted to accept this report but the Rogers party made such factious opposition that it was reconsidered on October 25th and on Nov. 25th, 1746, Col. Berry, Mr. Joseph Appleton, John Tredwell, Increase How, Nathaniel Lord and Col. Choate were appointed a Committee¹³ to agree on some proper method of enlarging or altering the old meeting house and putting it in good repair.

¹³ Parish Record, First Memorial to General Court.

The friends of Mr. Walley were eager to secure his settlement and pressed the Pastor to lead in the matter. Mr. Rogers was bitterly opposed to him, however, for reasons that are now unknown. Many attempts to secure harmony seem to have been made, but to no purpose. A letter written by Josiah Willard, Secretary of the Province, bearing no address, but evidently intended for Mr. Rogers, urged him to a more reasonable mind.¹⁴

Sir:

I have been informed of the good affection of a great Number of People in the first Parish of Ipswich to M^r John Walley & their Desire of having him settled among them in the Ministry & that great Difficulties & Obstructions have arisen in this affair by your Conduct & especially by your diverting the Church from passing such Votes and Resolutions herein as they would certainly do if they were admitted to Signify their Minds by a regular Vote. I may be misinformed in these Matters, But lest there sh^d be too much Ground for this Complaint, I think myself obliged to let you know that I have not only often heard Mr. Walley preach, but have a very intimate and familiar Acquaintance with him & esteem him to be a sound and judicious Divine, a Serious humble inward Christian & a Person of great Prudence & excellent Temper & one that is like to be the Instrum^t of as much Happiness to you and your People if he should settle among you as any Man I know of in the World and I must intreat you to consider how unhappy the Consequence may be of your preventing the peaceable and settlement of a Gentleman of so good & unblemished a Character & how much you may regrate it hereafter if your People sh^d either fall into grievous Division and Contention if a Person of different Qualitie settled among them.

Mr. Rogers refused to regard this and every other appeal and at last, despairing of securing their pastor's approval, the prominent friends of Mr. Walley, Col. Berry, Major Appleton, Mr. Eveleth, Mr. Potter and others, cast in their

¹⁴ Mass. Archives 12: 375.

lot with Jonathan Wade and the others, inhabitants of the South side, already clamoring for division.

On December 2nd, 1746, sixty-eight members of the Parish signed an agreement pledging themselves to be incorporated as a separate Parish as soon as the favorable action of the General Court could be secured, and to build a meeting house on the "Green or Level on the South side". They addressed a Memorial to the First Parish on December 19th praying to be set off as a distinct body.

That in Consideration of the Insuperable Difficulties that have & do still attend every Method taken for the Settlement of a Minister as a Colleague with our present Pastor together with y^e great Improbability that appears of keeping the Parish together thereby but that a Division seems inevitable; which if effected in the Way that has been pursu'd to us looks likely to bring both Parishes, under Unhappy & Uncomfortable circumstances.

In Consideration also that a Division of s^d Parish in y^e Way we herein after propose will not only Accommodate y^e Inhabitants with convenient Room & bring a Meeting House nearer to many of those that now Live remote: but will likely be attended with peaceable Effects with respect to the whole inasmuch as every Man will be at Liberty to joyn in the New or Tarry in the Old House as he Chuses; which under our peculiar Circumstances seems necessary to be Regarded in Order both to our Peace and Spiritual Edification For which purpose a Number of us have by a Writing under our Hands Covenanted and agreed that We with our Associates with the Leave of the Government will Build a Meeting House on s^d South Side for y^e publick Worship of God and Settle therein a Gospel Minister as by a Copy herewith Exhibited will appear.

Wherefore We Pray that you would Sett off y^e Subscribers thereto with all such others as shall hereafter Associate or Joyn with us together with all our Estates on both sides of y^e River into a distinct & separate Parish, We paying Ministerial Charges with you that may necessarily arise until we have preaching among ourselves.

Daniel Appleton ¹⁵	John Hart
John Appleton	Dan ¹ Hodgkin
Joseph Appleton	Thomas Hodgkins
Nath ¹ Appleton	Increase How
Oliver Appleton	Sam ¹ Howard
Oliver Appleton, Jr.	Eph. Jewett
John Baker, jun ^r .	Paltiah Kinsman
Thomas Berry	Stephen Kinsman
John Boardman	Joseph Manning
John Boardman y ^e 3 ^d	Thos. Norton
Timothy Bragg, Jr.	Thomas Pears
Stephen Brown	Westly Perkins
William Brown, Jr.	Aaron Potter
Andrew Burley	Jonathan Prince
Andrew Burley, Jr.	Benjamin Robbins
John Choate	William Robbins
Samuel Choate	Daniel Ross, Jr.
Emerson Cogswell	Jonathan Ross
Philemon Dane	Dan ^l Smith
Abner Day	Isaac Smith
Edward Eveleth	Jacob Smith
Joseph Foster	Jeremiah Smith
Nathan Foster	Joseph Smith
Dan ¹ Fuller	Dan ¹ Staniford
Ebenezer Fuller	William Stone
Nath. Fuller	Jonathan Wade
Benj. Grant	Timothy Wade
Nath. Grant	Sam ¹ Waite

This received a negative vote and on Dec. 24th they addressed a Memorial to the General Court asking their favorable decree. Notice of this Memorial was sent to the First Parish, and on Jan. 6, 1747, the Parish voted

That the Parish build a meeting house for the South

* These names are arranged alphabetically for convenience of reference.

side and allow a separate minister, each to attend where he pleased, and to repair the old house for the present, but continue one Parish.

The original position of the first petitioners for a meeting house on the South side, that this was necessary for the accommodation of the South side people, had now been so confused with later issues that had been injected into the controversy that at this juncture, some of the leaders in the division lived near the meeting-house on the North side, and many of the South side folk now pronounced in favor of repairing the meeting house and preserving the unity of the Parish:

To the First Parish in Ipswich.
Gentlemen:

Whereas it is apprehended by some that the expence & Difficulty that may arise from the Building of the Two Meeting Houses and Dividing into Two Churches as Voted by the Parish might be prevented by a Settlement together; But the Liberty that the South Side of the River Inhabitants in s^d Parish have of Drawing off when they Please by the Parish Vote of the Eighth of December, 1725, is a Discouragement to our Settling & Continueing in One Parish tho' greatly desired by many, Wherefore To Remove such Discouragement and that we may Settle together forthwith, We the Subscribers, Inhabitants of s^d South Side do hereby Promise & Engage to s^d Parish that in Case the Parish will Repair the Old Meeting House, make as many more Pews for the Accommodation of the People as with Convenience they can and Settle as afores'd, that then neither We nor our Heirs will take any Advantage of s^d Vote for Drawing off until there be another Vacancy in the Ministry, or if we should take Advantage of s^d Vote and Draw off before such Vacancy happens, We will take the minister now to be Settled and Support him as our Pastor.

Provided that no Expense shall arise to our Persons or Estates for the Building a New Meeting House or Settling any other minister than the One now Propos'd to be Settled in the North Side without the Express Consent of the major

part of their Interest in y^e s^d South Side Provided also that this Agreement shall not be Binding in any until a Major Part of the Inhabitants in s^d South Side have Sign'd it the whole to be void unless sign'd by Monday, the second of March next at Two of the Clock in the afternoon.

Dated February y^e 25th, 1746.

William Adams
David Andrews
Isaac Appleton, Jr.
John Appleton, Jr.
Joseph Ayers
Mary ^{her mark} Ayers
Samuel Ayers
John Bennet
Abel Boardman
Jacob Boarman
Mary Brown
Mary ^{her mark} Brown, Jr.
John Burnam
Joshua Burnam
Thos. Burnam
Thos. Burnam y^e 4th
George Burroughs
Josiah Burroughs
John Caldwell, jun^r
Samuel Chipman
John Choate
Francis Cogswell, Jr.
Mr. Francis Cummings
Isaac Cummings
Joseph Cummings
Joseph Cummings, Jr.
Thomas Cummings
Philemon Dane
Stephen Emerson

Joseph Fellows
Joseph Fellows, Jr.
William Fellows
Abraham Fitts
Ebenezer Fitts
Jeremiah Fitts
John Fitts
Joseph Fowler
James Fuller
John Goodhue
William Fuller
George Hart
Nath^l Hart
Thos. Hodgkins
Increase How
Samuel Howard
Ezekiel Hunt
Thomas Hunt
William Hunt
William Jones
John Kimball
Benj. Kinsman
John Kinsman
Paltiah Kinsman
Isaac Knowlton
John Lakeman
Samuel Lakeman
Silvanus Lakeman, Jr.
John Lampson

John Lampson, Jr.	William Robbins
Nath ^l Low	Samuel Rogers
Thorndike Low	Lydia Smith
John Manning	Stephen Smith
Richard Manning	Dan ^l Staniford
Tho. Norton	William Stone
Thos. Pears	Abraham Tilton
Francis Perkins	Jabez Tredwell
Jacob Perkins	John Tredwell
John Perkins	Jonathan Wade
Westly Perkins	Timothy Wade
Anthony Potter	John Wainwright for my
Dan ^l Potter	interest on sd. side
Jonathan Potter	Mr. Robert Wales
Richard Potter	Sarah Wallis
Robert Potter	Daniel Warner, Jr.
Tho ^s . Potter	Moses Wells
Samuel Rindge	Henry Wise
Benj. Robbins	Daniel Wood

It was still thought that peace might be secured. Work on the new house was suspended and after a day of fasting and prayer for guidance, the Church and Parish by a very strong vote invited Mr. Walley to settle with them.

Mr. Rogers now discovered fresh difficulty, "Mr. Walley was against inviting into his pulpit such persons that had encouraged the separation at Boston." It was proposed that a council be called to consider this or any other objections in the way of Mr. Walley's settlement. Mr. Rogers refused to join in this "alleging he had light enough already, and that if forty of them came, he should not regard them."¹⁶

May twenty-first, 1747, the Parish, having learned of difficulties that have arisen between Mr. Rogers and Mr. Walley, voted "That the Church be desired to use their endeavors

¹⁶ Parish Record, Second Memorial.

that said difficulty may be removed that so ye said settlement may be consummated as soon as may be."

Mr. Rogers refused utterly to lead any further in the matter, and on the last Wednesday of May, 1747, Colonel Berry and others addressed a second Memorial to the General Court, stating their fresh grievance and renewing their request for incorporation. This was granted June nineteenth, and on July 21, 1747, the South Church was organized. The Parish was organized August 4th, 1747, by the choice of Thomas Norton, Parish Clerk, and Major Daniel Appleton, Andrew Burley, Esq. and Mr. Benjamin Crocker, a Committee to call the next meeting.

Repeated appeals to the General Court were needed to settle the details of the division of the old Parish. A list of those who were set off to the new Parish was approved by the Legislature Sept. 5, 1747. The South Church addressed a Memorial on Dec. 26, 1751, declaring that the list of names lodged in the Secretary's office had been consumed by fire and the First Church refused to furnish a new list, etc. In April, 1752, John and Pelatiah Kinsman petitioned to be set back to the First.

The question of ministerial rates proved vexing. William Dodge and others sent a Memorial to the South Church regarding the taxation of estates, which belonged to the First, on March 23, 1753. Abel Huse, Benj. Dutch, Jr. and others, in a similar Memorial of the same date, declared that they were over-urged to leave the First Parish and asked to be "released from paying taxes to support Mr. Walley whom we do not hear."¹⁷ On March 29, 1753, William Dodge and others petitioned to be restored to the First Parish.

The General Court adopted a Resolution on March 31, 1753.

That the South Parish hold and enjoy ½ Polls and Rate-

¹⁷ Mass. Archives 13: 304-305, 309-321.

able estates lying within the limits of the 1st Parish & South Parish inclusively (saving the Polls and estates that were since sett off to Rowley and that part of Mr. Epes farm lost by sand). The First and South Parishes must agree on the bounds and divisions of the Parishes.

Finally in July 1753, a complete list of the members of the South Parish was filed in the Records of the General Court and Col. Berry's Memorial of Sept. 5, 1753 stated that the list of polls and estates had been satisfactorily adjusted.¹⁸

¹⁸ Mass. Archives 13: 425, 427.

CHAPTER VII.

COLONIAL CURRENCY AND THE LAND BANK

The expedition against Quebec under Sir William Phips in 1690 seems to have been undertaken with perfect confidence that the rich spoils of war would provide for the great expense incurred. The disastrous result, however, involved the Colony in a debt of £40,000 and to meet this demand, an issue of paper currency was made. Printed bills, none under five shillings nor over five pounds, redeemable at any time in money, were put in circulation. These bills passed at their par value, but as successive emissions were made and the date of redemption was pushed farther and farther away, until in 1722 no provision for redemption was made until the tax levy of thirteen years later, the bills depreciated rapidly in value. In 1714, the bills of public credit in circulation were estimated at £240,000 and silver had disappeared almost completely.

Still there was a demand for more currency and on Dec. 4, 1714, an Act was passed authorizing the emission of £100,000 to be distributed among the counties and loaned to inhabitants of the Province on real security for a term of five years. The discussion of the best method of meeting the exigencies of the situation and providing a stable and sufficient medium of trade, now became acute. Private banks were suggested and a series of spirited pamphlets proclaimed various remedies for the public relief. One of these, entitled, "The Present Melancholy Circumstances of the Province considered . . ." published in 1719, found the key to the situation in the retrenchment of needless and ex-

travagant luxuries. The money had gone out of the country, the author declared, to pay for

Silver and Gold Lace, worn on Cloathes and Shoes, Velvet, Rich Silk, Sattin, Silk Stockings, Fine Broad Cloths, Camletts, Perriwigs, Fine costly shoes and Pattoons, Ribbons, Silk Handkerchiefs, Fine hats, gloves of great price and little worth, China Ware, very costly Looking Glasses, Cane Chairs, Costly Beds and Furniture etc.

There was too great indulgence in wine, rum and brandy “(not to mention Tea, Coffee, Chacolet, which People here formerly did very well without).” He called for reform in the needless expense of weddings and funerals which often impoverished the families, and suggested, “no gloves but of our own make given at either, nor Drink at funerals but of our own produce, nor Scarves but for Persons of some distinguished rank.” One of the most melancholy results of the extreme depreciation of the currency was,

That Salary Men, Ministers, School Masters, Judges of the Circuit, President and Tutors at College, Widows and orphans, are prickt and hurt more than any, for while they pay it may be double or more for imported goods, and the produce of the country, yet their salaries are not increased.

Another pamphleteer, in “An Addition to the Present Melancholy Circumstances” inveighed against the drink habit of the times.

These Northern Plantations are great sufferers by the vast quantities of Rum spent among them If it could not be retailed under 10s. a Quart, I believe it would be 10 times better for the Province If the high price might restrain many of the poor laborers from getting Rum and Flip, I believe their needy families would be much better provided for. Dont some men say that when Men drink so much, they drink the blood of their Wives and Children.

One independent disputant refused to believe that the conditions were so bad and criticized another writer.

He don't tell us concerning Newbury, Ipswich, Cape Ann, Marblehead, Salem, (not to mention other places) all within our Province, that none of them carried on so large a Foreign Trade during the late French War as they do now, and that some of them carried on no trade at all; but he would make us believe that by heavy Duties we have driven away Trade to our Neighbors.

But the pamphlet which brought the question home to Ipswich people and made it, no doubt, a theme of conversation in every household, was one which bore the cumbrous title,

A
WORD OF COMFORT
TO A
MELANCHOLY COUNTRY
OR THE
BANK OF CREDIT
ERECTED IN THE
MASSACHUSETTS BAY

Fairly Defended by a Discovery of the Great Benefit, accruing by it to the Whole Province; With a Remedy for Recovering a Civil State when Sinking under Desperation by a Defeat on their Bank of Credit

By Amicus Patriae

Maximus in Republica nodus est, et ad Res Praetor (?) Gerendas Impedimentum, Inopia Rei Pecuniaris. Cicero.

The Want of Money (or a Sufficient Medium of Trades) is the greatest of all Interruptions in a Common Wealth; and puts by or Obstructs the carrying out of Business in a Flourishing Manner.¹

Boston, Printed in the Year 1721.

There can be no question that Amicus Patriae, the author, was Rev. John Wise, the famous Pastor of the Chebacco

¹ Colonial Currency Reprints. Prince Society Vol. II: p. 159.

Parish. Thirty-four years before, in August, 1687, he had assailed the Andros government and had led his townsmen in their resistance to tyranny.² He was now in his seventieth year but his keen wit and biting sarcasm were not abated.

Our Medium of Trade is so Exceeding short and insufficient that Business begins to Clogg; or does not go on so roundly as it might do, were it more redundant and full. As for the Money Medium, we have none at all, its quite Exhausted; and the Bills which have supplied its Place, they are grown very scarce, which is evident by the Loud Complaints of Town and Country.

* * * * *

I would speak of one particular Example further in our carryings on and that is with respect to our College. Oh, what Begging and Contributing was there; even from every poor Girl and Boy that had but a Penny to part with to a Beggar, to bring venerable HARVARD into its first Brick! And now, Alas! at a word's speaking up goes another Parallel with that, and we hear nothing of Begging or of any Groans in its Birth. Oh! Dear Country! These Bills are of a very impregnating Nature, they will beget and bring forth whatsoever you shall please, to fancy.

* * * * *

When we had a little Silver Money, it was always high Prized and other things were in great subjection to it; And it held such a sway and to such a degree of Tyranny from the rate it was kept at and from the continual escape it was making, it had brought us into a pitiful heap of Circumstances and especially as to our Ministry in Church order, for before the Bills came into use, it would make me sick to tell over the Story of these things; Oh the Repining, higgling, complaining of Poverty; with bad and poor payments; Criminal and Dreadful Behindments, as tho' Sacrilidge were no Sin or but a very venial one, and not

² Ipswich in the Mass. Bay Colony. Vol. I: Chap. XIV, p. 225.

See also his Diary while chaplain in the Quebec Expedition, Ditto, p. 525. His polemic Essays on Church Government have been considered in Chapter one.

only in this or that poor village but too Epidemically. But since the Bills have been in Force, these Annuities have not only been Augmented, but Frankly and Seasonably payed, and I believe it has been so throughout the Country. And do we think these Reverend Men don't find that they can make as good a Dinner on the Bills of Credit as on Gold and Silver? Yes! every whit and where due Additions have been made the seasonableness and round Payments have made their lives much more easy and comfortable, than when Silver Ruled the Rost.

* * * * *

Oh, say some, we will try a Corn and Provision Medium, till the Money comes manufactures, foreign trade, immigration of our good Brethren out of North Britain and Ireland, who will bring with them equal Religion with us, but a Superior Ingenuity and Skill in Manufactures.

* * * * *

Many of our Old Towns are too full of Inhabitants for Husbandry; many of them living upon small Shares of Land, and generally all are Husbandmen, or if they are any of them Tradesmen, their Husbandry hinders their Trade; And also many of our People are slow in Marrying for want of Settlements, whereas in old Countries they generally Marry without such Precaution and so increase infinitely &c. We have Old Batchelours with Dames to Match them, to settle several Towns etc. And when we have accomplished this Projection, We may expect that manufactures will go on amain in our Country.

* * * * *

Question, How shall we keep up the Value of our Bills of Publick Credit.

Gentlemen, You must do by your Bills as all Wise Men do by their Wives, Make the best of them. It is an acknowledged Theorem that there is no doing without Wives. The Lonesome and sower Phylosopher would frankly confess that Women were necessary Evils: For without their Assistance the whole Humane Race must vanish: And unless they are Metamorphozed into things called Wives, the whole Species would soon Laps into an heard of Brutified Annimals. The great Skill is to cultivate the necessity and make it a Happiness, for that end Wise Men Love their Wives: and

what ill-conveniences they find in them they bury: and what Vertues they are enrich't with they Admire and Magnifie. And thus you must do by your Bills for there is no doing without them; if you Divorce or Disseize yourselves of them, you are undone: Therefore you must set them high in your Estimation. . . .

* * * * *

He affirmed that British trade must be shortened by greater economy in living.

Therefore I say if we will Live upon Ground-Nuts and Clams, and Cloath our Backs with the Exuviae or Pelts of Wild Beasts, we may then lower our Expences a great Pace; and renounce this Branch of our Merchandize; but if we intend to Live in any Garb or Port as becomes a People of Religion, Civility, Trade and Industry, then we must still supply ourselves from the Great Fountain.

An ill-tempered reply to Mr. Wise's "Word of Comfort", in the form of an anonymous communication, appeared in the Boston Gazette of Monday, February 20, 1720-1.

N. E. Castle William

February 1720-1.

N. B. That Amicus Patriae a late Author is Worldly Wise Man, and has spoke two Words for himself and not One for his Country, as Actions will better show a Man's designs than his Words: it would have been but the ingenious part in him, to have told us, that from Twenty Years long experience he has not been able to pay Interest for Money borrowed of Private People and of Twelve Hundred and Fifty Pounds (of his Miracle working Paper Money) borrowed of this Government by himself and two Sons, he has yet paid but £250 of it again, 'tis therefore that he declares and will insist on it as the best way to enrich his Country, to make Paper Bills enough for everybody to take what they please and further (in his whole bustle of words) sayeth not.

Two sons of Mr. Wise, Ammi Ruhamah and Henry, were both prominent Ipswich residents and actively engaged in business and in public affairs. The "Castle William advertisement" as it was called, involved the private affairs of the family and must have created much excitement in the whole community. Mr. Wise replied at once in a communication "A friendly check from a friendly relation", in which he included "a letter from Amicus Patriae to his Son", dated Feb. 23, 1720-1.

The Report from Castle William is so mean a thing, so little in Argument, and Pevish in Temper, its Beneath a Wise Man to Resent it: at least no other ways than you see in the Inclosed. But however to satisfy yourself, as to my Domestick Affairs, which you tho so nearly Related are a stranger to.

Therefore some time within less than Three Years, we took out 1000 l. and put into the Publick Bank, an estate of 2000 l. which we would not take Five and Twenty Hundred for now. (Indeed such fat things Draw these Hungry Crows by a strange Instinct) We thought it might be very proper both for the Publick good and our own profit so to do. And thro Mercy we have Reaped great Ease and Benefit by it. For that we have solved our former Money obligations and furnished the business of the Family (under your Brothers Sole management) to very great purpose, for since that our Business has gone on with such Success, that we have payed into the Bank about 200 l. with the Interest: and have another 100 l. ready to answer in that Affair. And not only so but the Temporal Business of the Family is so well Qualified and Adjusted, that thro Divine goodness and by the Assistance of the Auspicious and Prosperous Bills, we do not fall short of Three Hundred Pounds Annual Income. And not only so, but tho' the Pevish Gentleman (If he be a Man) does allow if we put in 2000 l. which is already grown in Value, but also their Remains in our hands no ways intangled by the Bank in Rich housen, honest [] ad, Remote Lands and other Estates to the Value of One Thousand Pounds, or not much under, That considering what we have Done in less than Three Years

towards the solving of the Bank &c, I am full of Assurance that in the Remaining Six Years by Divine Aid and by a Frugal and Prudent Management we are quite out of Danger, as to Crows and Vultures.

Therefore what I have Wrote on the Bank of Credit was purely in Love to my Country, that all Men in their Affairs may be as Prosperous as I have been. At Least that our Country may Universally Flourish in their Outward Affairs.

Your Loving Father,
Amicus Patriae.

If any doubt remained as to the identity of "Amicus Patriae", it was effectually dispelled by the sharp retort of his opponents, who now published in full in the Boston Gazette^s of March 13th, Mr. Wise's appeal to the Court, less than two years before.

To His Majesty's Honorable Justices of the Quarter Sessions met in Newbury, this 29th of September, 1719.

Worshipful and much Honoured

The Subscriber being under the Benign Umbrage of your Authority, Petitions your Favour in his present Grievances relating to his Temporal Support. The Salary allowed by this Precinct is in the Original Grant but a poor business to maintain a Family Sick & Well, it being but Seventy Pounds in Money: That to diminish or any ways weaken it must needs stand under the head of Oppression if not a heavier denomination. . . . My Good Neighbors who are obliged by God and the Law to make this annually good to me as appears by Covenant; They demur upon my demands for Money and offer to pay in Bills of Publick Credit as pretending they are Money, Tho' they do also themselves answer their own Plea by an allowance they make of l. 20 superadded and so make up the l. 70 . . . l. 90 Pound. Whereas if Bills were really Money in their account, I have no reason to think they would yield so to do: neither if they were truly so could I claim any such Addition. I acknowledge I am very loth to contend with my Neighbors but out of a due respect to my Just Interest and Temporal Support,

* The original document has disappeared from the Court Files.

I cannot submit to any other Terms, but to have my Salary paid in proper Specie, or in a full Equivalent. Your Honours do very well know this Question has been very effectually answered in Mr. Adam Cogswell's case, viz. Any thing at a Valuation will answer the Money in Specie as well as Bills of Publick Credit. I believe you also are very sensible how Men value Money in Competition with the Bills, and in what Proportions the Exchange is made. As I have been informed some Wise and Just Men ask Cent for Cent some 80 or 90 per Cent. and at the lowest Rate Twelve Shillings per ounce is allowed and I cannot be lower, for this will not make a full Equivalent in purchasing of Provisions &c. That (may it please your Honours) The utmost of my desires at this time is, That Your Honours will do me the favour as to signify in a few words to my Neighbors that they must needs perswade themselves, That Bills are not Money nor must they be so understood; and also that they must pay me in the proper Specie the Place Indented for near Twenty Years ago: or otherwise, if they pay in Bills, then to do it to my Satisfaction. And this I shall leave to your Honours to Umpire upon either of the fore-recited Proportions: and if your Honours shall please to fix on the middle way, which I think is most safe according to the old saying, In medio tutissime, It will be most pleasing to me.

I have ordered my Son to lay this Address before this Honorable Sessions, Seven Months are Expired and the half Years Salary not paid; To live till the next Quarter Sessions without any Recruit will be very mortifying.

I hope for your Honours Clemency, Care and Expedite Measures at least that my Brethren may be directed and Quickened to their Duty.

So Right Worshipful, I Rest

Your Humble and Devoted

Servant in Christ

John Wise.

In March, 1720-1, the private bank schemes were brought to nought by the vote of the Province, to loan £50,000, to be distributed among the towns and loaned to individuals

in real or personal security, the interest on the loans being intended for the benefit of the towns. These loans were to be repaid, £10,000 a year, between the years 1726 and 1730. On May 11, 1721, Ipswich voted:

That this Town will receive and draw their proportion of the fifty thousand pounds in Bills of Credditt out of y^e Province Treasury as Emittted by the late Great & Generall Court or assembly in their last Sessions

Voted that the Town will now proceed to the Choice of Trustees to receive our proportion of the abovesaid Bills of Credditt.

Voted That this Town will choose but three Trustees.

On May 25, 1721, it was further

Voted that this Town's proportion of the fifty thousand pounds when received shall be let out at interest.

The Town voted, on Oct. 5, 1721.

That Maj^r. Symonds Epes, Col^o. John Denison & John Wainwright Esq. be Trustees to receive out of the Province Treasury, the sum of fourteen hundred & Twenty nine Pounds & when they have received it, to notifie the Selectmen that they may call a meeting to receive this & give them proper discharge from the same & to Improve said money as the Town shall judge will be most for their interest.

Meeting again on Oct. 12, it was

Voted that the said money shall be left at Interest at 6 p. Ct. per annum.

Voted that the Town's proportion be let to three or more persons of the Town, that will give good & sufficient landed security & pay to the Town 6 per ct. annual interest. They are then to be responsible to the Town for it may let the money to citizens who will give good security, but no one person shall borrow or hire more than fifty pounds for their pains & trouble, those who hire from the Town shall have 2 per ct. for as much as they pay interest on, y^e Two per ct. they shall receive out of the Town Treasury.

A week later, the Town met again and settled the remaining details.

Voted that the interest shall not commence till the expiration of two months from the dates of the mortgages.

Voted that the Town Treasurer be directed to deliver to the Rev. Mr. Jabez Fitch, the sum of One Hundred pounds, part of the abovesaid money, he giving a good & sufficient mortgage for repayment of the same.

Voted that Col. John Denison & Major Symonds Epes & Ensign Thomas Choate shall receive 1,329 pounds. . . .

Provision was made for inspection of the mortgages to see that the titles were free and clear, and for due notification, so that any inhabitant may be supplied.

An interesting group of prominent citizens of the time is brought to notice in this connection. Col. John Denison was the son of the Rev. John Denison, colleague of Rev. John Rogers, and great grandson of Major General Denison, who married Patience, daughter of Governor Thomas Dudley, and had a son John and daughter Elizabeth. The daughter became the wife of John Rogers, President of Harvard. John Denison, the son, married a daughter of Deputy Governor Samuel Symonds and had a son, John,

a very Learned, ingenious Young Gentleman and an excellent Preacher, who died here Sept. 14, 1689, very greatly Beloved and Lamented in the 24th Year of his age. But before his Decease he had Married the only Daughter of the Hon. Col. Nathaniel Saltonstall Esq. of Haverhill, of whom Col. Denison was born at Ipswich on the 20th March; after his Father's Death.

This Gentlewoman afterwards Marrying the Rev. Mr. Rowland Cotton of Sandwich, this her son, removed hither with her and there had his Education till 1706, when he entered the College, where he took his 1st degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1710 and of Master in 1713. After this, intending for the Ministry, he preached a Year or two occasionally to good acceptance, till his Bodily weakness obliged him to desist. Upon which he settled in Ipswich, where his Paternal Estate

lay, applied himself to the Study of the Law, and Serv'd the said Town several times as their Representative in the General Assembly, wherein he made a considerable Figure, and industriously served his Country. About this time he was made one of the High Sheriffs of the County and Lieut. Col. of a Regiment. He was much Esteemed, Valued and Loved and at his Death was greatly Lamented.

In 1720, he married the Younger Daughter of Rev. & Hon. John Leverett, Esq., late President of the College, and by her has left one son and one daughter.⁴

Col Denison died on Nov. 25th, 1724, at the age of 35 years. His only son, John, (Harvard, A. M.) died on Aug. 28, 1747, at the age of 25 years, and with him, the Denison name became extinct. His widow became the wife of Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, Dec. 25, 1728, upon the completion of the stately dwelling on High Street, still known as the Rogers Manse.

Major Symonds Epes inherited the Castle Hill farm from his father, Capt. Daniel Epes. He was a Justice of the General Sessions Court and a member of the Governor's Council from 1724 to 1734. He died at his dwelling in the Hamlet on Aug. 30th, 1741, leaving a widow, Mary (Whipple) who became the third wife of Rev. Edward Holyoke, President of Harvard. The tender obituary notice⁵ reveals a character of singular beauty and devotion.

A Gentleman of conspicuous Piety, Integrity and Charity: of a most humble, peaceable courteous and obliging Temper: Given to Hospitality, ready to distribute and willing to communicate, Which amiable Qualities make his Departure (however ripe with Age) to be greatly regretted. Many Poor about us, especially, have cause for their own sakes to lament him.

He had about twelve Days before his Demise been seiz'd with a Fever, but was so far advanc'd in his Recovery as

⁴ Obituary in Boston News Letter, Dec. 3-10, 1724.

⁵ Boston News Letter, Sept. 3-10, 1741.

to walk about his Chamber for some Days: on Saturday night was able to offer the Family Evening Sacrifice and went to Bed with the desirable Signs of a speedy Return to perfect Health: But who knoweth what a Day or Night may bring forth! Early next morning being observed to lie still in his Bed, he was let alone for some Hours on supposition that he was asleep, until at length upon a more critical Observation he was found to have "Slept in Jesus." Aged 79 years.

John Wainwright, son of the merchant of the same name, was graduated from Harvard in 1711 and was just beginning his useful career in the public service. He was chosen Town Clerk in 1719-20, and held the office for many years, writing his records in a notably bold and graceful hand. In 1720, he was elected a Representative and remained in office almost continuously until 1738, being Clerk of the House from 1724 to 1728 and from 1734 to 1736. He was also Colonel of a Regiment, Justice of the General Sessions Court, and was often called to positions of trust and responsibility in the Province. He died on Sept. 1, 1739, in his forty-ninth year.⁶

The first payment, a fifth part of the loan of £1429 became due in 1726 and the disastrous results of a constantly depreciating currency became evident in very painful fashion in one case at least. One wise pamphleteer had revealed the hardships imposed upon the ministers and all salaried men by the instability of the currency.⁷ Rev. Jabez Fitch, the colleague pastor with the venerable John Rogers, had been allowed a loan of £100 by special vote of the Town, though it had been decided that no loan should exceed £50. For this he executed a mortgage upon his house and two acres of land, at the rate of "five pounds per ct. per annum"⁸ It appears that Mr. Rogers had been allowed a

⁶ Ipswich Village and the Old Rowley Road, p. 7.

⁷ Page 140.

⁸ Essex Co. Deeds 39: 96.

similar loan, and on Oct. 6, 1726, he made a pitiful plea to the Parish for relief. He declared what every body knew well enough, that for years his salary "has not been made good to me in vallue, however it might be in Sum." His diminished salary had obliged him to borrow and mortgage a good part of his estate and sell one part after another and at last, in his old age, he was obliged to ask the kindly help of his people. Ready response was made and the Parish "freely and cheerfully" promised to discharge the mortgage he had given to the Town for £100 of the £50,000 loan.⁹

In 1727, loans made under the £100,000 issue matured, and the General Court recognized the scarcity of money by allowing the Province tax to be paid in commodities and manufactured goods at specified prices. The Collectors of the tax were instructed by the Town to receive the sums assessed upon the freeholders and inhabitants, "agreeable to the Tax Act of the General Court this present year."

Payment could be made in wheat, rye, barley, oats and Indian corn, in fish, beef and pork, flax and hemp, butter, bees wax, bay-berry wax, and many other products "all which species shall be of the growth, produce & manufacture of this Province."¹⁰

A second emission of £60,000 was made in Feb. 1727-8 and Ipswich secured £1,560, 5s. as its portion of the loan. In mid-summer of 1731, the Province treasury was empty and the General Court and Gov. Belcher were at a dead lock. An appeal was made to the Towns and a Town-meeting was called for September 7. The record is:

The representation from the House of Representatives was read and a considerable debate was had thereon and on the Motion made & seconded, the Question was put. Whether the Town will chuse a Committee to prepare Instructions

⁹ First Parish Records and Page 14.

¹⁰ The Schedule of Values is entered under Nov. 7, 1727 in the Town Records.

for our Representatives in the weighty affair of Supplying the province Treasury and report their Opinions to the Town thereon?

This was negatived, as well as the motion to give any advice or instruction to the Ipswich representatives. Jonathan Fellows and Mr. John Choate, Jr. were the representatives that year. Mr. Choate was serving his first term. He was a young man of thirty-four years, a lawyer by profession, though not a college graduate, and the confidence reposed in him by the Town in this serious juncture is a fine tribute to his ability. He was destined to have a very conspicuous part in the financial wrangles of this period and in the sharp variances with the Royal Governor of the Province.

In February, 1736-7, a new issue of bills of credit was made of £18,000 "of the present form" and £9000 in bills of a new form. These were called the "New Tenor" bills, and it was specified that they had a fixed value in gold or silver. A new complexity was now introduced, as henceforth all values were computed in both Old Tenor and New Tenor.

Two rival schemes for bettering the financial situation now assumed great prominence. In December, 1740, John Colman, who had been a prominent figure in the financial debates for many years, had secured nearly four hundred subscribers to a scheme for emitting bills, secured by mortgages on the real estate of those who held the loans. The company desired incorporation, but the Governor and Council were opposed, action on the petition was delayed and eventually the company issued its bills without incorporation.

These bills were signed by some of the directors, and were in the form of a promise in behalf of the signers and their partners to receive the same in all payments at the expressed value, lawful money, six shillings and eight pence per ounce, and after twenty years to pay the same in the produce or manufactures enumerated in their scheme.¹¹

¹¹ Currency and Banking in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, Andrew McFarland Davis, Part I: p. 130.

This was known as the "Land Bank" or "Manufactory Scheme." Some Boston merchants organized an opposition project, which was known as the "Silver Bank" or "Silver Scheme", which proposed to issue notes, redeemable in silver at a given rate per ounce, and secured the agreement of the subscribers to refuse to receive the bills of other governments, except under certain conditions, and to refuse the Land Bank notes altogether. This company also asked incorporation.

The Directors of the Land Bank were Robert Auchmuty, William Stoddard, Samuel Adams, father of the Revolutionary patriot, Peter Chardon, Samuel Watts, John Choate, Thomas Cheever, George Leonard and Robert Hale. Mr. Choate became prominent at once in the fight for incorporation. The Committee of the General Court, appointed to investigate these rival schemes, reported adversely to the Land Banks in March, 1739-40, but the House voted to refer both schemes to the May session, both companies being prohibited from issuing notes in the meantime.

When the Assembly met, the Governor and Council were hostile to the Land Bank but in favor of the Silver Scheme. The House was in hearty sympathy with the Land Bank. Petitions from the towns were filed, favoring or opposing each scheme. The Ipswich petition, written apparently by John Choate, made a vigorous appeal for the Land Bank, which was very popular in this community.

To His Excellency, Jonathan Belcher, Esq., Captain General & Governor-in-Chief in & over his Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay.¹²

To the Honorable, His Majesty's Council & house of Representatives in General Court assembled, this fifteenth day of June, annoque Domini, 1740.

The Petition of us, the Subscribers, Inhabitants of the Town of Ipswich, sheweth

¹² Mass. Archives, 102: 44.

That your Petitioners being apprehensive the land Bank Scheme, now under your Consideration, may, with former amendments & alterations, not at all destructive of its Essence, be greatly serviceable to the people of this Province, under their present difficult circumstances, on the following accounts, first, For that the Want of a Medium of Trade is so great so that almost every body's Business very sensibly decays by means therof.

2^d. For that it will tend to take away the unreasonable advantage that the Letter of Money at Interest has & improves over the needy & necessitous Borrower.

3^d. For that it will remove the Occasion of so much Truck & Barter trade, the mischief & oppression of which, is daily (& we believe) very justly complained of & groaned under.

4^d. It will greatly tend to industry & to increase our home manufactures & by degrees bring the Balance of trade in our favour, the Contrary of which (as we take it) & as we think might be (as it proves) in the main Cause & has all along been so of sinking the Credit of Paper money, & on this account, May it please Yr Excel^{cy} & Honour, we with Submission, deem it preferable to any Emission of the form that the country has ever yet had, in the following Respects.

I. For that, whereas former Emissions not being calculated to encourage our own Manufactures, but to enable the Merchants & Factors to carry their foreign Trade &c. to an unequal & overbearing pitch, the following ill effects have been produced, as

J. The Silver (of which we had once enough), was all sent home, to make Remittances;

2^d. The Faith of the Government pawned for the Credit of their Bills has been thereby shamefully tho' unavoidably as to them broke, to the great Scandal of the Province & hurt, if not Ruin, of many, by means of the Extravagant Price the necessitous Merchant &c. have from time to time given for Silver, for the aforesaid Purpose; for whatever Price their Necessities obliged them to give, to support their Credit abroad, that became immediately the Value of our Paper Money, yea & the Price of their Goods too; & how this oppres'd the Consumer & impos'd on the Government,

we need not say: & here we beg leave to observe that altho' the land & Trading Interest are inseparable, when duly regulated & kept in an equal balance: yet when the latter outgrows the former, it must need be attended with a vast number of ill Consequences; converts that into Shame & Poison, which otherwise would be for the Health & Glory of the Common-wealth.

A Second Respect, in which the present Scheme is preferable to others, is in that it brings none of those Distresses upon the people, y^t a publick Emission must always unavoidably do, in it's final Redemption, when drawn in by a Tax, none here being obliged to procure the Bills, but the immediate Possessor, whereas in those, many Thousands may be taxed for their Quota, that have none & know not how, or by what means to obtain them, not to say anything of the Impropriety or present Difficulty of the Government's emitting Money.

iv. In that it's direct Tendency is to take away the Occasion of any Paper Medium at all, which we hope this Scheme will in Time effect, by the Increase of our said Manufactures, lessening our Importations, & thereby stopping the Channel, which if kept open, will as heretofore, always carry away Silver & Gold from among us, as well that which may be deposited for the Redemption of a Paper Emission as any other, when once it ge . . . clear of its confinement & then

v. If a distant day of Payment of these Notes or Bills of Credit, is, as by many thought, a Cause of their Sinking, tho negotiable in the Interim, then this Scheme is in this Respect preferable there being always a Stock in the Treasury, which (we think) never yet in any Emission, Publick or Private, was the Case & promis'd it was only so: never provided, but here it must be, or the Mortgage is forfeited & sold to procure it.

And will not all these Advantages atone for some small Defects in the present Scheme, or the Trouble of amending it & over balance the unreasonable Cry & Clamour, that is by y^e Merchants & Factors made against it? Whose just & reasonable trade, we doubt not will be well served, thereby & further we are not concerned, unless it be to prevent it,—Upon the Reasons thus briefly hinted, with a great many

Thousands more in this Province, Landed men, Traders, Tradesmen &c. the main Prop & Support of the Commonwealth should [. . .] quite dispirited, thro the Want of Money, having hardly any, to carry on their common business, or to answer their daily Necessities, or hope left, in any other way of obtaining any, but what at best, will be abused in its use, & at last leave them, in as perplexed a Condition or worse, than at present, & as in Duty bound shall pray &c.

John Choate
Andrew Burley
Robert Choate
John Boardman
James Eveleth
Thomas Choate, Jr.

Francis Choate
Nathaniel Wells
Jacob Pirkins
John Fuller
John Perken
William Dodge

The Land Bank grew rapidly in popular favor. On July 30, upwards of 800 subscribers were enrolled. Six of the leading members of the House were Directors and many of the members were subscribers. The subscriptions were for small sums, in the main, and the friends of the Silver scheme, whose subscriptions were notably large, twitted the Land Bank people that their supporters were people of the common class. The contest grew bitter and personal. The merchants of New England petitioned Parliament to forbid the continuance of the Land Bank. Gov. Belcher threatened to remove supporters of the Bank from office. Justices of the Peace, who had been commissioned by the Governor, did not wait removal. They sent him their resignations. John Choate was one of the first to resign.

May it please Your Excellency.¹⁸

In as much as by your Excellency's Proclamation of the Fifth Currant the holding of a Commission Under your Excellency is made Inconsistent with prosecuting the Manufactory Scheme, in which we are Concerned and whereon in

¹⁸ Mass. Archives, 102: 90.

our humble opinions the Interest of our Native Country so much depends as to Require the Utmost of our Endeavours to promote the same.

Therefore as with a Gratefull Sense of your Excellency's Favour, We Received our Commissions and Trusts, so with the Same Sense for your so long Continuing us therein,

We now with your Excellency's leave, Resign these Trusts being concerned that our being out of Town, Deprived us of the opportunity of accompanying those Gentlemen that have this day Resigned before us.

We are your Excellency's Dutifull and hum^{ble} Serv^{ts}

Samuel Adams

John Choate

Nov. 10, 1740.

To Go Belcher, Esq.
 . . . al & Governour in chief
 Boston

Major Ammi Ruhamah Wise, who also held the commission of a Justice of Peace, with several others, was removed from office on Jan. 1, 1741, for receiving and passing the notes of the Land Bank "and persisting therein." The Registers of Deeds were commanded to send in the names of all who had mortgaged their property; a Proclamation was issued by the Governor, forbidding all persons holding commissions in the militia "to have any hand in this scheme for defrauding the people"; (Nov. 1, 1740) and on Dec. 11, orders were issued to Col. Berry and the other commanding officers to investigate their subordinates and discharge all involved.¹⁴

Andrew Burley was summoned to appear before the Governor and Council. His reply¹⁵ was not lacking in cool defiance.

Worthy Sir:

I this moment Received yours of y^e 26th December for his

¹⁴ Mass. Archives, 102: 88, 99.

¹⁵ Mass. Archives, 102: 121.

BANK BILL IPSWICH LAND BANK
1741

Magestie's Service and should have Cheerfully waited on **his** Excellency and the Council according to the Direction of the Board But yesterday meet with a blow on my leg which disables me from Rideing a journey: as to the complaint Exhibited against me for Receiving and pasing Manufactory Bills Since His Excellency's Proclamation, I frely acknowledge I have Don and am determin'd so to doe at presant.

I am

Sir, Your humble Ser^t,

Andrew Burley.

December 31th, 1740.

While the final decision as to the Land Bank was still pending, a bank was organized and a petition for incorporation was addressed to the General Court by Edward Eveleth, Ebenezer Stevens and John Brown. The Council voted to refer the petition to a joint Committee but the House refused to concur. This bank actually printed and circulated notes of small denominations, only four of which are known to be in existence. They were dated at Ipswich, May 1, 1741 and were payable to the order of Mr. James Eveleth.

A new Assembly met on May 27, 1741. The Ipswich Representatives were John Choate and Richard Rogers.

Samuel Watts, a Director of the Land Bank was chosen Speaker, but the Governor disapproved this choice. William Fairbanks, a supporter of the Bank, was then chosen and the election was approved, but as the Assembly was evidently in favor of the Bank the Governor dissolved it and ordered a new election. John Choate and Andrew Burley were chosen the Representatives from Ipswich and when the new House met, it organized with the choice of Mr. Choate as Speaker and the Governor again sharply disapproved. John Hobson was then chosen and the business of the session was begun.

Governor Belcher was relieved of his office in August, 1741. In the summer of 1739 or the year, 1739, he had received orders to promote enlistments for an expedition under Admiral Vernon against the Spanish settlements in the West Indies. He issued a loan and made appointments of the necessary officers. Major Ammi Ruhamah Wise of Ipswich, who had been ejected from the office of Justice of the Peace for his support of the Land Bank was appointed one of the ten captains. A contemporaneous author¹⁶ remarks upon this action of the Governor.

There was indeed among other extraordinary Circumstances of his Ex . . . cy's Behaviour respecting the Land Bank Scheme during the late Session of the Assembly one that seems particularly Remarkable.

Major Wise, a trader in Ipswich and the Representative of that Town, was publicly known, both from the List of the Subscribers to the Land Bank Scheme and that of the Voters in favor of it in the House of Representatives, as well as other Transactions, to be a very considerable Subscriber to and Promoter of that Scheme; and it appears that on the 9th of July, about a week after the second Memorial of the Merchants had been presented to his Ex . . . cy and the C . . . l against the Scheme and his Ex . . . cy's strong Promises to 'em that he would discountenance it and endeavor to suppress it, his Ex . . . cy in C . . . l appointed the Captains of the ten Companies proposed to be raised in this Province for his Majesty's Service in the late Expedition against the Spanish Settlements in the West Indies, and that Major Wise was the second Captain in his Ex . . . cy's List.

The writer says that the Governor had "refused the services of two Persons for raising each of them a Company, both of 'em of superior Pretensions to those of Mr. Wise."

The Boston News Letter, July 31—Aug. 7, 1740 reports:

¹⁶ An Account of the Rise, Progress & Consequence of the two late schemes, etc.—Boston, 1744, in the Colonial Currency Reprints, Prince Society.

Maj. Wise of Ipswich, having Completed his Company¹⁷ of Voluntiers in the County of Essex, they came to Town Yesterday and consist of a Number of lusty Men, able to endure Hardships and to appearance capable of serving his Majesty in the important Expedition propos'd against the Spaniards with Courage and Resolution.

An Act of Parliament declared all the transactions of the two Bank Schemes illegal and void and ordered that they should be entirely abandoned on or before Sept. 29, 1741, under penalty of treble damages. This Parliamentary interference, as it was regarded by the friends of the Land Bank, was bitterly resented and there were signs of a violent uprising in several towns. Had Governor Belcher remained in power, it is possible and even probable that the first collision with Great Britain would have occurred at this time.¹⁸ Happily his successor, Gov. Shirley, appreciated the extreme delicacy of the situation. He found the Land Bank party, which was very numerous throughout the Province irritated and inflamed to such a degree that they seemed ripe for tumult and disorder. Two thirds of the members of the House of Representatives were either partners or abettors of the Land Bank Scheme and a general opposition by them to all the measures of the Government was feared.¹⁹

Wiser counsels prevailed and on Sept. 28, the Directors declared that the scheme was relinquished, although there was stormy opposition. The Silver scheme had already been abandoned. Many years elapsed however, before a final settlement of the affairs of the Land Bank was reached.

The names of the Ipswich subscribers and partners have been preserved in several lists in the Archives of the Commonwealth, the Essex County Registry of Deeds and else-

¹⁷ The Roll of the Company has not been preserved.

¹⁸ Currency and Banking in the Province of Mass. Bay. A. McF. Davis, Part II, p. 191.

¹⁹ An Account of the Rise, Progress and Consequences of the two late Schemes. Colonial Currency Reprints.

where. Some apparently signed their names to the original subscription list, but never took any of the notes, as no record of mortgages appears, frightened perhaps by the unexpected opposition and the seriousness of the conflict. Some became sharers in the enterprize after the earliest lists had been published. Strangely enough, John Choate's name is omitted in some lists, though he was a Director and one of the most conspicuous supporters. The complete list of the Ipswich men who were identified in greater or less degree with the Land Bank is as follows.²⁰

Thomas Adams, yeoman,	£100
John Boardman, gentleman,	£500
John Brown	
John Brown, Jr., yeoman,	£100
Andrew Burley, Esquire,	£500
Francis Choate, Gentleman,	£500
John Choate, (Director of the Company)	
Robert Choate	
Thomas Choate, Jr., gentleman,	£500
Parker Dodge	£100
William Dodge	
Benjamin Dutch	£100
Edward Eveleth	
Isaac Eveleth	
James Eveleth	
Joseph Fowler, gentleman,	£100
William Giddings	
Benjamin Gilbert	£200
John Gilbert	
Joseph Gilbert, yeoman,	£100
Abraham Knowlton	
Ebenezer Knowlton, yeoman,	£300

²⁰ Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis in Appendix E, Part II of his work on Currency and Banking has made an exhaustive study of the lists of partners. The following list is compiled from his summary.

Samuel Knowlton	
John Patch	
Jacob Perkins	
John Perkins, yeoman,	£200
Samuel Rogers	
Timothy Wade	
John Whipple, Jr., Gentleman,	£400
Joseph Whipple, Jr.	
Ammi R. Wise, Esquire,	} £250
Daniel Wise, Shopkeeper,	

The only Ipswich subscribers to the Silver Bank, so far as known, were Daniel Appleton, Esq. and Rev. Nathaniel Rogers.

In pursuance of an Act for more speedy finishing of the Land Bank, passed Oct., 1743, and another Act passed August, 1744, assessments were levied on the Ipswich subscribers.²¹

	£		£
Thomas Adams	4	Joseph Fowler	4
John Boardman	10	Benjamin Gilbert	8
John Brown	4	Joseph Gilbert	4
Andrew Burley	30	Abraham Knowlton	4
Francis Choate	10	Ebenezer Knowlton	12
John Choate, Esq.	20	John Patch	2
Thomas Choate, Jr.,	20	John Perkins	4
Parker Dodge	4	John Whipple, Jr.	8
Benjamin Dutch	4	Ammi & Daniel Wise	22-10

The settlement of the Land Bank still remained incomplete. An Act of February, 1759, to finish the business, authorized an assessment of £3000 on such surviving members as the "Commissioners should judge of ability as to estate." The Commissioners assessed the Ipswich members on September 8th, 1763.²²

²¹ Boston News Letter, Jan. 2, 1746 Supplement.

²² The Boston Gazette, Sept. 12, 1763.

164 IPSWICH, IN THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY.

	£	s.	d.
Thomas Adams	7-	0-	0
John Boardman	17-	10-	0
Francis Choate	14-	0-	0
John Choate, Esq.	28	87-	10- 0
Thomas Choate, Jr.	31-	10-	0
Benjamin Dutch	7-	0-	0
John Patch	3-	10-	0
John Whipple, Jun.	14-	0-	0

On March 22, 1764, the Commissioners levied another assessment.²⁴ The Ipswich share holders who were assessed, under penalty of their estates being sold if payment were not made in thirty days were as follows.

	£	s.	d.
John Brown	5-	12-	0
Andrew Burley	42-	0-	0
Parker Dodge	5-	12-	0
Joseph Fowler	5-	12-	0
Benjamin Gilbert	11-	4-	0
Abraham Knowlton	5-	12-	0
Ebenezer Knowlton	16-	16-	0
Ammi & Daniel Wise	31-	10-	0

Several persons who were assessed Sept. 8, 1763, as surviving partners, having deceased, their estates are assessed

	£	s.	d.
John Boardman	14-	0-	0
Benj. Dutch	5-	12-	0

The Commissioners advertised in the Evening Post on August 27, 1765, that a large portion of the assessments remained unpaid and that they should proceed to collect on October 4th.

Col. Choate was cordially supported by the majority of

²³ The maximum assessment.

²⁴ The Boston Gazette, March 26, 1764.

his fellow citizens. He was elected to the House every year until 1750 and in several subsequent years. In 1745, he obtained leave of absence to go with Pepperell to Cape Breton.²⁵ He was enrolled as Colonel and Captain of the First Company of the 8th Mass. Regiment in the Louisbourg campaign and performed efficient service later at Albany. In 1747 and 1748, the Town voted to elect but one Representative and the honor fell to him. There was a very discordant minority, however, as the following communication to the Boston News Letter clearly reveals.

Ipswich, May 15, 1747.

The Inhabitants of the Town, Yesterday, at a legal Meeting, elected to represent them the ensuing Year, in the General Assembly, John Choat, Esq., who we are fully sensible has for many years served this Town and Country in a publick Capacity with Faithfulness and Integrity, notwithstanding the injurious Misrepresentations of many, but more particularly the incessant detestable Endeavours of an infamous Chatterer, who at all Opportunities is essaying to asperse the Characters of worthy Men in a publick Station, and has thereby rendered himself the Scorn and Contempt of all honest men on both sides of the Water, Who have had the Unhappiness of being pester'd and plagued with his ungovernable malicious Tong.

It may be true, as has been affirmed, that the long and heated currency conflict led up to those consultations of the Representatives with the Selectmen of the towns which probably suggested the Committees of Correspondence through which so much was accomplished in the days of the Revolution; while the arbitrary suppression of the Land Bank compelled men to face the question whether such legislation as that through which the closure was accomplished could possibly be tolerated by a free people.

²⁵ See Chapter VIII. French and Indian War.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN OR SEVEN YEARS WAR, 1755-1762

AND

THE ACADIANS IN IPSWICH.

The four years war between France and England, 1744-1748, which terminated with the Treaty of Aix-La-Chapelle, was the occasion of one brilliant event on this side the Atlantic, the capture of the fortress of Louisbourg in Cape Breton by the English and Colonial forces. An expedition under the command of William Pepperell of Kittery, a merchant of large wealth but with slight military experience, sailed from Boston on the 24th of March, 1745. The siege was conducted with great vigor and the fortress surrendered in two months.

Edward Eveleth had been commissioned Lieut. Col. and Captain of the 2nd Co. of the 5th Massachusetts Regiment, Col. Robert Hale, on Feb. 7, 1744. He was present at the siege and capture and many Ipswich men were no doubt in his company. Unfortunately none of the Military Rolls of that expedition have been preserved.¹ On or about the first of June, 1745, Col. John Choate of Ipswich, Lieut. Col. William Williams and Major Nathaniel Thwing received their commissions from Gov. Shirley, and under his instructions proceeded to raise the 8th Mass. Regiment, consisting of ten companies of forty men each. They arrived with eight companies about the fifth of July, the other two

¹ The principal record is the Pepperell Papers, Mass. Hist. Soc. Col. Sixth Series, Vol. X. This narrative is based upon these papers.

companies being expected at any time, and found to their "inexpressible joy," that the city had already surrendered. Their late arrival, for which they were no wise responsible, gave rise however to the question whether their regiment was to be regarded as a part of the expedition, and entitled to a proper share of the awards and further service, or whether it should be sent home at once. Col. Choate and his brother officers petitioned on July 8th that the expedition should not be deemed at an end and that their regiment should be esteemed part of the army, and it was so decided by a Council of War. As Col. Choate was also Captain of the 1st Company, another group of Ipswich men was undoubtedly included in it.

Col. Eveleth evidently had filled a prominent place in the conduct of the siege. Immediately upon his arrival, Col. Choate was also recognized as an officer of ability. He was appointed Judge Advocate of a Court of Admiralty, June 20th, and Judge Advocate General for Courts Martial on July 23^d. Dr. John Manning of Ipswich was commissioned Surgeon on June 7th.

Colonel Edward Eveleth, in his petition for reimbursement,² stated that after the reduction he was ordered to Canso, where he was obliged to subsist several men from May first to August fifth, including Mr. Benjamin Crocker, a chaplain in the expedition. Mr. Crocker was a prominent Ipswich citizen, a graduate of Harvard in the class of 1713, a Representative, a teacher for several years of the Grammar School, and a frequent preacher in the Ipswich pulpits. His wife, Mary Whipple, daughter of Major John Whipple, inherited the Whipple House, and there they made their home.³ Richard Lakeman, Clerk of the company, confirmed Col. Eveleth's statements.⁴ William Holland, wounded at

² Mass. Archives 73: 518, 74: 54. He received £52-7s-6d for his wages as Lieut.-Col., 39 weeks and 2 days.

³ Ipswich Hist. Society Pubs. XX: 33.

Cape Breton, was brought home and died June 4, 1745.⁵ Mary Lakeman, administrator of Silvanus Lakeman, an enlisted soldier under Lient. Col. Eveleth, who was sent home sick and was robbed of his gun, a good Queen's arm, petitioned for £12 damage in March, 1753.⁶

A partial list of Col. Choate's company on Nov. 13, 1745, contains the names of Stephen Whipple, Clerk, Daniel Kimball, Moses Jewett and John Jewett. No residences however, are given and the Ipswich men can not be accurately determined. One vessel was dispatched to Boston on June 22nd, with a single company of Col. Choate's regiment. The rest remained during the winter. Col. Choate had part in a reconnoissance to the Island of St. Johns on May 14th, 1746. Two days later, a Council of War decided that it was advisable that the New England troops, who had not enlisted in His Majesty's service, should be discharged and sent home as soon as vessels could be provided for their transportation.

An account book⁷ of Capt. Jonathan Burnam of the Chebacco parish notes the impressment of men in that parish, and reveals the makeshifts to which the Town officials were obliged to resort to provide their equipment.

An a Counpt of such men as are jmprest or Detacht into his maiesty's saruice in the year 1744 whose names are under written that are under my Command Belonging to Chebaco Compenny.

Ebenezer Cogswel
Daniel Androus
humphery williams
mosis foster junr

Joseph emerson
Benjamin Androus
Isaac pockter
Nathan Story

⁵ Mass. Archives 73: 522.

⁶ Town Record.

⁷ Mass. Archives 74: 92.

⁸ Essex Institute Hist. Coll., XLIX., Jan., 1913.

these whos names are a boue written ware Imprest into his majestyes sarvis June y^e 5, 1744

Imprest Into his maiesties sarvis thomas poland June y^e 18, 1745

thomas Burnum y^e 3^d was Imprst into his Majestyes Sarvis July y^e 27, 1745

Benjamen procter & John uarny was Imprest into his Majesties Sarvis Apriel y^e 28, 1746

Samuel Gidding and Samuil Story was Imprest Into his Majesties Sarvis July y^e 16, 1746.

Nathan Burnum was Imprest Into his Majesties Sarvis July y^e 16, 1746 and nathan Burnum And Caleb Burnum hiered Caleb Androus to goe into the Sarvice & gave him thirty eight pounds old tener paid equally between them

David Low juner was Imprest into his Majesties Service In march, 1748.

Daniel Low was Imprest into his Majesties Service May y^e 11, 1748

June y^e 2, 1746 then Receued of Jeremiah Lufkin two guns which I imprest and Delivered to two of his Sons that went to the Cape britton expedition

Receued of Jeremiah Lufkin a Catreg Box

Reciued of william Allin a Catreg Box

Receued of Capⁿ Jeremiah Foster a gun which I Imprest And Deliuered to Thomas Grotten which went In the Cape Britton Expedition

Receved of m^r Solomon Giddings Thomas Grottons Catreg Box

An a Count of men Imprest into his Majesties Service by Capt. Jonathan Burnum Imprest in May, 1748 who paid forty pounds a peace in Bills of Credit old tenor.

Receued of Joseph Andreus for his son Joseph forty

pounds 40- 0- 0

Receiued of Thomas lufkin for his son Thomas

forty pounds 40- 0- 0

Receiued of Stephen Bormum forty pounds	40- 0- 0
Receiued of Nathaniel Cavis forty pounds	40- 0- 0
John lul hiered into his Maiesties Service May the 24, 1748 and I paid him sixty pounds old ten- ner	60- 0- 0
William Kimbol hired into his Maiesties Service may the 24, 1748 and I paid him sixty pounds old tener	60- 0- 0

Jonathan, son of Captain Burnam, was at Louisbourg. The men impressed in 1744 went in the Expedition no doubt, some of the others may have been included in Col. Choate's regiment. John Ringe, known as the "Ipswich lad," was in one of these regiments. Henry Russell⁸ was in Louisbourg over the winter. An affectionate letter from his mother has been preserved.

Ippsich, Jenuary ye 13th, 1745.
these with my love to you hoping they will find you in perfect health as they leave us and Blessed be the name of the Lord for it (that is) all your friends are well and send their respects to you. your aunt Gammage⁹ in particular sends her love. I have Recd the Letter you wrote the Eighth of Last month and am very sorry that you are like to stay all winter. I want to see you my son very much I hope you will come home as soon as possible. all your relations pity you very much. I have sent you some things By a vessell from Beverly, I cannot remember the Capt. name but you might find him out. Viz, some Cheeses five pound of Butter some Links some herbs Some apples some otmeal Some Sewet Some Indian meal Some thread Some yearn I could not get the caps Done and therefore could (not) send them The Barrell is mark H R upon the head of it. I should be glad if you would send to me by the first opportunity Send when you think you shall come home.

So no more at present But Remain your loving and dear mother.

Sarah Russell.

⁸ Son of Henry and Sarah Russell, bp. Dec. 2, 1722.

⁹ Henry Russell and Sarah Adams, inten. 11: 8: 1713. Her sister, Hannah married John Gamage, May 23, 1728.

P. S. I would have you keep from bad Company. Old Mr Rogers¹⁰ Died the 28th of December and was Buried the 3rd of Jenuary, Mr Fowler Died the same Day Buried the last of December.

_____had H R twice upon one head, and mark on the other H Russel with Blacking.

To

Mr Henery Russell
Lewisbourg on
Cape Britan

these with care.

(captain name is blotted out)

Col. S. Waldo certified^{10a} that Zachary Dwinnell of Ipswich was enlisted in his company and was borne on the rolls from 5 Aug., 1746, to the time the troops were disbanded. William Urann memorialized^{10b} the General Court, April 5, 1749, that the name of Ebenezer Maxey, then dead, had been omitted in Col. Choate's muster roll, and prayed that his wages might be paid to his widow, who had six small children dependent upon her.

The news of peace had hardly reached the colonies before the French Governor of Canada sent a force to proclaim French supremacy in the Ohio valley, in June, 1749. Three years later, forts were built and garrisoned by the French and in 1754, they built Fort Duquesne, on the site of the present city of Pittsburg. In May, a detachment of Virginia militia, commanded by Col. George Washington, met and defeated a body of French troops at Great Meadows on the western slope of the Alleghanies.

The Seven Years War or the French and Indian War, as it is commonly called, now began. Expeditions were planned against Fort Duquesne, against Crown Point, a French stronghold on Lake George, the source of many Indian attacks, and Fort Niagara; and a third, against the

¹⁰ Rev. John Rogers, Pastor of First Church, Joseph Fowler.

^{10a} Mass. Archives, 73: 111.

^{10b} Mass. Archives 73: 367.

Acadian settlers in Nova Scotia. New England men had no part in the first of these which was led by Gen. Braddock, and suffered disastrous defeat in the summer of 1755, but they had a conspicuous part in all the other operations of the war.

The conquest of Fort Beausejour in June, 1755, and the removal of the Acadian peasantry from Nova Scotia, was accomplished by an expedition led by Lieut. Col. Monckton. Col. John Winslow commanded 2000 Massachusetts troops with Dr. John Calef of Ipswich as the surgeon of his regiment. The roll of the regiment has not been preserved.

The experience of Captain Thomas Staniford of Ipswich in his good schooner, "Jolly Robin,"¹¹ is typical of the danger of the peaceful merchant service in this period. In February, 1756, while at Halifax, he was informed by Gen. Winslow that Gov. Shirley ordered him to sail for Boston at once. He was not bound for that port but made sail as directed. When he arrived at Nantasket, a boat from "H. M. Sloop Hornet" came along side and an officer impressed four of his crew. Captain Staniford appealed to Gen. Winslow, who promised to secure their release.¹²

Dr. John Calef of Ipswich had warrant from Gov. Shirley on Jan. 22, 1755 to proceed to Fort Halifax on the Kennebec river, to take care of the sick soldiers in the garrison. He started at once and arrived at Falmouth, now Portland, in three days where he was obliged to leave his horse and travel on foot the rest of the way. He arrived at the Fort "the beginning of February" and found the garrison very sickly, and it continued so until the first of April. The sickness was then much abated, and as his medicines were almost spent, he advised with the commanding officer and returned home. As he had received no pay, he petitioned that "his Extraordinary Fatigue & Service in the Midst of

¹¹ Called sometimes the "Jolly Rover."

¹² Mass. Archives 65: 193.

Winter" should be recognized. His expenses were, for horse hire 26/8, 10 days expense himself and horse at 3/ a day, horse keeping at Falmouth 16/ and £3-12^s-8^d, exclusive of wages. The General Court voted him £15-18/.

In the spring of 1755, an army was recruited largely from the militia of Connecticut and Massachusetts to attack the French and their Indian allies at Crown Point. To encourage the companies to penetrate the Indian country, Gov. Shirley issued a proclamation¹³ on June 18, 1755, granting to every such company consisting of not less than 30 men, 30 days provisions and for every Indian captive £220, for every scalp £200, provided the company should have performed a march of at least 30 days. A grant was made to every inhabitant of the Province, for every captive £110, for every scalp £100.

Captain John Whipple of the Hamlet commanded a company in Col. Bagley's regiment, in service from April, 1755 to December and January following, which was composed largely of the young men of the Hamlet and Chebacco.

The roll, as returned by Capt. Whipple in Feb., 1756, included:¹⁴

John Whipple, Captain	Jacob Smith, Corporal
Stephen Whipple, Lieut	Nathan Thompson, Corporal
Philip Lord, Ensign	Robert Potter, drummer
Aaron Day, Sergeant	Privates
Antipas Dodge, Sergeant	Nathaniel Adams, Corporal
Ebenezer Knowlton, Sergeant	after Dodge's death.
John Appleton, Clerk	Samuel Brown
George Adams, Corporal	Stephen Brown
promoted Sergeant after	John Daniels
Dodge's death.	Ebenezer Davise
Isaac Hovey, Corporal	John Dennis

¹³ Mass. Archives 74: 462.

¹⁴ Mass. Archives 94: 83.

Mark Fisk	James Reynolds
Nathaniel Heard	David Riggs
Moses Hodgkins	Abraham Safford
Thomas Howlet	Edward Seakes?
John Jones	Jeremiah Seachell
Thomas Kimball	(Shatswell)
William Kimball	William Semons
John Lakeman	John Small
Thomas Loney	William Smith
Stephen Lowater	James Stephens
Joseph Machem	Robert Stocker
William Mansfield	Samuel Tuttle
Elijah Maxwell	Scipio Wood
Andrew Morse	Andrew Woodbury
Nathan Patch	Isaac Woodbury
Francis Poland	

The old day book of Mark Howe of Linebrook contains the item

An account of soldiers under Lt. Mark How Command that have enlisted into his Majesties Service under Capt. Herrick's Command in the Defence of North Amarica.

Michael Holegate, Mark How Jr. the fifteenth day of March, 1755.

15 Sept. 1755. Allen Perley hired Nehemiah Abbott in his Room to go to Crown Point under Capt. Isaac Smith, which shall go for Perley's turn.

The soldiers listened to a sermon by Rev. Mr. Wigglesworth, Pastor of the Hamlet church, and then began the long march from Ipswich to Albany. A letter¹⁵ written from Albany to a friend in Boston gives a high character to these New England soldiers.

The Behavior of the New England Provincials at Albany

¹⁵ Boston Gazette, August 11, 1755.

is equally admirable and satisfactory Instead of the Devastations committed by the Troops in 1746, not a Farmer has lost a Chicken or even a Mess of Herbs—they have five Chaplains and maintain the best Order in the Camp—Publick Prayer, Psalm singing and martial Exercises ingrossed their whole Time at Albany. Twice a week they have Sermons and are in the very best Frame of Mind for an Army, looking for success in a Dependence upon Almighty God and a Concurrence of Means. Would to God the New England Disposition in this Respect were catching.

From Albany, the whole army marched to Lake George, where Fort Edward was built by the New England men, skilled in the use of the axe and the building of log houses. Late in August, Major General William Johnson, who had been appointed to the chief command, led his little army of 3400 men, including several hundred Indian allies, to the southern shore of the lake and established his camp.

On the morning of Sept. 8th, Dieskau, the French commander, assailed the camp with a large force of French regulars, Canadian militia and Indians. For five hours the raw New England militia sustained the assault of the trained soldiers of Europe and the more cunning attack of their Indian foe, and finally, leaping over their frail defences, put the enemy to flight. Two hundred and sixteen of the Americans fell and ninety-six were wounded. Antipas Dodge, Sergeant in Capt. Whipple's Co. and John Jones were among the slain.¹⁶ Corporal Nathan Thompson was wounded three times. He petitioned¹⁷ the General Court for relief, Feb. 11, 1756.

being so hotly engaged with the enemy in y^e woods and obliged to retreat the first shot I received was just

¹⁶ Felt, *History of Ipswich*, p. 149, says that Joseph Simmonds also fell on that day and that Elijah Maxwell or Maxey was wounded in the hand, which was made useless. They were all Hamlet men. *Mass. Archives*, 94: 83. Bancroft, 4: 211.

¹⁷ *Mass. Archives* 75: 96.

above the Elbow, the second about half way between y^e Elbow and Wrist, the third in my left side.

Having lost the use of his arm entirely, he asked aid as a wife and five children were dependent upon him. £5 was voted for his present relief.

A second company, under the command of Capt. Isaac Smith of Ipswich, was ready to march to reinforce the army at this time. The roll, reported by the Captain in the February following included:¹⁸

Isaac Smith, Captain	Daniel Giddings
John Jones, Lieut.	Daniel Gilbert
Gideon Parker, Ensign	Solomon Goodwin
John Adams, Sergeant	Nathaniel Grant
Benjamin Brown, Sergeant	Benjamin Heath
David Smith, Sergeant	Jonathan Harris
Daniel Porter, Clerk	John Herrick
Nehemiah Abbott, Corporal	Jedidiah Hodgkins
Geoffrey Purcell, Corporal	Stephen Hodgkins
Jacob Town, Corporal	Ezekiel Hunt, marched to
Aaron White, Corporal	Deerfield & deserted.
Stephen Bennett, Drummer	David Ireland
(Waite?)	Edmond Kimball
Privates	Philip Kneeland
Francis Appleton	Edward Lamson
Daniel Averell	Joseph Lord
James Burch	James McNiell
Benjamin Chapman	John Moulton
Simon Chapman, died at	Thomas Morpew
Brookfield.	Samuel Patch
Joseph Cheney	Bemsley Perkins
Richard Hubbard Dodge	Jacob Perkins
Joseph Emmons	Nathaniel Perkins

¹⁸ Mass. Archives 94: 1: 92.

Samuel Pickard	James Smith
William Rand	Thomas Tenney
Thomas Riggs	Ezra Towne
Samuel Rogers	John Tuttle

To this long roll of Ipswich soldiers in the first campaign may be added the names of

Joseph Fisk	John Rogers
Abijah Howe	Daniel Shergeat
Robert Lee	Israel Town
William Morrison	Jacob Town
Andrew Patch	Aaron Waite
Daniel Poland	

These appear on the enrollment list, returned by Col. Berry, noted as "Crown Point men," in the Index,¹⁹ though their names are not found on the roll of either of the Ipswich companies.

An enrollment of Col. John Greenleaf's Regiment²⁰ contains the names of:

John Adams	Isaac Martin
David Bennett	William Newman
Jonathan Fellows	Daniel Parsons
Samuel Fellows	John Quarles
Joseph Killam	Robert Quarles
Ebenezer Mansfield	Lemuel Tucker

With these exceptions, the Col. Greenleaf enrollment is almost identical with that of Captain Isaac Smith's Company in Col. Plaisted's Regiment, already given.

Gen. Johnson, though urged by Gov. Shirley and the New England provinces, to press the campaign against the French, took no advantage of the decisive victory. He employed his

¹⁹ Mass. Archives, 93: 227.

²⁰ Mass. Archives 93: 225.

force in building Fort William Henry, a wooden structure, near Lake George and on the approach of winter, retaining a sufficient garrison, he dismissed the militia. The troops were at home by mid-winter. Captain Whipple's roll,²¹ returned in Feb., 1756, bears the record.

"Travel from Albany to Ipswich, 225 miles, 15 miles p^r day, is 15 days, at 1^s 6^d p^r day is 22/6 p^r man." Their time of service was from April to December, 1755 and January, 1756. Captain Smith made his attested return on the 26th of February and certified his company's service from Sept. 9 to Dec. 17. They made the return march in the same number of days required by Capt. Whipple's company.

The Commissioners appointed to go to Albany to forward the Crown Point expedition, James Minot, Col. John Choate and Samuel Livermore, reported on Dec. 12, 1755.²²

They arrived at Albany on Nov. 12th, and while 20 miles away, they overtook 57 head of cattle, which were being driven to the camp as a present from Long Island. The drovers informed them that about 200 sheep had already reached Albany from the same source.

Next day we set out and in three days we arrived at Fort W^m Henry. Met about a thousand troops marching off, said to be chiefly of Connecticut men & about 200 wagons returning with many of the sick of this Province. Held council at the Fort, agreed on garrison. 430 at upper, 320 at Lower Fort. Col Bagley to be Chief

At Albany we ordered all the sick under the care of Doctor Calfe (Dr. John Calef of Ipswich) with Doctor Hall for his second or assistant, the said Calfe was the only Physician of Note we could prevail on to accept this charge and as the sick were numerous and a number of them at the Flatts, six miles out of Town, we were obliged to promise him some further allowance than the stated wages of a

²¹ Mass. Archives 94: 1: 92.

²² Mass. Archives 75: 18-26.

surgeon. Capt. Stone was driving up 237 head of cattle for this Province. The forts appear to us to be strong and well-built capable of a good defence but ill situated with respect to some neighboring hills that overlook them

Dr. Calef, Surgeon to the late Col. Samuel Willard's Regiment and Dr. Hall addressed a memorial²³ to the Commissioners, asking further remuneration.

We performed said service until January 18 and for a considerable part of the time visited and dressed upwards of an hundred sick and wounded persons & did perform 2 amputations, viz. a leg and an arm. 8 persons sick ten miles this side the city and several at the Flatts above the city.

The Council voted. To John Calef 40/. To Jer. Hall £8. In Council, Feb. 25, 1756, John Choate, Esq., Josiah Dwight, Esq. and John Murray, Esq., were chosen a Committee of War²⁴ to repair to Albany. This Committee did not accept apparently, and Col. Choate was again appointed on April 14th, his associates being Elisha Sheldon and John Whitcomb.

The Commissioners were at Fort Edward on June 22, 1756 and wrote²⁵ from there that guards and scouts were needed to protect the wagons engaged in transporting supplies to Fort William Henry. They remained there during the summer, but were summoned home on Aug. 27th.²⁶

Early in the summer of 1756, the New England men were summoned once more to join the British regular regiments in a new campaign. The long marches, the prevailing sickness and the weak leadership of the former year proved very discouraging. The difficulty experienced in raising the new levy is well shown in Col. Berry's letter.

²³ Mass. Archives 75: 509.

²⁴ Mass. Archives 75: 155, 492.

²⁵ Mass. Archives 75: 668.

²⁶ Mass. Archives 76: 54.

Mr. Secretary.

Sir:

In Obedience to His Excellency's orders to me of April 15, I Proportioned the One hundred and seventeen men demanded out of the Regiment under my Command and had them all Inlisted or Imprest at the day. But so it was (as before Observed to you) 18 in Capt. Low's Company, every one paid the fine. 10 from Capt. Davis did the like 8 in Capt. Allen's Company did likewise. Since which they have done all as I apprehend Officers could To hire and many have given £13-6-8. And now men are not to be procured at any Lay.

The Fishermen when they come in keep hid, or go off to sea so as not to be taken. They are yet in Constant Pursuit and I dont leave them Six days without fresh Orders, and were it to save the Country, I can do no more.

I herewith send a list^{26a} of the men that have been Inlisted & Impressed and Sent forward also of what is waiting & where

And hope not to be wanting in my utmost Endeavors to forward what is yet behind. I have been in hourly expectation to have sent a Compleat list of the whole that have been Demanded which Occasioned my delay. But have been obstructed as above. Which I hope will plead an Excuse for him who with difficulty bears to be Out Strip't in point of duty, by any Officers whatsoever.

And is

Sir

Your Obedient—

Humble Servant,

Tho^s Berry

Ipswich, June 4, 1756.

To the Hon^{ble} Secretary Willard^{26b}

Capt. Stephen Whipple of the Hamlet, brother of Captain John, with whom he served as Lieut. in 1755, was in the field with 41 able bodied soldiers who had passed muster at Boston on May 7th, 1756, to go to Crown Point.

His roll²⁷ included a group of Ipswich men.

^{26a} The list has not been preserved.

^{26b} Mass. Archives 94: II: 233.

²⁷ Mass. Archives 94: I: 200. Col. Plaisted's Regiment.

	age	born	residence
Stephen Whipple, Captain	29	Ipswich	Ipswich
Nathaniel Adams	19	"	"
Thomas Adams	33	"	"
John Baker	17	"	"
John Boynton	19	Rowley	"
Stephen Brown	20	Ipswich	"
Benj. Glazier	21	"	"
Caleb Lampson	17	"	Wenham
Stephen Lowater	23	"	Ipswich
John Marshall	42	"	"
Elijah Maxey	30	"	"
Benj. Pinder	19	"	"
William Poland	20	"	"
Eben Porter	24	"	"
Joseph Whipple	17	"	"

The roll²⁸ of Capt. Andrew Fuller's Co. in the same regiment, Col. Ichabod Plaisted's, included the names of

	age	born	residence
John Daverson	20	Ipswich	Wenham
Caleb Low	16	"	Salem
John Mays	19	"	Beverly
John Stacy	20	"	Danvers
Andrew Woodbury	19	"	Ipswich

Capt. Jonathan Pearson's company, Col. Plaisted's regiment at Fort Edward, July 26, 1756, reported on its roll.²⁹

	age	born	residence
Aaron Caldwell	36	Ipswich	Ipswich yeoman
Nath ^l Foster	24	"	Newbury shipwright
John Knowlton, Corporal	18	"	" "
John Maybe	22	"	Ipswich laborer
William Perkins	26	"	" sadler
James Robans	17	"	" weaver
John Webber	18	"	" yeoman
Ensign Joseph Greenleaf	20	"	Newbury blacksmith

²⁸ Mass. Archives 94: 1: 201.

²⁹ Mass. Archives 94: II: 341.

was enrolled in Capt. Edmund Mooer's company, Col. Plaisted's regiment.³⁰ Benjamin Brown was enrolled as Ensign in Capt. Pearson's Co., returned Dec. 22, 1756.³¹

The roll³² of Capt. Stephen Whipple's company, Col. Ichabod Plaisted's regiment, at Fort Edward, July 27, 1756, bears the same names as the earlier roll with few changes. Thomas Adams was then sergeant; Nathaniel Adams, Stephen Brown and Stephen Lowater were corporals; John Marshall had died on the march to Albany. The names of John Boynton, Benjamin Glazier and Eben Porter do not appear. Moses Dodge, born in Beverly, 18 yrs. old, resident in Ipswich, a joiner, and Benj. Webber, born in Ips. age 18, resident in Wenham, a laborer, are added. Nathaniel Adams had been hired; John Baker, Stephen Brown, Moses Dodge and Joseph Whipple had been impressed; the rest had enlisted. Amos Story was on the roll³³ of the company reported Feb. 1, 1757.

The roll³⁴ of Capt. Israel Davis's company, Col. Bagley's regiment, at Fort William Henry, Aug. 9, 1756, included

Anthony Potter, Sergeant	David Ireland
Ebenezer Davis, Corporal	Thomas Kimball
Joseph Burnam	Thomas Loney
Daniel Chapman	John Robbins
Zachariah Dwinell	Ebenezer Smith
Ezekiel Hunt	Jacob Smith
Asa Hologate	Robert Stocker

The roll³⁵ of the same company, from Feb. 18, 1756 to Dec. 21st following, mentions Jeremiah Shatswell, drummer, Samuel Potter, and that Thomas Kimball was the son of John Kimball.

³⁰ Mass. Archives 94: II: 347.

³¹ Mass. Archives 95: 1: 136.

³² Mass. Archives 94: II: 349.

³³ Mass. Archives 95: 1: 191.

³⁴ Mass. Archives 94: II: 386.

³⁵ Mass. Archives 95: I: 116, 117.

Gideon Parker, Ensign in Capt. Isaac Smith's company in the first campaign, was Captain of a company in Col. Plaisted's regiment in 1756. The roll⁸⁶ of his company from Feb. 18, 1756 to Dec. 22, 1756, included as Ipswich men:

Gideon Parker, Captain	Nathaniel Grant
Lawrence Clarke, Sergeant	George Harper
Jacob Cogswell, Sergeant	Amos Howard
Benjamin Grant, Corporal	David Kilborn, dead
Moses Hodgkins, Corporal	Joseph Lord, dead
William Kimball, Corporal	John Moulton
William Mansfield, Corporal	Richard Pulsepher
Privates	John Robins, Jr.
William Connolly	John Rust
John Davison	Joseph Smith
Joseph Emmons	Richard Smith

Captain Parker received orders from Gov. Shirley to raise a company in February. He had nearly completed it, when he was seized with rheumatic fever on April 20th and confined to his room until the last of May. He petitioned for medical expense.⁸⁷ As soon as he was able, he made the long journey to Crown Point and took command. Nathan Baker⁸⁸ informed the General Court that he was a member of Capt. Parker's Co. though his name did not appear on the roll, and Nathaniel Smith, Moses Ames and Moses Lyford⁸⁹ made a similar complaint, adding that they had found their own guns.

The summer of 1756 witnessed no active campaigning, but the men suffered greatly from the diseases fostered by prolonged continuance in unsanitary camps. In the winter, they were again dismissed to their homes but many broke down on the way.

⁸⁶ Mass. Archives 95: I: 128.

⁸⁷ Mass. Archives 77: 49.

⁸⁸ Mass. Archives 77: 86.

⁸⁹ Mass. Archives 77: 87.

In April, 1757, the army was again on the march. Col. Daniel Appleton⁴⁰ writing from Ipswich, April 13th to Col. Brattle, reports that 76 men have been enlisted in his regiment for the Canada expedition, two impressed and one [?] and 3 officers, whom he had delivered to Capt. Whipple agreeably to Col. Bagley's direction, and had enlisted 19 under Capt. Herrick for Penobscot.

Montcalm, the brilliant French commander, reinforced Ticonderoga and threatened Fort William Henry with a strong force of French and Indians. The alarm was sounded and reinforcements were hurried forward. A foot company of 90 men under the command of Capt. Thomas Dennis,⁴¹ hastily gathered from the militia regiment of Col. Daniel Appleton, marched from Ipswich on August 16, and on the following day a troop of horse under Capt. Richard Manning⁴² hurried away. The foot company reached Sudbury, the horse troop, Springfield, before the news of the disaster was received and they then returned.

On August 2nd, a full fortnight before the relief had started, Montcalm made his attack. No help came to the garrison and on August 9th, having received from Montcalm, honorable terms of surrender, the commander of the Fort opened the gates. The Indians could not be held in check, and despite the efforts of the French officers, they fell upon the garrison as it took up its march to Fort Edward, plundering and killing to their heart's content. Capt. Enoch Bailey's company with a full quota of Ipswich soldiers, was "in the capitulation," and "at the late seige from Feb. 12, 1757 to Oct. 22nd following," and the roll⁴³ of the company preserves the names of the Ipswich men who knew the horrors of that day.

⁴⁰ Mass. Archives 78: 438.

⁴¹ Mass. Archives 95: 2: 512.

⁴² Mass. Archives 95: 2: 551.

⁴³ Mass. Archives 96: 1: 19.

Caleb Adams, Corporal	Jonathan Galloway
Stephen Adams	John Glazier, son of Benjamin
Benjamin Burnham	Joshua Marshall
Robert Dorothy	Daniel Smith
Nathaniel Grant	James Smith
Elisha Gould, killed Aug. 5 th .	Joseph Smith

The roll⁴⁴ of the same company from February to November 1757, contains many familiar names.

William Connery, discharged	William Mansfield
Aug. 16.	George Newman
John Foster	Daniel Reddington
Jonathan Fearn	John Rust, dead Sept. 2.
Richard Harris	Richard Smith
Moses Hodgkins	Henry Spiller
George Harper	Thomas Wells
David Ireland	Benjamin White, dead Sept.
Amaziah Knowlton, son of	3 ^d .
Samuel	Jeremiah White
John Lakeman	

Capt. Israel Davis's company was at the siege as well, and his roll⁴⁵ included Benjamin Kimball, sergeant, William Harris and Jonathan Lovell, privates. A number of Ipswich soldiers were taken prisoners and carried away. John Robins, about fifty years old, was with a tribe called "Canaday Indians," "Daniel Smith, Jr., Thomas Jones and Robert Quarles,"⁴⁶ all young men and Carried of by the Indians, but wether with them or the french Now we cant tell."

Again the New England soldiers spent the winter in their

⁴⁴ Mass. Archives 96: 1: 55.

⁴⁵ Mass. Archives 96: 1: 21.

⁴⁶ Mass. Archives 77: 687. Report of Col. John Choate. Col. Choate says, (Archives 77: 651) that Robert Quarles was of Gloucester. Col. Choate reported also for the Committee of present defence of the Western and Eastern Frontiers and for building a fort at Penobscot, Jan. 18: 1758. Archives 77: 454.

homes, but the spring of 1758 saw them engaged in the stirring activities of that year. Louisbourg had been given up to the French by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle. They strengthened its fortifications until it was deemed impregnable. Early in June, however, it was infested by a great fleet and an army of 10,000 men, led by Jeffrey Amherst, with James Wolfe serving as a Brigadier. After a vigorous siege, the fortress surrendered on July 27th.

Capt. Stephen Whipple marched again and Capt. Gideon Parker seems to have been in the field as well. A great army gathered at Lake George for the conquest of Fort Ticonderoga and the effectual checking of the French advance into New England. It was commanded by Gen. Abercrombie but Lord Howe was the "soul of the enterprise." The experienced Montcalm led the French. On the 6th of July, Lord Howe's command met a force of the enemy and vanquished it, but the leader was the first to fall.

The two armies met on the 8th of July and the British force was routed with great loss. Rev. John Cleaveland, Pastor of one of the churches in Chebacco, was commissioned as Chaplain in Col. Jonathan Bagley's regiment on March 13th, 1758. His Journal⁴⁷ of the summer campaign, narrates many details of the march, camp life and the disastrous battles. Religious services were a conspicuous feature in the daily routine.

June 15, (1758) About four o'clock to-day Col. Bagley's Regiment began to come into Flatbush. All Captain Whipple's Company arrived safe except one, Jacob Lufkin, who they left at Northampton or hadley much indisposed by an unlucky Blow upon his blind eye prayed with Three or four companies of our Regiment this evening.

June 16. Friday. This morning attended prayers with several companies of my Regiment. Several persons, Captain Morrow's Co. were put under guard for killing some of our Landlord's cattle, fresh meat being found upon them.

⁴⁷ Essex Institute Hist. Coll. 12: 85.

June 17. This day came on Court Martial of these above mentioned and they found three guilty, who were condemned to be whipt two fifty lashes and one 25. But one was discharged by the Colonel and the other two received but 10 lashes apiece, viz. Retire Bacon and Joseph Brown.

Sabbath 18. This day preached to a large and attentive auditory.

19. Monday. Prayers early because of our marching toward Scheneacdy, marched 19 or 20 miles, my regiment would rather have gone to Crown Point and Quebec.

Tuesday. 20. Regiment called together for prayers in evening. 7 P. M.

23. Friday. This evening Col. Bagley received orders to march toward Fort Edward on arrival of Col. Williams's Reg. at Schenectady.

25. Sabbath. Set out for half-moon and arrived at about sunset I cautioned the Regiment to remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy, and they did behave quite civilly in general.

The regiment, Mr. Cleaveland notes, arrived at Fort Edward on June 29th. On Wednesday, July 5th, tents were struck at 5 A. M., the men were embarked on batteaux, and after a brief camp during the day, they rowed all night, landing at day light at the Narrows. As all bridges had been burned, a long detour through thick woods was necessary. After marching about two miles, they were attacked in front by 3000 French and Indians. Col. Bagley's regiment was ordered to charge the enemy on the right. "My Lord Howe was killed and about 24 of our men were missing."

Saturday, July 8th. Our troops attempted to force the French intrenchment before the Fort with small arms and met with very great loss. Our men acted with the greatest intrepidity Many were slain and many came in wounded, the number not yet known though it is conjectured that a thousand are among the killed and wounded. Capt. Whipple received a ball in his thigh which lodged

there. Lieut. Burnham rec^d a mortal wound in his bowels and Lieut. Low was slain as we suppose.

July 9. Sabbath. reembarked and returned to Fort William Henry This evening Lieut. Burnham was buried having died upon the water of his wound. I understand he inquired much for me and desired to see me before he died. But I was in another battoe and could not be found, the Lake being full of them.

Mr. Cleaveland says that 10 privates in Capt. Whipple's company were wounded. Amos Howard of Ipswich certified⁴⁸ that five balls were shot through his clothing and a bullet passed through his right arm below the elbow, making his arm useless. Ebenezer Potter⁴⁹ of Ipswich was shot through the right hand and disabled for his trade of weaving.

The rolls⁵⁰ of Capt. Whipple's company bear melancholy evidence of the brave part taken by the Ipswich soldiers in this disastrous battle.

Nathan Burnham, Lieut., dead July 9.

Stephen Low, Lieut., dead July 8.

Samuel Knowlton, Ensign and Lieut.

James Andrews, Sergeant.

John Tuttle, Corporal and Sergeant.

Archilaus Dwinell, Corporal, dead Sept. 20.

Caleb Adams	Jeremy Burnam
Isaac Allen, son of W ^m .	John Burnam
Jonathan Andrews	Benjamin Craft
Joshua Andrews	Francis Craft
Robert Annable, Jr., son of	Jacob Cogswell
Robert.	Moses Davis
Jonathan Bowles	Andrew Dodge
Benj. Burnam	Nathaniel Dodge, son of
Isaac Burnam, son of David.	Richard.

⁴⁸ Mass. Archives 78: 341.

⁴⁹ Mass. Archives 78: 80.

⁵⁰ Mass. Archives 96: 2: 508. March 13 to Dec. 9, 1758.

Henry Emerson, son of Jos., dead Sept. 23.	Ebenezer Mansfield
Joseph Emerson	Jonathan Marshall
John Foster	Elijah Maxey
Joshua Foster, son of Jere- miah.	George Pierce
Joshua Guppea	George Pierce, Jr., son of George.
John Holland	Abner Poland
Amos Howard	Ebenezer Porter
William Jones	Abner Ross, son of Jabez, dead April 3 ^d .
Stephen Kent	William Simmons
Aaron Knowlton, son of Samuel.	Jesse Story
Ezra Knowlton, son of Ben- jamin.	David Thompson
Jacob Lufkin, son of Jona- than.	Jonathan Wells
Moses Lufkin, son of Jere- miah.	Joseph Whipple
	Thomas Whipple, son of William.
	Jeremy White
	William Wise

Retire Bacon⁵¹ of Ipswich, of Col. Ruggles's regiment, was in the battle and lost his pack containing his blanket and clothing, while caring for Lieut. Nathan Burnum, stricken with a mortal wound, which caused his death the next day.

The company roll⁵² of Capt. Andrew Giddings of Gloucester, in Col. Bagley's regiment, in the Crown Point expedition, from March 13 to Dec. 9, 1758, included some Ipswich men.

Isaac Martin, Lieut.	Jos. Hobby?
Benjamin Chapman, Sergeant	Jedediah Hodgkins
William Smith, Corporal	Jonathan Lowell
Thomas Burnam	Samuel Robins
John Clough	Thomas Wade

⁵¹ Mass. Archives 79: 57.

⁵² Mass. Archives 96: 2: 511.

In the company of Capt. Joseph Newhall were Philemon Dane, Samuel Rogers, son of Samuel, and Jeremiah Shatswell.

Captain Thomas Poor of Andover returned his roll,⁵³ from March 13 to Nov. 27, 1758, "on the Canada expedition," which included,

Moses Bradstreet, Lieut.	Michael Hollen
Daniel Giddings, Ensign	Caleb Kimball
Thomas Gains, Sergeant	William Kimball
Thomas Loney, Sergeant	Thomas Knowlton
Benj. Pinder, Corporal	James Lord, son of James
Thos. Kimball, Corporal	Francis Merrifield
Daniel Brown, son of Daniel	Samuel Newman, son of
Richard Brown	Jonathan
Benjamin Burnham	John Newmarsh, son of John
Jonathan Burnham	John Perkins
John Caldwell, son of Daniel	Joseph Pulseffer, dead ? Sept.
Francis Cogswell	23.
John Dennis, son of Thomas	Daniel Safford
Ebenezer Fuller	Robert Stocker
George Harper	Ebenezer Smith
John Harish (Harris)	William Stone
Moses Haskel	Jonathan Treadwell
Nathaniel Heard	Stephen Wate (Wait)
Benjamin Hodgkins	

Nathaniel Moulton⁵⁴ of Ipswich, a private in Capt. Samuel Dahin's company, Col. Nichols's regiment, petitioned for relief in January, 1760, certifying that he was taken prisoner on July 20, 1758, at Half-Way Brook, carried to Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Montreal and Quebec, suffering great hardship from imprisonment and cruel treatment, being almost starved. He was sent to England on Sept. 25, 1758.

⁵³ Mass. Archives 97: 1: 70.

⁵⁴ Mass. Archives 78: 778a.

then to New York, where he arrived May 4, 1759. Caleb Kimball⁵⁵ of Ipswich made the same petition. Each received £8.

In a list of vessels burnt, driven ashore or carried away at Monte Christo, by a French frigate, in December, 1758, occurs the name of *The Charming Molly Davis* of Ipswich, with 90 hogsheads of molasses and 6 of sugar, burnt by the enemy.⁵⁶

In the Spring of 1759, preparations were made for the conquest of Ticonderoga and the reduction of Quebec. Gen. Amherst commanded the former expedition in person; the attack on Quebec was assigned to Gen. James Wolfe, who had distinguished himself at the siege of Louisbourg. Col. Daniel Appleton reported the list⁵⁷ of soldiers, enlisted or impressed from the militia regiment commanded by him, "to be put under the immediate command of His Excellency, Jeffrey Amherst, Esq., General and Commander-in-chief of his Majesty's forces in North America, for the Invasion of Canada," dated Ipswich, April 10, 1759.

Col. Appleton's list bears the names of 64 men, and it possesses peculiar interest in that it reports as well, the age and the former military service and whether the enlistment was voluntary. Young lads of seventeen marched by the side of seasoned veterans, thrice their age. Few of the older men had not participated in at least one previous summer campaign and some had served four years successively. Only a few were impressed.

	previous service	campaign	age
Caleb Adams, Jr.	1757-58	Lake George	27
Matthew Annable			26
John Baker, Lieut.			
John Baker, 3 ^d	1756	"	21

⁵⁵ Mass. Archives 78: 779a.

⁵⁶ Historical Publications, Essex Institute, XLV, 846.

⁵⁷ Mass. Archives 97: 1: 110.

	previous service	campaign	age	
Benjamin Burnam	1757-1758	Lake George	21	
Isaac Burnam	1758	"	18	s. David
Jonathan Burnam, 4 th	1758	"	20	
William Campernell	1756-1758	"	46	
Daniel Choate, Jr. ?			30	
Daniel Choate			19	
Francis Cogswell, 3 ^d , sailor	1758	"	22	
Jacob Cogswell	1758	"	20	
Francis Crafts	1756-1758	"	51	
Tho ^s Dennis, Jr., sailor			25	
Benj. Dike	1757(?)	"	31	
Nathaniel Dodge	1758	"	18	s. Richard
Thomas Emerson, Ensign			24	
Moses Fisher, sailor				
Joseph Fisk			18	
Joshua Foster	1758	"	19	s. Jeremiah
Thomas Gaines	1755-6-7-8	"	51	
Thomas Giddinge			17	s. Thos.
Benj. Gilbert			18	
John Harris	1758	"	24	
William Harris, 3 ^d , sailor	1757	"	30	
Nathaniel Hart	1758	"	45	
Nathaniel Heard for				
Mark Platt	1755	"	25	
servt to Nath. Appleton				
Elihu Hewes	1758	"		
Philemon How			17	s. Mark
Nathaniel Jones			19	s. Jn ^o
Stephen Kent	1758	"	32	
Knowlton, Lieut.				
Abraham Knowlton, Jr.,				
sailor	1758	"	33	
Thomas Knowlton, sailor			27	

	previous service	campaign	age	
John Lakeman for				
David Hobson	1758	"	46	
Richard Lakeman, sailor	1758	"	52	
Ebenezer Lord			21	
Stephen Lowater	1755-6-7-8	"	25	
Moses Lufkin	1758	"	18	s. Jeremiah
Ebenezer Mansfield	1755-1758	"	25	
Jonathan Marshall	1758	"	40	
Martin, Lieut.				
Elijah Maxey	1755-6-8	"	33	
George Newman, Jr., sailor	1757	"	25	
John Newman			18	son Geo.
Daniel Newmarch, sailor			22	
James Perkins, hired			23	
Nathaniel Perkins	1755-58	"	24	
George Pierce, sailor	58	"	49	
John Pinder, Jr., sailor	58	"	29	
Jonathan Pulcifer, Jr., sailor			46	
Jeffrey Purcill	58	"	18	
James Robbins	58	"	20	
John Robbins, sailor	56	"	22	
Richard Smith	58	"	33	
Solomon Smith, Jr.			19	s. Solomon
Jesse Story	58	"	28	
Samuel Tuttle			29	
William Vannen	1756-7-8	"	34	
Samuel Waite			23	
Jonathan Wells, Jr., sailor	58	"	17	
Amos Whipple			17	s. William
Joseph Whipple			21	
Stephen Whipple, Capt.				

Gen. Amherst assembled his army at Lake George, and his force was so far superior to the French, that Ticonderoga was abandoned without a battle on July 26th, and Crown Point five days later. The summer was loitered away though it had been planned that Amherst should advance by land to co-operate with Wolfe against Quebec. The fleet and army composing the expedition against Quebec assembled at Louisbourg and proceeded at once up the Saint Lawrence. The fourteen sailors in Col. Appleton's list were all assigned to H. M. Ship Alice in the fleet commanded by Vice Admiral Saunders and served from April 2^d to Nov. 10th, 1759.⁵⁸ The seventeen year old lad, Philemon How, son of Mark and Hephzibah How of Linebrook, died at Louisbourg of fever on June 16th.⁵⁹

In addition to the 64 enrolled by Col. Appleton, many others served in the several companies, which were recruited in this vicinity. Capt. Israel Davis attached to Col. Jonathan Bagley's regiment, returned his roll⁶⁰ from Louisbourg, covering March 19 to Nov. 1, 1759. It bears the names of

Benjamin Kimball, Lieut.	Ammi Knowlton
William Simmons, Sergeant	Thomas Knowlton
Benj. Pinder, Corporal	Thomas Loney
Joseph Burnam	James Lord
John Glazier	Robert Stocker
Jacob How	

The roll⁶¹ of Capt. Gideon Parker's company in the expedition to Quebec, April 21, 1759 to Nov. 14, includes

Nehemiah Abbott, Sergeant	Mark Platts
Joseph Emmons	Samuel Ross, Jr., son of
Ebenezer Fuller	Samuel
Jonathan Lowell	

⁵⁸ Mass. Archives 98: 1: 203.

⁵⁹ Account book of Mark How.

⁶⁰ Mass. Archives 98: 1: 204.

⁶¹ Mass. Archives 97: 2: 308.

Scipio, negro servant to Jo. Eliphalet Smith
 Rust Aaron Waite, Sergeant

Serg. Waite arrived home, sick with "pestilential fever" and died eight days afterward.⁶²

In the company⁶³ of Capt. Ephraim Holmes, March 31 to Nov. —, at Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, 11 March, 1760, were Joshua Guppy and Jonathan Treadwell of Ipswich.

Capt. Joseph Smith of Rowley was "up the river" with his company from April 21 to Nov. 29, 1759. His roll⁶⁴ included:

Benjamin Brown, Lieut.	David Goodhue
Philip Lord, Lieut.	David Goodhue, Jr., son of
Samuel Lord, Ensign	Mr.
Samuel Stickney, Sergeant	John Graves, son of John
William Stickney, Sergeant	Samuel Hidden
Richard Sutton, Sergeant	John Johnson
Aaron Caldwell, Corporal	John Laiten, son of Mr.
Thomas Kimball, Corporal	Thos. Lakeman, son of Mr.
Richard Lakeman, Corporal	John Lord
James Smith, Corporal	Nathan Low
Stephen Hodgkins, Drummer	John Maybe
Benjamin Burnham	Willibe Nason
John Carty, Jr., son of Mr.	Samuel Newman
Ezekiel Cheever	Cesar Northend, Deceased,
Nath. Conner, son of Mr.	servant of Mr.
Francis Coffey, Deceased, ser-	Thomas Potter, Deceased,
vant to Mr. Parsons.	Son of Mr.
Peter Copper, Deceased,	John Rice, Deceased, son of
served to Oct. 1.	of Mr.
Abel Cressey, son of Mr.	Ebenezer Smith
William Dennis	Stephen Smith
Mark Dresser	Abraham Tilton
Aaron Goodhue	Samuel Tilton

⁶² Mass. Archives 78: 798.

⁶³ Mass. Archives 97: 2: 235.

⁶⁴ Mass. Archives 97: 2: 322.

The story of Quebec needs not to be told again. On the morning of Sept. 13th Wolfe's army stood on the Heights of Abraham, having scaled the precipitous slope under cover of night. In a few hours, the French army was vanquished and the French power in America was broken, but both generals, Wolfe and Montcalm were numbered with the slain. Felt, the early historian of Ipswich, records that Abraham Hobbs of the Hamlet heard General Wolfe say to his men when the French approached, "Now, my boys, do your best."⁶⁵ Many other Ipswich soldiers must have shared the fortunes of that great day.

The English plan of campaign for the year 1760 included the advance of the main force under Amherst by way of Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River against Montreal, of a second force by the way of the Richelieu river, and, of the garrison at Louisbourg and all the troops that could be spared from Quebec.⁶⁶ These forces all combined before Montreal and it capitulated on Sept. 8, 1760.

Men were enlisted in Ipswich in February and March, "for the total reduction of Canada."⁶⁷

	age		age
Benjamin Burnham	21	Benjamin Hodgkins	42
Reuben Burnham	27	born in Ipswich, residence	
Nathan Chapman	42	in Falmouth.	
Reuben Chapman	17	John Leatherland	17
son of Nathan.		son of Sarah.	
Philemon Dean ⁶⁸		Ebenezer Martin	18
Daniel Dresser, Jr.	22	John Maybe	29
Joseph Emmons	23	Willibe Nason	22
William Foster, Jr.	23	Benjamin Pulcifer	51
Benjamin Glazier, Jr.	25	Eliphalet Smith	19
John Glazier	22	son of Richard.	
Nathaniel Grant	36	Jonathan Wells	18
		son of Sarah.	

⁶⁵ History of Ipswich, p. 149.

⁶⁶ Channing, History of the U. S. II: 594.

⁶⁷ Mass. Archives 97: 2: 417, 423, 98: 1: 2, 32, 106, 110.

⁶⁸ Mass. Archives 98: 2: 408.

Lieut. Benjamin Brown, Nathan Chapman and his son, Reuben, John Maybe and Philemon Wood? were attached to Capt. Anthony Stickney's company, list from Feb. 27, 1760 to Jan. 5th, 1761.⁶⁹ In the company of Capt. Joseph Smith of Rowley, who died during the campaign, (roll from Feb. 14th to Dec. 9, 1760.⁷⁰) were

Benjamin Burnam, Corporal	Eliphalet Smith, son of Richard.
Joseph Emmons	
Willoughby Nason	Joseph Smith, dead
	Jonathan Wells, son of Sarah.

Robert Peasely brought the Captain's papers from Albany.

The roll⁷¹ of the company of Capt. Israel Herrick of Boxford from Feb. 15th to Dec. 18, 1760 included

John Farley, Sergeant	John Manning, son of John.
Stephen Andrews	Moses May
Reuben Burnham	Samuel Quarls, son of Samuel
Joseph Dennis, son of Thomas	John Safford
Israel Fellows, son of Benjamin	Joseph Smith, died.
Joseph Fellows, son of Jonathan	Stephen Smith, son of Stephen
William Grolton	David Thompson
John Holland	Samuel Waite, son of Samuel
Benjamin Hodgkins	Matthew Whipple, son of William.
David Island (Ireland)	

Nathaniel Emerson was enrolled in the company⁷² of Capt. Richard Sykes of Amesbury.

The company roll⁷³ of Capt. Nathaniel Bailey of Glou-

⁶⁹ Mass. Archives 97: 2: 384.

⁷⁰ Mass. Archives 98: 1: 256: 257.

⁷¹ Mass. Archives 98: 2: 275, 276, 277.

⁷² Mass. Archives 98: 2: 280.

⁷³ Mass. Archives 98: 2: 343, 372, 378.

cester from Feb. 14, 1760 to Feb. 7, 1761 included many Ipswich men:

Samuel Knowlton, Lieut.	John Halbut
Thomas Gains, Sergeant, died	Nathaniel Heard
Matthew Annable	Stephen Kent
Francis Brown, deserted	Ebenezer Knowlton, son of Samuel
Benjamin Burnam, dead	Moses Lufkin
Francis Burnam	Moses Lufkin, Jr.
Jeremiah Burnam, dead	Lewis Martin
John Burnam	Elijah Maxey
Joseph Burnam, son of Jona- than	Ebenezer Smith
John Cogswell	Richard Smith, left as a nurse
Andrew Dodge, deserted.	William Vennen
Benjamin Gilbert	Jeremiah White
Joshua Gruphe	Robert Whipple

Capt. Stephen Whipple's company and that of Capt. Israel Davis of Danvers seem to have remained at Louisbourg during the year 1760. Some of the men in their companies suffered much hardship on their return. Jonathan Burnum, a member of Capt. Whipple's company, in a memorial to the Council, stated that his company remained until December, 1760, when the troops were put on board transports for New England. Many were sick, all were greatly crowded. His Captain told him that if he would go on board Capt. John Potter's vessel, bound for Ipswich, and work his passage, he should have the same pay as the other men. The vessel was cast on shore on the Isle of Sables and lost and all on board suffered much hardship.

The ship on which his company sailed was obliged to winter "at the Mount," and the men did not get home until Spring, their pay continuing. A vessel was fitted out at Marblehead and sent to the Isle of Sables for the shipwrecked men, who were obliged to pay \$10 apiece for their passage.

Benjamin Pinder of Ipswich, in Capt. Davis's company, was with Burnam and petitioned⁷⁴ with him for reimbursement. Lieut. Benjamin Kimball of Capt. Davis's company was ordered to Boston with a company of sick soldiers and had received no wages.⁷⁵

The roll⁷⁶ of the company of Capt. Francis Peabody of Boxford from April 28, 1760 to April 18, 1776, bears the name of Israel Clark, Corporal and Sergeant and the entry.

Paid for cleaning the hospital in Virginia after the men recovered

and extra expenses for sick in Virginia.

Although the war in America was virtually finished with the reduction of Montreal, the New England men were retained in garrison service at various points.

Capt. Gideon Parker's roll⁷⁷ from April 18, 1761 to Dec. 13, 1761, included:

Samuel Lord, Lieut.	Joseph Hunt
Nathaniel Chapman, Sergeant	Robert Huse
Thomas Kimball, Sergeant	David Ireland
Jacob Martin, Sergeant	John Leatherland
Moses Hodgkins, Corporal	Daniel Lord
Samuel Newman, Corporal	Nathan Low
Benjamin Winter, Corporal	Ebenezer Mansfield
Benjamin Caldwell, Drummer.	William Mansfield
Benjamin Ayres	David Martin
Samuel Ayres	Simon Martin
Daniel Choat	Elisha Newman
Jacob Cogswell	Mark Patch
Robert Dodge	Joseph Pulcifer
Joseph Emmons	Jeffrey Pursley (Purcell)
Josiah Hardy	Ammi Ruhami Rogers
George Harper	John Rogers
	Richard Smith

⁷⁴ Mass. Archives 80: 100, 130.

⁷⁵ Mass. Archives 80: 565.

⁷⁶ Mass. Archives 98: 2: 396-9.

⁷⁷ Mass. Archives 99: 1: 111.

Samuel Wait
 Samuel Wait, Jr.
 Joseph Wise

John Woolett
 Timothy Winter

Willoughby Nason was enrolled in Capt. Edward Blake's company,⁷⁸ Col. Saltonstall's regiment, from Nov. 2, 1760 to Sept. 2, 1761. Benjamin Burnam was in the company of Capt. Henry Young Brown⁷⁹ of Haverhill at Halifax, from April 18, 1761 to Feb. 7, 1762.

The valuable West India islands were occupied by several expeditions in 1759 and later. Col. Bagley's regiment was stationed there, Dr. John Calef, serving as Surgeon, Dr. Wallis Rust as Surgeon's mate. Capt. Whipple's company was thus engaged, as appears from the roll,⁸⁰ which covered the period from Nov. 20, 1759 to Nov. 15, 1761. It bears the entry. "To sundry supplied the sick at Monte-Cristo and New York etc."

Samuel Knowlton, Lieut.	Jonathan Burnam
Elihu Hewes, Ensign	William Campernell
Caleb Adams, corporal and sergeant	Francis Croft
Solomon Smith, corporal and sergeant, son of Solomon.	Joseph Fisk
Jonathan Jaunt, corporal.	Joshua Foster
John Baker	Eben Lord
John Berry, servant to Dr. Calef	Stephen Lowater
Isaac Burnam, son of David	Eben Mansfield
	James Perkins
	Samuel Tuttle
	Joseph Whipple

A singular exchange of men is shown in Col. Bagley's receipt.

⁷⁸ Mass. Archives 99: 1: 187.

⁷⁹ Mass. Archives 99: 1: 149.

⁸⁰ Mass. Archives 98: 2: 380.

Boston, May 12, 1759.

Received of Col. Sylvester Richmond, Two men, Wallis Rust & John Berry, both of Ipswich in the room of 2 Quakers of sd. Richmond's Regiment, for which servis I have agreed with them by the consent of their master Dr. John Calf of Ipswich for £12 each to be paid to sd Calf.

Jonathan Bagley⁸¹

Wallis Rust was a physician in Ipswich, later in life, and was probably bound as an apprentice to Dr. Calef. He was his assistant, "surgeon-mate," as already noted. John Berry was enrolled in Capt. Whipple's Co. as "servant of Dr. Calef."

Capt. Israel Davis of Danvers reported his roll⁸² from Nov. 2, 1759 to April 14, 1761. It bears the entry.

To expenses at Antigua in journeying to the Governor, who was out of Town.

Paid Dr. Roche for attendance on sick of my company.

To 7 coffins for men who died there, fresh meat, wine, etc. for the sick.

In this company were

John Pinder, Sergeant	Thomas Knowlton, private
William Simmons, Sergeant	James Lord
Joseph Burnam, Corporal and Sergeant	Robert Stocker

The roll⁸³ of Capt. Nathan Brigham's company from 4th of March, 1762 to Jan. 1, 1763 has many Ipswich names.

Samuel Lord, Lieut.	Nathaniel Brown
Jacob Martin, Sergeant	Daniel Choate
John Brown, Sergeant	Joseph Fisk
Jonathan Bowls	John Fisk

⁸¹ Mass. Archives 78: 610.

⁸² Mass. Archives 98: 2: 387, 388, 392, 479.

⁸³ Mass. Archives 99: 1: 205, 234.

Thomas Herriman	Jeffrey Purcell
Joseph Holland	John Sayward
Jonathan Kindrick	Richard Smith
John Lakeman	Joseph Wise
John Leatherland	James Woodbury
David Martin	William Woodbury
John Martin	

1763. To ferriaĵe of 90 men over Hudson River at 2d, 15s.

To transporting the baggage of each man and those who helped them along to Crown Point, £3- 0- 0

Elijah Maxey was in Capt. Moses Hart's company, March 4 to Dec. 20, 1762.⁸⁴ George Patterson was in the company of Capt. Abel Keen, Nov. 2, 1762 to Aug. 17, 1763.⁸⁵ John Brown entered the service July 21, 1763 and was attached to Lieut. Joseph Chadwick's company, at Crown Point⁸⁶ until Nov. 18, 1763.

These seven years of warfare on land and sea were of incalculable value to the Colonies. As we have noted, the great bulk of these soldiers and sailors were young men, and with few exceptions, they suffered no material impairment of health and strength. They entered the war, as mechanics, farmers, tradesmen, and fishermen, they emerged from it trained and efficient soldiers and men-of-wars men, inured to danger and hardship, self-reliant in sudden crises.

Twelve years of growing discontent elapsed. War with the mother country came at last. But "the embattled farmers," who made their stand at Lexington, Concord and Bunker Hill, were not the raw and undisciplined militia we often imagine. Among them, and in the armies that were afterwards assembled, there were many veterans of this earlier war, and their presence was of great advantage to their in-

⁸⁴ Mass. Archives 99: 1: 216.

⁸⁵ Mass. Archives 99: 1: 279.

⁸⁶ Mass. Archives 99: 1: 286.

experienced associates. Many of the officers of the French and Indian war raised companies at once and took the field. Some attained the highest rank. Town officials as well had gained experience in raising and supporting their allotments. Had it not been for these long years of the struggle with France, the war with Great Britain would almost inevitably have been a hopeless contest.

THE ACADIANS⁸⁷ IN IPSWICH

One of the most distressing episodes of the French War was the deportation of the inhabitants of the villages about the Basin of Minas, and in the vicinity of Fort Beausejour, which was captured by Lieut. Col. Monckton in July, 1755. As they refused to take the oath of allegiance to the British Crown, it was regarded a military necessity, incident to the occupation of Nova Scotia, to remove the inhabitants and destroy their farms. They were a prosperous and happy people. The official list of the "French inhabitants of Grand Pre, Mines River, Cannard Habitant & Places adjacent, confined by Lieut Colo. Winslow within his Camp in this Place (Grand Pre) after their coming in on his Citation, on the 5th of September past," contains the names of the heads of families, which included 1923 individuals, with "820 old & Infirm not Mentioned," a total of 2743. They owned 1269 bullocks, 1557 cows, 2181 young cattle, 8690 sheep, 4197 hogs, and 493 horses. Their comfortable homes were scattered up and down, beside the fertile meadows which they had reclaimed with wondrous skill from the wash of the tides, with an elaborate system of dikes.

Their houses and barns were burned. Col. Winslow reported the destruction of 255 houses, 276 barns and 11 mills at Gaspereau, Cannard and other villages. Their cattle were confiscated by the soldiery. They themselves were

⁸⁷ The material for this sketch is derived from the Neutral French Papers in the Massachusetts Archives.

crowded into small vessels and shipped to New England, Pennsylvania, Maryland and the Carolinas.

Col. Winslow entered in his Journal,⁸⁸

October 6th. With the advice of My Captains, Made a Divission of the Villages and Concluded, that as many of the Inhabitants of Each as Could be Commoded Should Proceed in the Same Vessel & That whole Familys Go together, and Sent Orders to the Several Familys to hold them Selves in readiness to Embarke with all their Household Goods, etc. but even now, Could not perswade the People I was in Earnest.

It was a task very repugnant to the kind hearted New England men, upon whom fell the burden of the deportation, and Col. Winslow's entry under October 8th, reveals his sympathy for the unfortunates.

began to Embarke the Inhabitants who went of Very Solentarily and unwillingly, the women in Great Distress, Carrying off Their Children In their arms. Others Carrying their Decript Parents in their Carts and all their Goods, Moving in Great Confussion & appeard a Sceen of woe & Distress. Fild up Church and Milburry with about Eighty Families.

Transport accommodations were wretchedly inadequate. The "Leopard," commanded by Captain Church, took 178 with their goods, and Captain Milburry had 186. The necessary discomfort, arising from their cramped quarters on these small vessels was enhanced by scant liberty of the deck. The able bodied Acadian men probably outnumbered the crew, and the possibility of their rising and taking possession of the transport was guarded against by strict regulations. Happily the voyage was short. The transports bearing the New England contingent were at anchor in Boston harbor early in November, 1755. Two months and more elapsed before definite action was taken by the authorities.

⁸⁸ Collections of Nova Scotia Historical Society, III: 164.

A Committee was appointed by the House of Representatives on Dec. 27, 1755 to distribute them among the towns. Selectmen and Overseers of the Poor were authorized to receive them and employ and support them, it being understood that this act, "shall not be construed or understood to be an Admission of them as Town Inhabitants." Town authorities were instructed to keep an exact account of all charges incurred for their support and to transmit it to the Secretary's office "for the reimbursement of this Province by the Government of Nova Scotia."

Notwithstanding Col. Winslow's repeated allusions to the household goods, which the Acadians took with them, most of them arrived in a very destitute condition, and the townsfolk of the various communities received them with ill-concealed resentment. In February, 1756, the Council sent an Address to Governor Shirley.

We must acquaint your Excellency, that the live-stock, the husbandry tools, & most of the household furniture of these people were left in the Province of Nova Scotia, and that very few have brought with them any goods or estate of any kind soever. In the Southern Colonies, where the winters are more mild, employment may be found so as to prevent any great expense to the Government, but here they are a dead weight, for many of our Inhabitants are scarcely able to find employment sufficient to support themselves during the winter season.

An Act was passed authorizing Commissioners for each County to "provide necessary tools & implements for husbandry work, weaving spinning & other handicrafts work for each family."

The coming of these people of strange language, devotees of the Catholic religion, was anticipated and discussed by the Ipswich people for several months. At last on February 9th, 1756, three families arrived. They had come to Marblehead apparently by water, had been transported from

there to the Hamlet and John Patch had furnished two teams to carry them and their baggage to Town. Mistress Susanna How of the Tavern, afterwards known as Swasey's, received them, and at her hostelry, Margaret Landry, wife of John, gave birth to a son, named in honor of his place of nativity, John Ipswich Landry. Dr. Samuel Rogers, whose house was on the spot now occupied by the Meeting-house of the South Church, provided shelter and fuel for ten days, and on Feb. 19th, they found a permanent home in William Dodge's house. At that time he owned the dwelling on Turkey Shore, now in possession of Mr. A. Story Brown, and various allusions to this neighborhood in Town accounts, confirm the belief that here they made their home. Out of door work was not to be found, but the Town provided them with a loom and tackling and two spinning wheels and later in the season, scythes, hoes and spades for their gardens. Supplies of food were provided, beans, fish, potatoes, flour and molasses, with frequent addition of cider, rum and sugar. Fuel, milk and clothing were given them, and the house rent was paid by the Town. In the course of the year the Town made return of its outlay and the names of the strange guests thus thrust upon them. They were John Landry and Margaret, his wife, and children; Mary 12 years, Margaret, 10 years, Naune, eight, Ozet, six, Madlin, four, Frances, two, and the baby, John Ipswich, nine months. Francis Landry and Mary, his wife, and their children, Charles, aged thirty-five, Jermain, thirty, and Ozet, twenty-six. The third family consisted of Paul Breau and Mary Joseph, his wife, and children: Joseph, aged fourteen, John, twelve, Naune, eight, Mary, six, John Battis (Baptist), two and a half, and the baby Elizabeth, two months.

An Act was passed in August which ordered that all the "neutral French," as they were styled, should confine themselves within the bounds of the town where they were located, unless liberty was given them by one at least of the Select-

men. If found elsewhere, they were to be set in the stocks, not exceeding three hours; for a second offence, to be publicly whipped on the naked back, not exceeding ten stripes. No person was permitted to ship any on board a fishing or coasting vessel.

Another glimpse of these Acadians is afforded in the list returned by the Town on July 20, 1760:

Francis Landry, aged sixty-seven, and Mary, his wife, aged sixty-five, were both infirm. Charlet Landry, their son, aged thirty-six, was non-compos-mentis. Ozeta was then twenty-four. Jermain was no longer a member of the family.

The younger Landry family included the parents, John, aged thirty-nine, and his wife, Mary, thirty-six.

The children had become so far identified with the children of the Town that they were now called by the familiar Provincial names, and were known as Molly, Peggy, Nancy, Susan, Matty and Francis. John Ipswich was now four years old, and there was a new baby, Betty, a year old.

Paul Breau, forty-three, and Mary, forty-one, had their goodly brood still, Joseph and John, Nanny and Molly, John Baptist and Elizabeth, and a new born, year old Peter.

The account of William Dodge in 1760 mentions "Father Landry," "living in my house." Mr. Felt⁸⁹ says that there was a priest among them, who went about peddling wooden ladles. Men and women both wore wooden shoes.

In the course of a few years, as the French people seem to have approved themselves industrious and inoffensive, an Act of the Legislature, passed in August, 1760, permitted them to be regarded as legal inhabitants of the various towns, and there was a disposition to grant them lands that they might attain self-support.

But the Acadians, clinging to their Catholic faith, and deprived by their exile of the enjoyment of it, had no desire

⁸⁹ History of Ipswich, p. 66.

to make their homes here. And when letters from London had informed them that the French Ambassador had declared that the King of France, regarding them as some of his faithful subjects, would order transports for conveying them to France, upon being informed how many wished conveyance, more than three hundred heads of families, including both the Landry families, sent their names.

Another invitation was given them to settle on a grant of land in the Miramichi River and the Gulf of St. Lawrence. A letter to the Agent, regarding this proposition, states that "they seem generally inclined to remove out of the Province." "If this should be the case, and we lose the benefit of their service, now they might be made useful subjects, after they have been supported while we looked upon them as our enemies, the Province should be reimbursed."

Count dé Estaing, Governor of St. Domingo, assured all the Acadians who wished to go thither, that they would be provided with transportation and temporary support. John and Francis Landry and Paul Broux requested passports in Dec., 1764. This scheme however came to nothing, and in February, 1766, Gov. Bernard addressed the House in their behalf.

Ever since I have been Governor of this Province, I have had great compassion for this people as every one must who has considered that it was by the exigencies of war rather than any fault of their own that they were removed from a state of ease and affluence and brought into poverty and dependence.

The plan of removing them to Canada was now being discussed and the Governor urged that this be accomplished. Correspondence with the Governor of Canada was begun at once, and in the course of the Summer, arrangements were made for the removal. On Aug. 18, 1766, the Town refused

to grant money to pay for the passage of the French neutrals to Canada. But a way of deliverance was provided, as from this time, no allusion to them appears in any records of the Town. A final tax rate of £20 for their support was voted in November, 1766. The large expense incurred by the Town was repaid by the Province.

CHAPTER IX

SLAVES, SERVANTS AND APPRENTICES

Two citizens of Ipswich took so resolute a stand against human slavery, that the Colony of Massachusetts Bay would never have borne the reproach of permitting it, if their counsels had been heeded. Nathaniel Ward, the author of the *Body of Liberties* adopted in 1641, thus dealt with it:

There shall never be any bond-slavery, villanage or captivity among us, unless it be lawful captives taken in just wars, and such strangers as willingly sell themselves or are sold to us. And these shall have all the liberties and Christian usages which the law of God established in Israel concerning such persons doth morally require. (article 91)

Richard Saltonstall denounced in General Court the act of Capt. James, master of the ship "Rainbow," who kidnapped two negroes on the Guinea Coast and brought them into Boston in 1645, and demanded that they be returned at the public expense.

But Indian slavery began at an early date. William Paine had an Indian servant, Mary, in 1656. The horrors of King Philip's War kindled intense hatred against the Indians and at its close many were bought as slaves, and many were sent into bondage in the West Indies. Capt. John Whipple brought home an Indian boy, Lawrence. Major Samuel Appleton bought three captives, and Samuel Symonds, Esq., the Deputy Governor, paid £5 for an Indian boy and girl.¹ Rev. John Rogers had an Indian servant, James Huntaway, in 1692.

¹ Ipswich in *Mass. Bay*, Vol. I: pp. 216, 217.

Negro slavery was well established in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Gov. Simon Bradstreet, replying to Randolph's charges, affirmed in 1680, that no company of blacks or slaves had been brought in to the country for the space of fifty years.

Only one small vessel about two years since after twenty months voyage to Madagascar brought hither forty or fifty negroes, most women and children, which were sold here for 10, 15, and 20 pounds apiece Now and then two or three negroes are brought from Barbadoes and sold for about 20£ apiece So there may be in our government about 100 or 120, [with an equal number of Scotchmen, sold as servants in Cromwell's time] most now married and living here about half as many Irish brought hither at several times as servants.

The Deputy Governor, Samuel Symonds, had a "servant," who had been brought from St. Christopher, but as Mr. Symonds complained of him in 1668 as "lazy, nasty, saucy," and otherwise at fault, he was a heavy burden to his master. In the eighteenth century, the number of slaves increased rapidly and nearly every Ipswich family of means included one or more. On the "South Side," Phillis, negro child of Mr. Joseph Abbe, the blacksmith on the river bank, died July 28, 1736.² Francis Crompton, the inn-keeper, owned three at least, Hannibal, who died at Chebacco in 1724, Jane, who married Bristol, servant of Rev. Edward Payson of Rowley in 1730, and Rose. Col. John Choate acquired the Crompton dwelling. His will, made in 1766, reveals his regard for his slaves and his thoughtful provision for their welfare.

To my servant Jane the Bed and furniture she has usually laid on and one small Bible.

To my servant Binah, a suitable bed and furniture.

To said two servants their freedom, the first to begin at

² Ipswich in the Mass. Bay Colony, Vol. I: p. 459.

my wife's decease, and Binah, when she is 22 years old sd Binah's time from her mistress decease until she is 22, to be at the disposal of Elizabeth Potter, but my desire is she shall be put out to some farm here and not brought up in Town, and she shall be comfortably clothed by said Sarah when her time is out.³

Both married in due time. Jane became the wife of Scipio, servant of Samuel Potter, in 1771, and Binah, the wife of Peter, servant of Samuel Adams, in 1776.

Capt. Ammi R. Wise, who lived where the meeting house of the South Church now stands, owned Bristol, who married Jane, the servant of Capt. John Harris in 1731, and had a mulatto, an indentured servant, on his schooner, "The Lark."

Esther was the slave of Increase How, the inn-keeper, on the opposite corner from Capt. Wise's, and Capt. Richard Homan, who was the proprietor in Revolutionary days, had two black servitors, Dimon and Newberry.

Capt. Thomas Wade built the stately old Wade mansion in 1727. He bequeathed to his wife, his negro woman, to his daughter, Elizabeth Cogswell, his negro girl, in 1737. His brother, Jonathan, bequeathed to his wife the use of his negro man Dick, in 1749. Dick, who seems to have been known as Peter, as well, married Sarah, servant of Mr. Thomas Burnam, in 1729, and their son rejoiced in the name of Titus Dick. Timothy Wade, son of Capt. Thomas, gave his wife, Ruth, at his decease, "my negro man, Pomp, except she finds it best to sell him," in 1763.⁴

Dea. Thomas Norton, the tanner, who lived in the old mansion which stood beneath the great elm, near Mr. Henry Brown's, bequeathed his negro woman, Phillis, to his son Thomas in 1750.⁵ In this group of dwellings, some ten or twelve slaves were probably living at the same period.

³ Probate Records 343: 1.

⁴ Ipswich in Mass. Bay, Vol. I: pp. 471, 473.

⁵ Ipswich in Mass. Bay, Vol. I: p. 468.

In the Candlewood district, James Burnham, as his inventory revealed in 1737, owned a negro man and an old negro woman. The man was appraised at £100 but the poor old woman was valued only at £5, while the cows were appraised at £8, a yoke of oxen at £17 and a horse at £22.⁶ James Brown, on the farm now owned by A. Story Brown, had Kant, appraised in 1741 at £70 and Bett appraised at £80.⁷ William Brown had Flora, in 1743. John Brown devised by his will in 1759, his negro child, Louie and negro woman, Phillis.⁸ His son, John, had a servant, Scipio, who died in 1787.

At the Appleton Farm, George and Dinah, slaves of Major Isaac, were married in 1741, and three children were born to them, Jacob, Bilhah and David. Tidey, another slave of Major Isaac, married Jupiter, servant of Samuel Adams in 1751. Benjamin Crocker, owner and occupant of the house now owned by the Historical Society had two slaves, Flora and Tim, who were married in 1726. Jacob, the slave of Col. John Appleton died in 1733, and Dinah in 1750. Col. Thos. Berry owned Scipio and Thyris. Scipio and Flora had two babies, Tamasin, baptized in 1746, and Andrew, baptized in 1750. Quash, servant of John Wainwright, Esq., died in 1721. Thomas Lord's slaves, Cuffee and Nanny married in 1732, and Peter took to wife, Jane, servant of Thomas Staniford. Violet, servant of widow Rebecca Dodge, married Jupiter, former slave of Mr. Jewett in 1779.

The original deed of sale of a slave by Nathaniel Kinsman, son of Joseph Kinsman of the Candlewood district, then a resident of Gloucester is in the possession of the Ipswich Historical Society.

Know all Men by these Presents that I, Nathaniel Kinsman of Gloucester . . . Joyner, for and in consideration of the sum of three hundred and fifty Pounds in Bills of

⁶ Candlewood, Pub. of the Ipswich Histor. Soc., No. XVI—XVII: p. 7.

⁷ Candlewood, p. 27.

⁸ Candlewood, p. 38.

public Credit of the old Tenor so called to me in Hand paid by Jonathan Burley of Norwich, in the County of New London in the Colony of Connecticut in New England Gent. the Receipt whereof I acknowledge and do hereby acquit and discharge the said Jonathan Burley, his Heirs etc., from and of the Same and every Part thereof have given granted sold assigned set over conveyed and delivered and do by these report give grant Sett over convey and deliver unto the said Jona Burley his Heirs One Molatto Servant named Silas of the Age of Sixteen years To Have and to Hold the said Molatto Servant to him the said Jonathan Burley to his and their Proper Service Use and Benefit and Behoof for and during the naturall Life of the said Mollatto Servant. And I the said Nathaniel Kinsman do hereby covenant and agree with the said Jonathan Burley that I am before the Ensealing hereof the lawful master of the said Molatto Servant will defend and warrant etc.

In Witness Whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal this twenty-third Day of August in the twenty-third Year of his Majesty King George the Second Reign Annoq. Domini One thousand seven hundred and fourty-nine.

Nathanael Kinsman (seal)

Signed, Sealed and
delivered in Presence of Us.

John Dane
Joseph Sanders

The Boston newspapers abounded in advertisements of the sale of slaves. The Boston Gazette rarely appeared without them in the year 1761. On July 13, it announced

Just imported from Africa.

A number of prime young slaves from the Midward Coast and to be sold on board and also, a likely, hearty, male Negro child about a month old to be given away.

Elisha Brown of Providence gave notice on August 3^d,

A Parcel of likely Negroes, imported from Africa, cheap for Cash or Credit, with Interest, also if any Persons have

any Negroe Men, strong and hearty, tho' not of the best moral Character, which are proper subjects for Transportation, may have an exchange for small Negroes.

The issue of August 31st advertised a likely, spry, active Negro boy; on Sept. 21st, the arrival of Captain Day in forty days from Goree on the coast of Africa with sixty fine slaves. Isaac Royal Esq. of the Royal House, Medford, inserted the brutal advertisement in the issue of April 5th, 1762.

A likely Negro Wench to be disposed of, who understands household business, and something of Cookery.

Also four of said Wench's children, viz. three Girls and one Boy.

On May 24th, 1762, notice appeared

To be sold, a Parcel of likely Negroes, both Male and Female, from ten years of Age to Twenty, imported the last week from Africa, enquire of Capt. Wickham on board the sloop Diamond, now lying at the wharf.

Husbands were sold without their wives, wives without husbands and little children were torn from their mother's arms to be sold or given away. Many were advertised who had grown up in the families and learned useful trades and occupations. The advertisements in the Salem Gazette show that many slave owners in this vicinity had no more compunction in selling children of tender age away from their parents, and the only sign of shame was the withholding of the owner's name and directing that inquiry be made of the printer.

In January, 1769, a very strong healthy Negro Boy about ten years old was offered for sale, "for want of Employ," and a healthy Negro Girl about 18 years old, in June; and notice was given of a negro about 67 and a woman about 57, who were "to be boarded out." In October, "a likely

Negro Lad, abt 18 or 19 works well at Cooper's trade & understands work in the Field or Garden," was in the market. In December, a boy of nine years and a little miss about six, were advertised. A "negro woman about 20, with her child, a hearty strong boy about 3½ years old," awaited a purchaser in November, 1770. Ezekiel Dodge of Ipswich advertised a great variety of English and West India goods, glass, stone and iron wares, at his shop and appended,

Said Dodge has to sell a very likely Negro Girl of about 16 years of age.

May 12-19, 1772.

Notice of "A Negro child of a good breed, to be given away," appeared in December, 1774, and in February, 1775. Capt. Benjamin Lovett of Beverly advertised a likely Negro Boy about six or seven years. Mark Haskell of the Comfort Hill farm on the Rowley road, had a vigorous young slave who made a bold burst for liberty in June, 1772, and his master proclaimed his loss.

Ran away from Mark Haskell of Ipswich last Saturday Sennight, a Negro Man named Cato 22 years old, middling stature etc.

June, 1772.

Dea. Matthew Whipple of the Hamlet made most generous provision for his slave, Plato.

This may satisfy whom it may concern that I, the Subscriber in Consideration that my Servant Plato has been a faithful Servant that after my Death and my Wife's Death he shall be free if he desires it and if he don't he shall have Liberty to live with any of my friends whom he pleases, and I give him Liberty to live in my east Kitchen & have his feather Bed and Bedding thereto belonging & a Pot & Skillet & a Pewter Platter & Bason & Spoon & Tramel, two Chairs, one Ax and one Hoe and a Cow & he shall

have a good Pasture for her and Liberty to cut hay sufficient for her, & have one Acre of land, where it may be most convenient for him, and a Barrel of Cyder & three Bushels of Apples a Year as long as he lives yearly & every Year & have liberty to cut Wood he necessarily shall want, & Barn Room for his Cow & hay & all other Priviledges necessary for him. In Case he should by any Providence be disenabled to support himself or through old Age not able to support himself comfortably, my Heirs shall do it whatever he shall stand in need of, which is my Will.

Matthew Whipple.

Ipswich, Dec. 3, 1760.

Plato married Phebe, another slave in the same household, in 1762, and for a second wife, Phillis, formerly servant of Col. Jonathan Cogswell, in 1785, the widow of Caesar Choate.

As early as 1765, public opinion began to be strongly against slavery, and Deacon Whipple's and Col. Choate's freeing of their slaves by will illustrates a frequent method of terminating their bondage. The slaves themselves were already demanding their freedom before the Courts. In the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, in March, 1765, Jenny Slew of Ipswich brought suit against John Whipple Jr. gentleman, on a plea of trespass,

that sd John on Jan. 29th, 1762 at Ipswich, aforesaid, with force and arms, took her, held and kept her in servitude as a slave, in his service and thus restrained her of her lawful liberty, from that time to March 5th last, and did other injuries to the amount of £25.

She lost her suit but appealed to the Superior Court of Judicature, and at the November term in 1766, the jury found for the appellant and awarded her £4, "money damage," and £9. 9s. 6d. costs, and execution was issued accordingly.⁹

⁹ Essex Institute Histor. Coll. XXIV: 96.

Another evidence of the lightening of the bonds of the slave is afforded by the advertisement inserted by Thomas Boardman of Ipswich in the Boston Evening Gazette, April 14, 1760.

Came to the House of the Subscriber on the 4th inst, a Negro Man, aged about 50, a thick sett Fellow of about 5 Feet Stature. Had on an old Felt Hat, a white mill'd Cap, a red Shag Great Coat, a green Jacket, an old checkt Shirt and a Pair of Black Cloth Breeches. Said Fellow says he belongs to Mr. John Green of Concord, who has given him a Pass to obtain Business. His Master may have him again paying the charges.

Ipswich, April 10, 1760.

Thomas Boardman.

Josiah Woodbury of Beverly was in very jubilant mood when his slave decamped in 1771.

Ran away from Josiah Woodbury, cooper, his house Plague for 7 long Years, Masury Old Moll alias Trial of Vengeance.

He that lost will never seek her, he that shall keep her I will give two Bushel of Beans. I forewarn all Persons in Town or Country from trusting said Trial of Vengeance. I have hove all the old Shoes I can find for Joy and all my Neighbors rejoice with me. A good Riddance of Bad Ware.

Amen.

The tide of public sentiment was now rising rapidly. Nathaniel Appleton and James Swan, merchants of Boston, distinguished themselves as writers on the side of Liberty. In 1773, the abolition of slavery was a subject of forensic discussion at the Harvard Commencement. Juries invariably gave verdicts in favor of slaves who sued for freedom and in 1780, the present Constitution of Massachusetts was adopted, its first article asserting that all men are born free and equal. The General Court passed an Act in March,

1788, "to prevent the slave trade and for granting relief to the families of such unhappy persons as may be kidnapped or decoyed away from this Commonwealth."

So far as the records of the time indicate, the Ipswich slaves suffered no especial hardship, beyond their legal bondage. They married and their children seem to have grown up in the families of which they were members. They were assigned seats in the meeting house, were allowed to become communicants and enjoy all the privileges of church members. Their children were baptized. They were cared for in old age and were given Christian burial by those whom they had served. But they were only chattels. If the whim of the owner decreed, they were sold, and families were scattered.

Eventually, they died or drifted away from the town, after they had received their freedom. Only a few are remembered. Old Quomino lingered well into the nineteenth century. Prince, a slave in the family of the Saffords, reputed to have been of royal blood in the African tribe from which he was stolen by the slave traders, became a freeman and his marriage with Kate, servant of Joseph Cogswell, on Aug. 28, 1780, was recorded as the marriage of Prince Freeman. But he held to the family name, and their large family of children were all recorded as sons and daughters of Prince and Kate Safford. Their son James married Peeley Cheever, and they and their family were honored members of the South Church. Jane and Jacob, children of James, are well remembered and the widow and children of Jacob are still among us, highly respected by all.

The "servant" of the early years of the Colony was a man, woman, or child, who was bound by a formal instrument to render service to the "master" for a term of years at a specified wage, who became a member of the family and was bound to render obedience to all the master's commands. Frequently the term of service began in England.

George Giddings came over in the ship *Planter* and his certificate¹⁰ of emigration is of interest.

2 April, 1635.

Theis underwritten are to be transported to New England, imbarqued in the *Planter* Nicholas Frarice M^r bound thither the parties have brought certificates from the Minister of St. Albans in Hertfordshire and attestacon from the Justices of peace according to the Lord's order.

George Giddins, husbandman, 25 years
Jane Giddins 20 years

Thomas Carter 25	} Servants of George Giddins.
Michael Willinson 30	
Elizabeth Morrison 12	

Mr. John Whittingham, one of the most prominent men of Ipswich, brought a whole retinue of servants. Richard Coy disputed his obligation after eight years though he was bound for ten, and carried the matter into the Courts. The depositions made by various witnesses reveal in interesting detail the particulars of the Indentures.

Mr. Whittingham brought over y^e plaintiff & his brother, Matthew Coye, in y^r 1638 with divers other servants who first came from Boston in Lincolnshire to London where Mr. Wittingham kept them upon his own charges from y^e first of May till y^e 24th of June, so that his bringing up to London and charges of his staying there could not be less than 40^s his passage to N. E. 5 pounds, which amounts to seven pounds, besides other charges and provision besides what was allowed ordinarily to passengers, all which came to no less than 8 pound, . . . cannot here be less than 15 pound, and 16^s for a boy of 13 years of age to be layd out here for 10 years service, cannot any way seem injurious to y^e servant and much advantageous to ye Master

Matthew Coy, aged about 33 years, testified.

¹⁰ From "Our Early Emigrant Ancestors," edited by John C. Holten, quoted in "The Giddings Family."

his mother sent Richard Coy with his sister Mary to M^r Whittingham then at Boston in England & told them she was willing that her son Richard Coy should searve but seven years with Mr. Wittingham and if that would not satisfie the said Richard Coy should return home again.¹¹

Haniel Bosworth, later the cowherd of the town, Robert Smith, Samuel Kent and John Annable, all fellow servants of Mr. Whittingham, bore their witness. Only the pressure of extreme poverty can explain the willingness of the mother to send three of her children, and one of them a lad of 13 years, across the ocean, to a new country, with no prospect of ever seeing them again. As Richard Coy acted as attorney for Samuel Heifer in 1660, it is evident he was a lad of parts and that he made his way successfully in the new world.

Deputy Governor Symonds of the Argilla farm had some Irish servants, William Downing and Philip Welch, whom he prosecuted before the Court in 1661, for refusing further service. The simple story of their sorrowful experiences reveals the tragedies that resulted in the coming of the Irish to New England. Cromwell treated the Irish with great cruelty, and many young Irishmen were taken by violence and sent over seas. John Ring, who came to own Ring's Island, as it is still known, near the Argilla Road, made deposition in Court as follows:

This deponent saith that he with divers others were stolen in Ireland by some of y^e English soldiers in y^e night out of theyre bedd & brought to Mr. Dill's ship, where the boate lay ready to receive them & in the way as they went some others they tooke with them against their consents & brought them aboard y^e said ship where there were divers others of their countrymen weeping & crying because they were stollen from theyr friends they all declaring the same & amongst the rest were these two men William Downeing and Philip

¹¹ Court Files, Vol. III: 2.

Welsh and there they were kept until upon a Lord's day morning y^e master set saile and left some of his water and vessels behind for hast as I understood.

(In Court 26-4-61)

John Downing deposed that Downing and Welch "with several of our country men," were stolen by the ship master. George Dell, master of the ship "Good fellow," certified that he "sould to Mr. Sam. Symonds two of the Irish youths I brought over by order of the State of England, the name of one of them is Philip Dalton, the other Edward Welch for nine years for six and twenty pounds." He declared that the younger youth "owned his name to be Philip."

These two young men, torn from their beds, hurried off to the ship with others of their countrymen, weeping and lamenting their hard fate, "sold," as the phrase was, to Mr. Symonds for a long term of service on their arrival, declared that

what agreement was made between Mr. Symonds and y^e said Master was never acted by our consent or knowledge yet notwithstanding we have indeavored to do him y^e best service we could these seven compleat years which is 3 years more than y^e . . . use to sell y^m for at Barba-does, wⁿ they are stollen in England, and for our service we have no calling nor wages but meat & clothes. Now 7 years service being so much as is practised in old England & thought meet in this place we being both above 21 years of age, We hope this honored Court & Jury will seriously consider our Conditions.

Naomy Hull, another servant of the Dep. Governor, testified to the dramatic way in which Philip announced "they being come into the parlor to prayer" in the evening, "We will work with you or for you no longer."¹²

Philip Welch joined with Edmund Dear and William

¹² Court Files, Vol. VI: 115.

Danford in a petition to the Salem Court in 1678, regarding a verbal will of Robert Dorton, an Irishman, who had left £25 in the hands of John Ring when he left the country,

and ordered it so that if he came not here within the space of three years, then he willed the said summe with the use thereof to four of his countrymen namely Edward Dear William Danford Philip Wealch and John Ring, and that party of the four that was in most need at the three years end, he was to have y^e biggest share.

Edward Nealand, aged 38 years, and Elizabeth Dear, aged, upward of 15 years, testified to the same effect. Daniel Grazier and John Morill, Irishmen, came to Ipswich about 1661 and the Selectmen complained against them, that they persisted in remaining though "they were not willing to have them as inhabitants."

A few years later, a young Indian lad was bound out to Mr. Henry Bennett, the owner of the farm east of Argilla. With a little company of Indians, a squaw, whose husband had been slain by hostile Indians near Lake Winnepesaukee, drifted down to Castle Hill, with her two little children and her old mother-in-law. She died not long after, leaving her children to the care of Captain Daniel Epes and his excellent wife. The younger boy, named Lionel after Captain Epes's younger son, grew up in the family, but when he was a well grown boy, his uncle Robin, a shiftless Indian, who was in debt to Mr. Bennett, stole him away from Captain Epes and indentured him to Mr. Bennett. The original instrument has been preserved in the Files of the Ipswich Court. Its quaint language, the long and exacting service to which it bound the lad, and the very meagre compensation, render it a document of enduring value.¹³

This Indenture made the fifteenth day of May in the yeare of our Lord one thousand six hundred seventy nyne Be-

¹³ Court Files, XLI: 129.

twene Laionall indian of the one partie and Heanery Bennet of Ipswich in the Countye of Essex husbandman of the other partie. Whare as I the aforesaid Layonall Indian for and in consideration me heare unto movinge and with the consent and good Likinge of my Gran mother and my uncle Roben Indian have put and doe by these presents Binde myselfe as an aprintes unto Henery Bennett his heares or assigns for the full and hole terme of eleven years from the daye of the date heareof with him or them my M^r or M^{rs} I doe by this presents ingage faithfully to serve duringe the saide terme of eleven yeares thare servets to keepe thare Comands Lafull and honest I doe heareby promise to obaye and ale houses not to frequent my M^{rs} goods I ingage not to waste nor absente myselfe from my master's service by night nor by day but in all things shall behave myselfe as an aprentice offe or should do dureinge the saide terme for and in Consideration thare of I the sayd Henerye Bennet do promise and ingage to ffinde this my aprentise with sufficient met drinke and Lodginge and aparell duringe the saide terme and at the eande thereof to give him two sute of apparell the one fit for saboth dayes and the other for workeinge dayes in witnes whareof the same we have hearunto set our hands the day and year above saide

the mark X
 of prang qua
 the + mark
 of Lionell the Indian
 the R mark
 of Robin Indian

Signed and delivered
 in presence of

Jacob Perkins

John Bridge

the mark A of borne dasinemo.

Under this system of indentures, which gave almost unlimited authority to masters and bound the servant or apprentice, as he was often called, though he was taught no trade, to unquestioning obedience and a wretchedly underpaid service, it is not strange that masters were often abusive, that

servants took every advantage and that frequent recourse to the Law was necessary to adjust the various difficulties.

As boys of a dozen years were bound out, innkeepers were forbidden to entertain them, and the law of 1668 required that all apprentices should be educated and trained in the catechism. One lad at least profited by the instruction he received, the servant of Mrs. Jonathan Wade. In a friendly chat with Mr. Bartholomew, Mrs. Wade told him

what a great mercy she had in having such a servant in her house in her husband's absence, how ready and forward he was in all that was good, in asking her children questions out of v^e Scripture & her selfe also which she thought was to see if he could pose her.¹⁴

In marked contrast with the amiable relations between servant and mistress in the Wade household, was the misconduct of Andrew Tarras, servant of Lieut. Appleton, which resulted in the sentence of the Court that he should be well whipped with twenty lashes and serve his master thirteen weeks more than the term, that he should serve by Indenture, for "his miscarriages in his master's house."¹⁵

William Warner complained of his master, Cornelius Waldo, for detaining him three months after his service was out. Testimony was given that when Warner's term of apprenticeship was nearly out, Mr. Waldo asked him whether he would give him three months for the time he had misspent. The apprentice ran away but was caught and severely punished. Richard Brabrook testified that

Mr. Waldo sold William Warner to me living or dying staying or running and all the clothes he had when he came to me were hardly worth the taking off the dung hill except a payre of shews.¹⁶

¹⁴ Court Files, III: 2, 1658.

¹⁵ Salem Court Records. 1654.

¹⁶ Court Files VIII: 113. (1662)

Tamar Quilter brought suit against Richard Buckley, to whom her only son, Joseph was apprenticed. She testified that she found him ill-treated, sick in a cold room, and took him home to nurse him back to health.¹⁷ John Bridge, servant to Nathaniel Wells, told a pitiful tale of cruel treatment before the Court. He had served him faithfully two and three quarters years, but

he, having shamefully abused and beaten me soe that it is questionable whether ever I should be sound again or not, on Sabbath day after meeting when sick & unable to work, turned me away without any clothes except a few ragged ones that would scarce hang on my back so that I was forced to beg clothes, shoes so bad had to tie them about my feete.¹⁸

Richard Parker was so cruelly treated by his master, Philip Fowler, that he brought suit against him. The Court decided in his favor but upheld the right of the master to punish.

though they do justifie any person in giving meet correction to his servant which we see not but the boy did deserve, yet do testifie against the maner of punishment given in hanging him up by the heeles as butchers do beasts for the slaughter and caution him against such kind of punishment and order him to pay costs and fine.¹⁹

Poor Toby Tailer, a boy bound to Samuel Bishop, came to Jacob Perkins Sen. and "showed his wrist swollen where tied up and flogged, his back with long red wales."

Evidently the sympathies of the Magistrates were with the master, and when the fault of the servant was extreme, the penalty imposed was very severe. Nicholas Van Den, servant of Robert Cross, was convicted of theft in March, 1668, and the Court gave his master

¹⁷ Court Files, VI: 81. (1661)

¹⁸ Court Files XXVI: 30. 1676.

¹⁹ Court Records, 1682.

liberty to put off his servant, Nicholas Van Den, for ten years to any of English nation besides the time he is servant before for satisfaction for his theft . . . and to put iron upon his neck in the meantime.²⁰

He ran away from his master in the following year, but a "hue and cry" was issued by Mr. Symonds and he was arrested. "For running away from his master Robert Cross dyvers times & stealing from his master, & loss of time & charges," Nicholas was sentenced to "pay his master 40£ to be branded in the forehead with the letter R and be severely whipped." Henry Spencer suffered a similar punishment in 1665.

Peter Lecross, servant of the Rev. William Hubbard, with some boon companions, robbed his master of his wine and fat sheep and stole from other parties. The Court fined Lecross 8£, which Mr. Hubbard paid; and to repay the debt, the Court sentenced the thieving servant to serve his master two years after his time had expired.

In one case at least, the Indenture was terminated by a decision of the Court in 1697. William Baker complained that Charles Atwood, his apprentice, absented himself from his service notwithstanding he had by indenture several years to serve, but the Judge ruled in favor of the apprentice, that he was under no further obligation. Lawrence Clenton "bought his freedom" of Robert Cross by the payment of a sum of money in 1666.

A servant or apprentice of Rev. John Wise of Chebacco left his master covertly, and the minister, advertised the event forthwith in the Boston News Letter of January, 1712.

Ran away from his Master, the Reverend Mr. John Wise, Minister of Jebacco. A servant Man, Named James Holms, Aged about 19 years of a short thick Truss body, Sanguine Complexion, a grayish eye, light colored straight hair, not cut on the crown nor very long; had on an old felt Hat, new

²⁰ Court Files XXXVII: 113. 1682.

Home-spun gray cloath coat an old Druger Wastcoat, a pair of Homespun Breeches, dark sheep gray colored stockings, a new pair of wooden heel shoes.

Whoever shall apprehend the same Run-away servant and him safely (return) to his said Master at Jabacco or to Mr Joseph Wise, Shopkeeper in Anne Street, Boston or give any true Intelligence to either of them So as his Master may have him again shall have Fourty Shillings reward besides all necessary Charges.

About the time of the Revolutionary war, advertisements of run away servants frequently included a Post Script.

"All Masters of Vessels are cautioned not to carry off said Apprentice as they would avoid the Penalty of the Law."

Elisha Perkins Gould an Ipswich lad about 17 years old. who had been apprenticed to Mr. John Giddings of Gloucester, ran away in November, 1774, and was duly advertised; and Joseph Ross, an Ipswich apprentice left his master and went to Wilmington, where he was suspected of enticing another apprentice, Robert Kilby, to join lots with him.²¹

The apprentice system continued in vogue well into the nineteenth century. All trades were learned in this way. An Ipswich Indenture of 1803 is an interesting illustration of the complete control of the apprentice by his master during the term of service, and of the surprisingly small return the apprentice received for his long years of faithful service, over and above the trade he had mastered.

This indenture Witnesseth That Benjamin Kimball Jun^r of Ipswich in the County of Essex & Commonwealth of Massachusetts shipwright hath put and placed and by these presents doth put and bind out his son, Benjamin Kimball y^e 3^d and the said Benjamin Kimball y^e 3^d doth hereby put, place and bind out himself as an Apprentice to Samuel Wade of said Ipswich to learn the Art trade or Mystery of a House wright. The said Benjamin Kimball y^e 3^d after the manner of an Apprentice to dwell with and serve the said Samuel Wade, House wright, from the day of the date

²¹ Essex Gazette, July 11, 1769.

hereof until the thirtieth day of November, which will be in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seven, at which time the sd. Apprentice, if he should be living, will be twenty-one years of age: During all which time or term, the sd Apprentice his said Master Well and faithfully shall serve; his secrets keep; and his lawful commands every where at all times readily obey; he shall do no damage to his said Master nor wilfully suffer any to be done by others; and if to his knowledge be intended, he shall give his Master seasonable Notice thereof: He shall not waste the Goods of his said Master, nor lend them unlawfully to any; at Cards, Dice or any unlawful Game he shall not play; fornication he shall not commit, nor Matrimony contract during the said Term; Taverns, Ale-houses, or places of Gaming, he shall not haunt or frequent; from the service of his said Master, he shall not absent himself; but in all things and at all times he shall carry and behave himself, to his said Master and all others as a good and faithful Apprentice ought, during the whole time or term aforesaid.

And the said Samuel Wade on his part, doth hereby promise, covenant and agree to teach and instruct the said Apprentice, or cause him to be taught or instructed in the Art, Trade or calling of a House wright by the best way or means he can, if the said Apprentice be capable to learn and shall well and faithfully find and provide for the said Apprentice good and sufficient meat, drink, washing and lodging, and other necessities fit and convenient for such an Apprentice, during the term aforesaid, and at the expiration thereof shall give unto the said Apprentice two suits of Wearing Apparel, one suitable for the Lords Day, and the other for a working day.

In Testimony whereof, the said parties have hereunto set their hand and seals, this seventh day of Jan'y, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and three.

Sam^l Wade seal
Benjamin Kimball
Benjⁿ Kimball Jr.

Signed, sealed and
delivered in presence of
us.

Nath^l Wade
Nath^l Wade jr.

CHAPTER X

FISHING AND COMMERCE IN THE 18TH CENTURY.

The fisheries were the most important industry of old Ipswich. Encouraged by the Statute of 1639, which enacted that all vessels and other property employed in "taking, making and transporting of fish be exempt from duties and public taxes for seven years, and that all fishermen during the season of business be exempt from military duty," the men of the Town turned vigorously to this promising employment.

The year 1641 found a fishing settlement already established at Little Neck and fishing stages set up for the drying of fish. The Town voted in that year that the whole of this Neck should be set apart for the advancement of fishing. Every boat's crew that came to fish there was allowed room for their stages and an acre of ground for a garden, with the privilege of building houses for their convenience while engaged in fishing. A Committee was appointed by the Town in the same year to set buoys and beacons for the safe navigation of the river and bay, to provide salt and further trade in every way. William Paine also received liberty to build a wharf and ware house.

Francis Wainwright and his associates were engaged in fishing in 1648. A Deposition¹ was made in that year that

Francis Wainwright & his company did lose out of the boats one quarter of one hundred of bread and a dozen of cod hooks newly ganged and a puter bottell of strong water

¹ Ips. Ct. Record.

almost full and a roole of tobacco of 4 or 5 lbs wayte besides all this we miss 600 qtls. dry fish which we delivered to Peter Pilford, who made our fish in the winter season.

The boats were at Marblehead, when the theft occurred. Robert Dutch and Robert Filbrick of Ipswich offered like testimony.

For a century and more, this industry flourished at Little Neck, where the sheltered cove and the pebbly beach furnished a convenient base for the shore fisheries. As the business developed, Francis Wainwright, Thomas Bishop, Thomas Wade and others established themselves on the Isles of Shoals, and a large business centered there. A meeting of the merchants, Mr. Jolliffe, M^r Lidgett, M^r Whitecomb and others, together with several fishermen considered the price of fish and "the said marchants did then & there declare they would not give above 26 Ryalls p^r quintall by reason there was little exportation for the fish and the price had broke so at Marblehead."² No doubt our Ipswich merchants had their voice in these deliberations. Thomas Seby had given his bond to Francis Wainwright Dec. 12, 1665, to deliver to him at the Isles of Shoals "in well-cured, well conditioned marchantable dry cod fish by the 20th day of June to the value of £272-10^s."³ On Nov. 19, 1684, Richard Donne, Gabriel Grubb, William Purnery and William Urin, bound themselves in bond of £200, to deliver to Francis Wainwright "all the cod, polluck & haddock fish wth all the traine oyle that we shall ketch or take betwixt this present day & the last day of May next ensueing," and to sell to no one else.⁴

John Newmarsh brought suit against John Tod of Rowley for withholding 20 quintals of merchantable cod fish from him in March, 1669. Robert Pierce, an Ipswich fish-

² Court Files, XVIII: 55.

³ Court Files, XIII: 25.

⁴ Court Files, XXIII: 133.

erman, testified that he was at Smutty Nose Island in July, 1668 and heard Newmarsh make demand on Tod.

William Roe came from the Isles of Shoals and bought a house and lot by the river bank in 1671, which he sold two years later to two other fishermen from the same islands, Andrew Diamond and Henry Maine. Capt. Diamond became an important citizen and his name is still attached to the outlying island, part of the ancient Robert Paine farm, where he established his fishing stage.⁵ Henry Maine, reputable citizen so far as we know, has attained mythical renown as an evil doer, and suffers endless punishment, shovelling the shifting sands on Ipswich bar.⁶

Hugh Allard sold to Francis Wainwright in 1671 all his land, houses, staging &c on Smutty Nose Island. The northern half of the Islands was deserted gradually, and on Star Island, the business was monopolized by three chief proprietors, Francis Wainwright and Andrew Diamond of Ipswich and Nathaniel Baker of Boston.⁷

Thomas Bishop and Thomas Wade executed a bond in March, 1670-1 binding themselves to pay to Thomas Deane good merchantable fish at the Isles of Shoals to the value of £35. The inventory of Mr. Bishop, filed in March, 1671, shows that he owned a quarter of the ketch, "Margaret," of 34 tons, half of the ketches, "Good Hope," 36 tons, "Susannah," 28 tons, "Hopewell," 26 tons and another of 30 tons, and half "one single boat." His interest in vessels and cargoes was £686, 10^s.

Some ancient building contracts reveal the size of these diminutive vessels. Robert Dutch, an Ipswich merchant, contracted with George Carr Jun. of Salisbury in 1677 to build of two inch white oak plank, a ketch of 25 tons, 34 feet long, 12 feet broad, 6 feet deep in the hold. John

⁵ Jeffrey's Neck and the Way Thereto. Ipswich Hist. Soc. Publications, XVIII: 26.

⁶ Ipswich in the Mass. Bay Colony, Vol. 1: p. 405.

⁷ The Isles of Shoals, John Scribner Jenness, 1875, contains a full and valuable account of the fishing industry at the Shoals.

Hendricks of Newbury, ship-wright, agreed to build for Francis Wainwright in 1687, "a substantial vessel or lighter, 30 feet long on the keel, 11 ft. 8 in. broad, 3½ ft. deep in the hold, with a good cuddy, Mr. Wainwright to deliver the oak plank." Hachaliah Bridges owned a sloop, which was sunk in Ipswich river in 1669 and Peter Perry's ketch was attached for debt by John Newmarsh Sen. in 1689. Capt. Nathaniel Piper, master of Mr. Robert Paine's "bark," ordered an anchor of "8 score weight," from the Rowley Iron Works, in 1673.⁸

Even the ships of that day were of very modest dimension. Thomas Mudgett of New Salisbury contracted to build "a good substantial ship" for Nicholas Paige of Boston,

76 foot by the keele in length upon a straight line and 20 foot rake before and proportionate rake abaft, fit for such a ship, 26 feet wide by the beme, 11 feet deep in the hold, 5 feet between decks at the main mast, ship to have 2 decks. and a half deck, with two foot of the maine mast with 2 boats, for £605.

She was launched at Amesbury, named the "Ann Bonaventure," and was impressed by the Council for the expedition against Quebec in 1691.

But these little vessels were manned by brave and skilful sailors, and they served not merely for the shore fishing, but for foreign voyages, laden with their cargoes of fish and oil. The original charter, drawn up on Sept. 7, 1673, between Abraham Perkins and John Burnam of Ipswich, owners of the good ketch, "Dora," 29 tons, and Richard Martyn of Porstmouth, is still preserved in the Court Files.^{8a} She was chartered to load with Piscataqua mackerel and oil for the Isle of Barbadoes, to have a return freight of sugar, and "shall have 600 lb. good Muscavado sugar for

⁸ Court Files.

^{8a} Vol. XXI: 104.

every ton she shall carry." William Patterson of Ipswich was at Barbadoes, seeking sugar in 1667-8.

Henry Russell of Ipswich and others dispatched the ketch "May flower" to Newfoundland in 1664, and Philip Beare and Arthur Abbott, sailors, went into the interior with the Indians, hunting and getting beaver skins.⁹ For coastwise traffic as well there was constant demand for small craft like these. Capt. Steven Cross with his sloop, "Adventure," brought passengers and freight from Wethersfield to Boston in 1681; the year before he had made a trip to Exeter for boards for Francis Wainwright and he had been along the coast to Piscataqua for boards in 1671. William Paine contracted with Boston merchants to deliver in Boston 10,000 of good and merchantable white oak pipe staves in 1647.

In contrast with these coast-wise trips and the cargoes of fish is the ambitious scheme of the owners of the ketch, "Zebulon," belonging in Ipswich, who purposed to send her "into the Indies for a further discovery of trade, that may tend to the advance of this Commonwealth," and therefore asked the loan of two colonial guns in Boston, in October, 1646. They stated that before the next Spring, the Iron Works would supply "all sorts of guns."¹⁰ Another early venture is that of Dr. John Ward, surgeon, in the Boston ship, "John, the Adventurer," bound for London, of £70 in good sound merchantable and well cured tobacco in November, 1651.¹¹ No doubt many such mercantile ventures were made, and long and anxious months elapsed before it was known whether they netted gain or loss. The dangers and uncertainties of these early voyages are revealed in the suggestive memorandum that Thomas Harris had given £40 in 1689 to redeem his eldest son out of Turkey.¹²

⁹ Court Files, XI: 71.

¹⁰ Felt, *History of Ipswich*, Appendix P. 315.

¹¹ Court Files, XII: 63.

¹² Felt: *History of Ipswich*, p. 315.

In 1683, Ipswich was annexed with other towns to Salem, as their port of entry and clearance; but in 1685, the Ipswich representatives, Daniel Epes and Simon Stacy, petitioned the General Court, that "there being some merchants & Traders in Ipswich that doe imploy some vessels to Barbadoes and other places," a local Naval officer might be appointed. The House appointed Mr. Stacy, but the Council non-concurred. Such an official was appointed however in 1692.

As the century drew to its close, the fishing industry was so prosperous that Little Neck did not suffice, and request was made by the fishermen for a location on Jeffrey's Neck. Mr. John Appleton, Capt. Andrew Diamond and Mr. Francis Wainwright were appointed by the Town as a Committee to lay out the lots for fishing stages and for flake room. The lines of stones on the hill side still mark roughly the several lots then assigned.

After the division of the common lands in 1710, Jeffrey's Neck was owned by the Commoners in the capacity of Proprietors. Their Committee, appointed to regulate the bounds of the fishing station reported in April, 1715, that "Richard Goss, Phillips and Spiller, Mr. Wade, Merrifield alias Holland, and Richard Lakeman" were using two boats each, and occupying 6 rods on the hill side, and that Thomas Newmarch, Silvanus and Tobias Lakeman were operating 3 boats and using 9 rods of flake room. James Brown, William Harris, Joseph Holland, William Willcomb, Francis Crompton and Richard Rogers were interested in this fishery in the following years.^{12a}

The shore whale fishing was also engaged in to some extent. John Higginson of Salem wrote to Symonds Epes of the Castle Hill Farm, on Dec. 10th, 1706:

I hear a rumour of several whales that are gotten, I desire

^{12a} Jeffrey's Neck and the Way Thereto, Ipswich Histor. Soc. Pub. XVIII: pp. 59, 68.

you to send me word how much we are concerned in them, and what prospect of a voyage. When they have done, I desire you would take care to secure the boats and utensils belonging to them.

Again on Sept. 22, 1707, he wrote regarding the whale boats and crews at Ipswich, "We should be in readiness for the noble sport."¹³ From Castle Hill, Little Neck or Jeffrey's Neck, the spout of a whale might have been seen by the trained eyes of the fishermen, and watchers may have been stationed there. Five whale boats were impressed in Ipswich for the expedition to Nova Scotia in 1707.¹⁴

Capt. John Holland sailed out of Ipswich river in the spring of 1700 one Sabbath day with his crew, Edward Holland, John Holland Jr. and Robert Knight, with two passengers, Stephen Perkins and Richard Holland, and arrived at Capenny wagen, the next day at noon. For his Sabbath breaking, he was summoned into Court and paid his fine.

The outbreak of Queen Anne's war opened a new field of adventure and the trained sailors and fishermen were quick to respond. Capt. Samuel Chadwell, master of the sloop, "The Flying Horse," with eleven Ipswich men among his full crew of forty, lay at Newcastle in March 1702-3, ready to sail for the Bay of Fundy at a moment's notice.¹⁵ The sloop, "Hopewell," of 55 tons, Capt. John Chadwell, master carried Capt. Matthew Perkins's company of 60 men to Nova Scotia, in the expedition of 1710.¹⁶

Capt. Beamsley Perkins, most noteworthy of the early Ipswich sailors, began his career no doubt in the fishing ketches. He was master of the sloop, "Marlborough," and the frigate, "Despatch," in Queen Anne's war. He commanded the ship, "Eagle Galley," which cleared from Boston for Montserrat on Jan. 14, 1705, and in 1706 and 1707,

¹³ Felt, *History of Ipswich*, p. 109.

¹⁴ Felt, *History of Ipswich*, p. 315, Appendix.

¹⁵ Page 32.

¹⁶ Page 40.

the ship, "Blessing," plying between Boston and West India ports. In May, 1714, he was captain of the brigantine, "Ipswich," which cleared from Boston for Quebec. Capt. Pelatiah Kinsman was outward bound for the West Indies in November, 1715.¹⁷ Capt. John Harris died on Jan. 11, 1737, at the age of forty-six, having commanded various merchant vessels and distinguished himself in engagements on the Spanish coast of the West Indies.¹⁸

The shipping registers, issued by the chief magistrates, mention some Ipswich craft of this early period.

<i>When built</i>	<i>Vessels</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Tonnage</i>	<i>Masters</i>
1698	Sloop	Unity	40	John Bradstreet
1702	Brig	Swan	50	Humphrey Woodbury
1706	Ship	Hopewell	90	Peletiah Kinsman
	Sloop	Sea Horse	30	Nathaniel Downing
1709	Sloop	Mary	30	Stephen Perkins
1712	Sloop	Sarah & Margaret	25	Thomas Newman
1714	Sloop	Sagamore	30	Samuel Sargent
	Brig	Ipswich	100	Beamsley Perkins

They were all square-sterned and built at Ipswich except two. The sloop "Unity" was built at Newbury, and the "Sarah & Margaret" at Duxbury. The "Sagamore" was partly owned in Boston and so was the brig "Ipswich."¹⁹

The Canso fishing banks claimed a deadly toll of the Ipswich fishermen. Thomas Lull was killed while on a voyage thither in 1735. Nathan Hodgkins Jr., Francis Hovey, David Knowlton, Samuel Pulcifer and Robert Stocker all perished on the Bank on April 7, 1737, and Tobias Lakeman in Sept., 1738.

Capt. Ammi R. Wise, master of the schooner "Lark," "for the security and safe laying of his vessell, more particularly

¹⁷ Boston News Letter.

¹⁸ Felt, History of Ipswich, Appendix p. 334.

¹⁹ Felt, History of Ipswich, Appendix, p. 314.

in the Winter season," received a grant of some of the flats "at the westernmost part of the Great Cove," where he built a wharf and store house. This location was owned afterward by Capt. Gideon Parker,²⁰ who used it as a shipyard. It served this use for many years. It is now included in Dr. Tucker's lot.

William Start of Ipswich, Master of the schooner "May Flower," loaded with dry fish and ready to sail, made his declaration that on Aug. 3, 1752,

being well mor'd with two Anchors & well fastned to a stage head with sundry Fasts. But by a Strong Gale of Wind in the Night & the Tide was drove so nigh the stage head that when the Tide went out she broke her Fast & fell over into the Channel, by which he supposes some of the Fish to be damaged.²¹

Benj. Ober, skipper of schooner "Ipswich" damaged by a storm, made his declaration in Jan. 26, 1754.²² She was insured in April, 1758, owned by Samuel Vans, and commanded by Capt. Benjamin Davis.²³ Capt. Dodge in the "Ipswich" was trading to the West Indies in 1772.

Francis Cogswell, a tanner and owner of the Denison farm, now owned by Dr. H. F. Vickery and the heirs of Dr. Francis B. Harrington, was engaged in the fisheries as well, and his estate, at his death in 1755, included

the schooner Deborah & boat & all appurtenances, £80- 0- 0
the old schooner Dolphin & boat & all appurtenances, 66-13- 4

The danger from French privateers during the French and Indian war put an effectual embargo upon this thriving industry and Felt says that the fishing fleet was reduced

²⁰ Ipswich in the Mass. Bay Colony, Vol. I, Pages 476, 489.

²¹ Essex Co. Notarial Records. Historical Coll., Essex Institute, XLVI: 117.

²² Ditto, p. 120.

²³ Histor. Coll., Essex Institute. XXX: 88.

to six schooners.²⁴ Fourteen of the Ipswich sailors found place in the crew of H. M. S. "Alice" in the expedition against Quebec in 1759. The business revived after the war, and continued at Little Neck through the century. Nathaniel Smith, Nathaniel Farley, Abraham Choate and John Patch were owners of wharves, storehouses and fishing stages.²⁵ The sloop, "Endeavorer," Capt. Thomas Treadwell, was included in the fleet in 1716. John Newmarch Jr. who died in 1812, owned a third of the wharf and a third of the schooner, "Hero."²⁶

The old "Jolly Robin," which had been impressed at Halifax during the French War for a trip to Boston,²⁷ and subsequently was engaged in transport service on the Hudson River, was still in service in April 1772, when she sailed for Maryland and Virginia, commanded by Capt. Newmarch. The "Charming Molly Davis,"²⁸ with 90 hogsheads of molasses and 6 of sugar was captured and burned by a French frigate at Monte Cristo, Dec. 2, 1758. The Ipswich schooners "Lively" Capt. Jn^o Mascoll and "Dolphin" Capt. Jo^s Soward, both owned by Perkins and Paine, were insured in Jan. 1758.

The sloop "Falmouth," Capt. Daniel Goodhue, which sailed from Ipswich for Dominica on April 5th, 1764, sprung a leak on April 10th, which increased steadily and on the 23^d, they cut away the mast. She sank on May 9th. "The Captain and 6 others took to their boat with such Necessaries as they could get at, and after being toss'd upon the Ocean for 28 days in the Utmost Danger of perishing, they arrived at Monto Christi in perfect Health, tho greatly fatigued."²⁹ The log book of Capt. Philip Hammond con-

²⁴ Felt, History of Ipswich, Page 109.

²⁵ Pub. Ipswich Historical Society XVIII: 80-85.

²⁶ Probate Records 383: 24.

²⁷ Mass. Archives 65: 193. See also Page 172.

²⁸ Essex Institute Histor. Collections XLV: 346. Boston Gazette, Jan. 15, 1759.

²⁹ The Boston Gazette, July 30, 1764.

tains the entry. "July 16, 1768. Saturday. This day we came to port Roiel & Landed our oxen and Horses & sheep & this day Capt. Staniford saild for Home from port Royel."

In December, 1770, Capt. Hammond, in the schooner, "Speedwell," sailed for Virginia, and in the same month, the schooner "Hopewell," Captain Staniford, cleared for St. Lucia.

The ancient account book of Dummer Jewett, covering the years 1759 to 1763, mentions the brig "Dolle," a fishing schooner owned by Capt. John Smith, "Spiller ye skipper," the schooner, "Dorothy," and the schooner, "Argilla," Capt. Moses Wells. Capt. Wells owned a farm on the Argilla road and with a fine sense of fitness, chose that musical name for his craft. Michael Holland, Aaron Kinsman, Nathaniel Moulton, Jonathan Newmarch, David Pulcifer and William Stone were fishermen of that period, who had accounts at the Jewett country store. Stephen Safford was a sail-maker.

Mr. Jewett was one of the owners of the schooner, "Saunders," which was built in Rowley and launched in December, 1759. She was commanded by Capt. Thomas Staniford and made trading voyages to Halifax, with live stock, to Virginia, to Philadelphia to purchase wheat, corn and flour, and in May, 1768 to the West Indies. A yoke of oxen were included in his freight, one of which died on the voyage.

For many years, the trade with the West Indies afforded a market for the fish and other commodities, and the return cargoes of sugar and molasses and tropical fruits found ready sale. The wharves and storehouses and the fishing establishments at Diamond Stage, Jeffrey's Neck, Little Neck, and Green's Point were busy hives of industry. Sloops and schooners came and went and many Ipswich lads took to the sea as sailors or fisherman. The files of the Essex Gazette

and the shipping records of the District of Salem and Beverly, which included Ipswich until 1799, give interesting glimpses of these men of the sea and their vessels.

Capt. Abraham Dodge had various thrilling experiences. Sailing from Ipswich for the West Indies in Feb. 1770, his schooner grounded on the bar and vessel and cargo were reported a total loss. One of the crew was drowned, and the rest were near perishing before they were discovered and taken off. A year later, he had the schooner "Elizabeth," and his arrival from Cape Nicholas Mole is noted in April. When he arrived in Ipswich in May, 1774, he brought in the Master, chief-mate, four sailors and four indentured servants of the brig "Two Brothers," picked up at sea in an open boat. These men abandoned their ship secretly, leaving sixteen persons on board, who probably perished.

Captain Ephraim Kendall arrived at Ipswich in the schooner "Falmouth," in August, 1769, in 26 days from the West Indies. He sailed regularly to St. Lucia, St. Eustatia and other West India ports and occasionally to Canso and Nova Scotia. Captain Stanwood in the schooner, "Fame," sailed for Virginia, in Nov. 1770. Robert Stalker was living at Tennent's Harbor in Nova Scotia in 1772 engaged in the curing of fish. In 1775, Ipswich was credited with 1 brig, 11 schooners and 43 boats, employing 190 men.

The Revolutionary War checked this flourishing trade. The schooner, "Hannah," Capt. James Clenton, was captured by the letter-of-marque schooner, Liverpool, in 1779.

There were many sad tragedies on the dreaded Ipswich bar and the beach in these busy years. Lieut. John Boardman, a prosperous farmer on the Rowley road and John Rogers, son of Capt. Richard, both young men returning from Marblehead, were "cast on shore on Castle Hill Beach and Perished with the Cold and Snow," March 10, 1755. Two boats with nine men coming ashore from their vessel,

which lay outside, were overturned in the surf and eight perished, on October 1st, 1784. In September, 1785, a boat with six men returning from the clam flats, heavily loaded, was sunk by the high seas, and four were drowned, one of them leaving a widow and six children.

With the close of the Revolution business revived actively. The principal industries apart from fishing and trading were cabinet and hat making, farming and distilling. William Story built the distilling plant and sold a half interest to John Heard in 1770, who eventually acquired the whole business. It passed to his son, George W. Heard, who continued it until he sold to Gustavus Farley in 1836. The West Indies were the nearest market for the fish and the return cargoes were chiefly molasses for the distillery.

The Shatswell papers³⁰ throw a flood of light upon the industrial affairs of the Town for many years. On March 17, 1764, Richard Setchell, who then signed himself, yeoman, "Major Gould taler," and Benjamin Chapman, mariner, of Danvers, bought a third of the good sloop "Sally" about 74 tons burthen, of Lawrence Clark of Newbury, mariner, and Benjamin Chapman of Danvers. In June of the same year, Lawrence Clark wrote from Savannah, reporting decidedly crooked practices on the part of Capt. Chapman and the owners sent orders forthwith to the Captain to proceed to Barbadoes or any other English island and sell vessel and cargo if possible. Apparently the sloop was not sold, as W^m Story, Jun. the Naval officer of Ipswich, issued a certificate to Timothy Kimball, master of the "Sally," in May, 1788, to employ her in the fishing business. In 1774, Mr. Shatswell was the owner of the schooner "Swan," bound on a fishing trip, with Daniel Goodhue, Master, Nathaniel Perley, mate, Thomas Emmerton and James Andrews "salters." In 1785, the square stern schooner

³⁰ The family papers of Richard Shatswell and his son, Nathaniel, deposited with the Society by Mr. Roger Sherman Warner.

"Hannah" 45 tons, second of the name, appears in these old files, and for a number of years, there is most interesting record of the varied uses to which this craft was put. In the summer, she was fitted for a fishing trip, and her five men, who composed the crew, provided their own bread and were paid sometimes in cash, apparently, sometimes in a share of the catch. In August, 1785, Richard Lakeman was Master, and his crew were William Lakeman, Jr., Lieut. James Lord, John Soward, Jr. and Ebenezer Kimball. Capt. Daniel Rogers was the skipper on one of her trips in that year.

In the summer of 1786, Richard Lakeman, was again Master. Mr. Shatswell entered into an agreement that year with William Gray, Jr. the famous "Billy Gray" of Salem, to take his fish and sell him salt. In the fall, under command of Daniel Newman, she sailed for Maryland and Virginia with a full cargo of local products. Her manifest included

450 gallons N. E. rum
 100 gallons W. I. rum
 90 gals. clove water
 12 desks, 6 tables, 4 dozen chairs
 20 pr. of shoes, 2 doz. felt hats
 8 quintals cod fish
 2 hogsheads molasses
 2 sides of sole leather
 1 box of chocolate

and a quantity of American earthen-ware.

Only a portion of the cargo was sold, and George Blackwell, the Virginia agent, receipted for the furniture that was left with him. This receipt is of particular interest, as it gives the names of the skippers and the value of their products.

1 desk with secret Draws, a glass in y^e front.

Nathaniel Lord, 1 desk

£2-17- 4

Elisha Newman, 1 desk

2-17- 4

Abraham Knowlton, 1 desk	2-17- 4
W ^m . Appleton, 3 desks	8-12- 0
Daniel Lummus, 1 desk	2-17- 4
Joseph Lord, 1 table	8
Daniel Lummus, 1 table	6
Moses Lord, 6 chairs a 8/	2- 8- 0
Daniel Lord, 6 white chairs a 14/	4- 4- 0
Daniel Smith, 6 chairs a 3/	18- 0

A return cargo of 1173 bushels of corn was taken on board.

In May, 1787, the "Hannah" fitted for a fishing trip, and Capt. Newman's crew included Philip Hammond, mate, Campbell Ripley, Ebenezer Kimball and William Lakeman. In November, under Capt. Hammond, Master on his first voyage, perhaps, she loaded again for Southern ports. In consideration it may be of the inexperience of Captain Hammond, Nathaniel Shatswell and Daniel Goodhue Jr. sailed in her with orders to sell the cargo and buy a return freight of corn or flour and instructions were given to the Captain, "to assist Nath^l Shatswell and Dan^l Goodhue in selling & Bying & go to any place that they shall order in Virginia or Maryland." Her cargo included the usual items, rum, cabinet work, boots and shoes, 1050 pounds of chocolate, presumably from Nathan Pierce, valued at £7-10- 0, 12 axes, from John Choate, probably, 3-12- 0, and a barrel of snake-root, 32 gal. a 2/ £3-40.

Captain Hammond made another summer trip to the fishing banks in 1788, and the fall trading voyage to Maryland. These Southern trips afforded an opportunity to the High street cabinet makers and hatters and workers at various crafts throughout the town to market their wares. Abr^m Lord shipped 39 pr. of shoes a 8/, 1 pr. of boots 24/, 5 pr. of women's shoes at 5/.

Many articles were left with Moses Taylor in Virginia. His account gives the list of disappointed shippers.

Nath. Lord 3 ^d , 2 large tables	£2- 0- 0
and a small table valued 4/3 and a desk.	
Joseph Lord, a desk	2-10- 0
William Appleton, a small desk	1- 0- 0
Jeremiah Kimball, 2 large oval tables	2- 2- 0
John Ringe, 2 tables	0- 8- 0
Moses Lord, chairs	0-15- 0
Daniel Smith, 8 chairs	0-16-0
6 white chairs	0-12- 0
Isaac Lord, 5 white hats a 4/6	1- 2- 6
5 black hats a 4	1- 0- 0
Richard Sutton, 2 pr. of leather breeches a 12/	1- 4- 0
Daniel Day, 2 fine hats 23/	1- 3- 0

In other lists, there is mention of flag chairs a 2/6, baking pans, quart mugs, pots and vessels of earthen ware made by some local potter, and one large desk, valued at five pounds. Many collectors of old mahogany furniture have made rich finds in Virginia and Maryland, and it is wholly within the bounds of possibility that some of the fine desks, chairs and tables, made in the Ipswich cabinet shops, are now included in these antique treasures.

Captain Hammond made his Spring fishing trip in the "Hannah" in 1790, but Thomas Hodgkins was master in 1792 and Lemuel Persons in 1793. The Shatswells owned Green's Point Landing and had a wharf there at which the "Hannah" discharged her cargoes. The old account books show that besides the fishing and trading, they were extensively engaged in selling timber and firewood, in ploughing and trucking for hire, letting their horses and their "gundalows," and exacting charges for every load of thatch or salt hay landed on their wharf or dried on their land.

Nathaniel Kinsman is another interesting figure. He was owner and master of the 67 ton schooner, "Betsey," in 1784, which was sold to Beverly in 1793. The Custom House records contain the invoices of his cargoes, Jabez Farley &

Co., owners and consignees. On Aug. 18th, 1790, he entered, from Martinico, with 6251 gallons of molasses and 104 gallons of rum. In March, 1791, he arrived from Cape Francois with 658 pounds of coffee, in addition to his molasses and sugar. On July 30, 1792, he brought a varied cargo, 2344 gallons molasses, 3456 pounds of coffee, 1761 pounds of cotton, 365 pounds of sugar, and 40 gallons of distilled spirits.

John Heard³¹ owned the barquentine or brig "Sarah and Elizabeth" 100 tons burthen, built in Ipswich in 1784, and named for his two daughters. She arrived from Guadaloupe, July, 1791, with 18,127 gallons of molasses and in the following August, her cargo included 13,656 gallons of molasses, 1154 pounds of sugar, 403 pounds of cotton. The sloop "Fox," 73 tons, Nath. Dennis, master, built in Ipswich in 1786, was owned by Nath. Dennis, Jeremiah Staniford, Francis Cogswell and Edward Stacey. John Heard and Jonathan Ingersoll bought the "Fox" in 1793 and Ingersoll was Captain on a trip to Guadaloupe. Thomas Kimball was in command the following year. Capt. Ingersoll bought the sloop "Nancy," 61 tons, in 1793 and John Ingersoll was Master on a voyage to Point Petre. In later years, Capt. Jonathan Ingersoll commanded the ship, "Union" of Salem. The Ipswich brig, "Jenny," was wrecked in a gale in May, 1783, on a voyage from St. Christopher's and her crew and passengers, fifteen in number, were taken off by the ship, "Grand Turk," and brought into Salem.

After his sea faring days were over, Captain Ephraim Kendall engaged in trade on his own account. He owned the 66 ton schooner, "Susannah," built in 1783, and named probably for his wife, Susannah (Perkins), and the 60 ton, "Lucy," named for his daughter. Capt. Nathaniel Treadwell was Master of the "Lucy," which brought an assorted

³¹ Mr. Heard was engaged in foreign commerce as well. See "Augustine Heard and his Friends," Ips. Histor. Soc. Publications XXI.

cargo of sugar, salt, cotton and spirits from St. Martins in May 30, 1791. The "Lucy," was taken at St. Pierre in April, 1794 and condemned, and Capt. Treadwell became Master of the new schooner "Hope" of 92 tons, Ipswich built, in 1794, owned by Nath. Dennis, Ephraim Kendall, John Heard and Jonathan Ingersoll, and engaged in the West India trade. Philip Hammond, having left the Shatswells, was master of the "Susannah," sailing regularly to the West Indies and bringing return cargoes of molasses, sugar, coffee and cotton. For many years he had escaped all the dangers of the sea, and the deadly fevers of the West Indies, but in Nov. 1797, he fell a victim, while on the coast of the Islands, and two of his crew, Daniel Dodge and Thomas Manning, died at the same time.

Jabez Farley and his brother, Robert, were actively engaged in these trading ventures. A bit of business correspondence has been preserved.

Ipswich, January 5th, 1785.

Capt. Nat. Kinsman. Sir

Pleas to pay Mr. Andrew Haraden the sum of three pounds when you arrive at your market in West Indies and Charg the Same to the Schooner Robert.

yours Most Obedient,

Jabez Farley.

At the same time Robert Farley sent an order to Capt. Kinsman for £2. 8^s. He was Master of the brigantine, "Betsey," of 157 tons in 1793, which was sold to Boston merchants the following year. Jabez was the father of fourteen children, two of whom died in infancy, but five sons and seven daughters grew to mature life. There is a family remembrance that he named two of his vessels, "The Five Brothers" and "The Seven Sisters." He was of a nervous temperament and when one of his vessels was reported in the river, he sent one of his sons or a servant to find the result

of the voyage and shut himself up at home until the report was brought him. In 1790, Captain Kinsman was Master of the schooner, "John" of 60 tons, owned by John Patch, previously commanded by Thomas Hodgkins.

Joseph Dennis was skipper of the little sloop, "Polly," 33 tons, in 1795. The schooner "Sally," Capt. Smith of Ipswich, arrived in her home port in March 1798 from Surinam, having been taken by the English frigate, Concord, and carried into Antigua, but "after examination of papers was treated politely and permitted to depart without any expenses."

John Perkins was at sea in a Newburyport ship during the French Revolution and was embargoed at Bordeaux, while the guillotine was claiming its victims. His letters to his widowed mother contain items of family interest, and reveal the leisurely methods by which cargoes were disposed of and voyages completed.

Bordeaux, Nov. 7, 1793.

Honored Mother

. . . . After we sail'd from Newburyport for the fourth day we had a heavy gale of wind but by good luck got clear of Nantucket Shoals. After that we had pleasant weather and arrived in 28 days at St. Ans in Guadaloupe and laid there till the 9 day of July and then sail'd for France loaded with coffee and sugar, we had a long and pleasant passage were 58 days upon our passage and have laid here two months and sold nothing nor dont expect to sell here unless times alter we should have gone to some other port But all vessels have been embargoed. we shall stay till Spring and if the Captain can't sell to his mind will go to some other port.

Nathaniel Hodgkins arrived here a week ago, he says that all is well at home and that Uncle Stanwood³² is gone to the west Indies and is like to make good voyage we have good usage on board and nothing to do but play. Bread

³² Capt. Isaac Stanwood, who married Eunice Hodgkins, Feb. 26, 1778.

is very scarce here and all other provisions, none is to be had for love or money.

your dutiful son,
John Perkins.

A second letter to "widow Elizabeth Perkins" is dated,
Bordeaux, Dec. 4, 1793.

Honoured Mother.

I take this Opportunity to let you know that I am well and hope by the blessing of god that these few lines you and all my acquaintances the same, we have been here this 3 months and have not done nothing. ,

. . . . There has been an embargo here this three months. there is no trade at all only cutting off people's heads six or seven every day I hope to get home in the spring, if not before, but uncertain, there is no provisions in the place we cannot get bread the people on shore have only a Quarter of a pound a day.

give my love to all enquiring friends grand father²⁸ and grandmother, Uncles and Aunts, Cousins and the

Your dutiful son,
John Perkins.

²⁸ John Hodgkins, carpenter, and wife, Elizabeth.

CHAPTER XI.

TRADES AND EMPLOYMENTS OF THE 18TH CENTURY.

While the fisheries and commerce were the most important industries of old Ipswich, a great variety of employments engaged the men of the community. In common with all other towns, it was largely a self supporting unit, and the varied needs required many toilers. Jonathan Wade's windmill, somewhere on Windmill Hill, disappeared before the close of the seventeenth century, but the abundant water power was utilized to the fullest advantage. Grist mills and saw mills were established at the location now known as Norwood's, at the upper and lower dams, and also on Egypt river.¹

On the farms the same primitive methods that had prevailed for centuries were in vogue. The ground was broken up with a wooden plough, the mould-board tipped with an iron point, drawn slowly by patient oxen. The harrow was a clumsy tool, made of plank with great iron teeth. The common farm wagon was a "tumbril," with two huge wheels and axle, all of wood, save the tires. Hand labor was the only method. Planting and cultivating were done by the man with a hoe. Grain was reaped with a sickle, as in the days of Ruth and Boaz, threshed with a flail in the wide barn floor, and winnowed with broad lipped winnowing baskets, shaped like a huge clam shell the wind blowing away the chaff as the threshed grain fell in a thin shower. Flax was pulled by hand.

¹ See Ipswich in the Mass. Bay Colony, Vol. I, pp. 329, 461, 462, 487, 488, and more detailed accounts in Publications of the Ipswich Histor. Society, XIX. See also Chapter XXVII, The Textile Industry.

The day's work was long for the summer passed quickly. On one Candlewood farm not more than seventy years ago, the men did the chores soon after sunrise. After a hearty breakfast, the field work began while the dew was upon the grass. The mowers moved in regular lines about the field, stopping in the mid-morning for the ample lunch, with a dram of liquor, which was brought them, and continuing till noon. A hot dinner, another lunch in the afternoon and supper before sundown strengthened them for their toil until dark. Many men made light work. Two or three great hay-wagons were filled at once and the field was soon cleared.

In July, 1706, as labor was very scarce, the men of the Milton parish offered their services to the pastor, Rev. Peter Thacher to make and house his hay. Bright and early on Monday morning, there were no less than twenty-six men in the field, "mowers in a breast"; on Wednesday there were fourteen others with their rakes; on Thursday, sixteen more came. The correspondent,² who sent the item, added that "no doubt, there was a competent number on Friday and Saturday (though not come to our knowledge) to carry it into the barn." The modern hay field with its mower, tedder, rake and loader, all drawn by horses, knows nothing of the enthusiasm of the parson's haying on that eventful week. The most skilful mower, strongest in his stroke and best able to keep his scythe at its keenest edge, struck in first with a mighty swath. A second mower started close behind and by the time the last man got into line, the leader was far down the field. Each pressed the man before him and kept him at top speed. Each strove to show the cleanest swath. Round and round the great field that line of mowers moved in rhythmic swing, their scythes gleaming, the worthy minister cheering them on with his approving smile. And when the other neighbors came with forks and rakes, and

² Boston News Letter, July 22, 1706.

the creaking ox-wagons, the field was full of life and color. There was much good natured fun at lunch time, and the longer pause for the toothsome dinner, that the good wives brought no doubt; and through it all, there was that good-fellowship, that cheerful helpfulness that lightened toil and made the day almost a holiday.

After the English hay was safely housed, the "black-grass" that grows between the upland and the marsh, was cut and then, when the right course of tides came, the vast stretches of salt marsh at the "Hundreds," and all along the river and its creeks, were invaded with a great army of hay-makers. On the nearer and more accessible marshes, the hay was stacked on "staddles" to raise it above the high tides. On the more distant Plum Island marshes, the green salt hay was loaded into great "gundalows," which were rowed slowly with hugh oars with a favoring tide to some convenient dock, where it was unloaded and loaded upon the farm wagons. Every old time farmer owned his marsh lots and esteemed them a valuable asset. The long, coarse, reedy grass, borne by the thatch-banks, which are submerged by every tide, was of less value but was reckoned worth the getting for bedding and banking about the buildings and covering.

The soil of the Ipswich farms was famously adapted for the hay crop, and the teaming of it to market with the slow ox-teams was tedious and wearisome work. An old farmer, who died many years ago, used to tell that when he was a young man, walking beside his oxen at night on the home trip, he often threw his arm over the yoke and fell asleep walking, or climbed into the empty wagon and took a nap, trusting his team to keep the road. He had no holidays. Thanksgiving day and the afternoon of the Fourth of July were all he knew.

The winter brought no leisure. The care of the cattle twice a day, made a great inroad on the short day. There

was cutting of wood in the often distant wood lots, hauling it home and working it up into proper size for the great fire places. The minister's allowance of thirty or forty cords of good oak or walnut was probably only the average supply, that had to be provided on every farm and for every household of the better sort.

Many a farmer had his little shoe shop, and plied his trade of a cordwainer until spring. Many were carpenters and every one found a multitude of things to be done. For a few weeks in winter, the boys went to the district school, and by the time they were men grown, they had gained a scant working knowledge of arithmetic, and some skill in the use of the quill.

Glimpses of the life on one of the quiet Linebrook farms are afforded by the ancient account book of Abraham Howe. He began his record in the latter years of the 17th century. His son Lieut. Mark continued it after his father's death in 1717, and his son, Nathaniel, kept it until his death. Abraham Howe was the son of James, who died on May 17, 1701-2, at the great age of 104 years, and brother of James Howe, Jr., whose latter years were burdened with his own blindness and the heavy grief that befell his family, when Elizabeth, his wife, was arrested, tried for witchcraft and executed in the fateful year 1692. The bitterness of that heart-breaking experience and the natural resentments against the neighbors who had testified against the unfortunate woman, were eased by the lapse of years. Of these things, the old book contains no trace. We find in it only the record of those every day events which were happening in many other farm houses in the parish.

Abraham Howe was a weaver, as his father had been, and his accounts preserve items of his trade: weaving 22½ yards of shirting, cotton and linen, for 7 shillings 8 pence, 36½ yards for 10 shillings, and weaving of cotton, linen and wool a yard wide. He could turn his hand to a variety

of employments. He did slaughtering for his neighbors and carpentering. With his own hands he made the coffin for his venerable father. He was handy with his quill, and in 1703, he spent a day in writing evidence before Mr. Samuel Appleton, Justice of the Court, and was at Ipswich Court two days in May. In 1710, he joined his brother, Capt. John Howe in a petition to the General Court to secure damages to his nieces, Mary and Abigail, for the odium cast upon them and the grief and loss they had suffered by the death of their mother.

His son, Lieut. Mark Howe, was a man of great strength of character and of marked aptitude for many activities. He was a farmer first of all and after the summer work was done, his cider mill began its operations. There was hewing of timber and chopping of fuel in his great wood lots. His oxen and steers hauled a great keel-piece to town in 1751 for some ship that was building, and in 1765 he delivered a huge load of faggots, 200 bundles at the door of Deacon Nathaniel Low. His "He nut" bark was in demand. He washed and sheared sheep for his brother Increase, the tavern-keeper, and his oxen and hired man did the spring plowing on other farms.

He was a weaver, too, as his father and grandfather had been, and wove not only shirting but the more substantial all wool cloth. From his loom, it passed to Robert Calef's fulling mill, and he credited Mr. Calef

9 May, 1718, by 15 yards of drogid that you fulde died and sheard & prest at eleaven pence per year(d) 13- 9

His account with clerk Nehemiah Abbott, (1754) credited

29 May, 1755, by your wife spooling and warping a piece 12- 0

11 Aug. 1756, by stilling 3 pints of mother time & other herbs 0- 2- 6

25 Sept., by making a shirt for me of fine cloth 13- 0

22 Oct., by stilling spearmint 6 quarts 8- 0

Domestic service was rendered generally by young girls. Daniel Chapman's daughter Abigail came to live with him in 1742 at an agreed wage of £12 a year, but she tired of her bargain at the end of a single month. The widow Prichet came to the house in February, 1759, but went home lame in March. Rebecca Smith undertook the task in April, but went to Thomas Baker's in May. Mrs. Pegge Daniels came in June and stayed until November, and Rebecca returned for further service during the autumn. But young Hannah Lakeman held by loyally. She was bound to him apparently until her eighteenth year. After she had attained that age, her service was voluntary and in place of a money wage, she called upon her employer to furnish wearing apparel and finery as she required. Beginning with April, 1750, Lieut. Howe provided her, beside more ordinary supplies, a gold ring, a velvet hood and lace to it, at a cost of £5-18-6; a pair of pumps and a pair of red stockings; in Jan., 1751, a broad cloth cloak and making £9-9-0; silk for a bonnet and the making of it; and in January, 1753, a silk crape gown £11: 14, a veil £1: 10, a black handkerchief £1: 5, and a fan 8s.

If the young Hannah were the daughter of Solomon and Hannah Lakeman, as seems probable, her expensive mourning garb may have been purchased in anticipation of the death of her father, which occurred on Feb. 24, 1753 and her step-mother, on Feb 18th.

Amos Jewett, the tailor, came to the farm several times a year and made and repaired the clothes of the family. His skill was such that he even did the work of milliner and dress maker. His account is interesting.

April 1750, by part of 2 days making clothes for Thaniel	1- 0- 0
9 June, 1750, by making a coat for me	2- 5- 0
Dec., 1750, by making three coats for y ^e boys & cutting jackits	3-10- 0

11 Feb., 1750-1, by part of a day making a coat for Philemon	12- 0
7 Aug., 1751, by making a linen jacket for me	1- 0- 0
3 Dec., 1751, by mending a pare of leather britches for me	6- 0
20 Dec., 1751, by part of a day making leather britches for Mark	8- 0
y ^e same day by a yard of red broad cloth for a cloak	9- 0- 0
22 Jan., 1751-2, by making a cloak & trimming	8- 0
& by two days Tallering turning a coat	1-10- 0
11 Nov., 1752, by making two bonnets	12- 0
8 Dec., 1752, by making a gown for Hephzibah	6- 0
24 Nov., 1753, by making a gown for hanah, gloves & cap	1-7- 0

Ezekiel Potter worked two days and a night making a great coat for him in 1768. The cordwainer came and mended and made the foot-gear for the whole family and the accounts with John Lord and Thomas Lord, the hatters, were settled in felt hats and castor hats. Job Whipple, the tinker, looked in as he went his rounds, mended the pewter-ware, the skillets and brass kettles, set glass as needed, "ran" pewter spoons in his spoon-mould, and took his pay in wood, bark and butter.

His neighbors had few needs that he could not satisfy. When Samuel Potter was sick unto death, he wrote his will and afterwards assisted the executors in their task. He "pricked" a book of tunes for David Neland. He cured lame horses and sick cows. He acted as village barber for the little group of families. He made a charge against Caleb Foster,

13 Sept., 1730, by cuting your hair & trimming of you 0- 0- 4
and against Thomas Potter,

5 Nov., 1733, by taking of your beard for ye^e year
past & more, which was 68 times 0-17- 0

Remote from doctors, and confident of the efficacy of home-ly remedies for minor ailments, the Linebrook neighborhood may have summoned the excellent Lieutenant as their medical adviser. Certain it is that some wonderful concoctions had attained high standing in the Howe family and were recorded in the old book.

For feaver Take bam isop Ellicompan root boyle them in spring watter for pain in y^e loins take wild sallindine for a diat drink Balm sage watter & rushes one handful of each yarrow spruse a handfull of each elder budds two handfulls horse radish root & burdock each nounc fenell roots parsely roots one nounce burdock sed nounce fenell seed & parsely seed of each half an nounce for to cure the quensy draw 3 blisters one behind y^e neck one under each ear lay a plaster of diapalmer to y^e throat & give salit oyl & manna & for drink boyl little nettles and dissolve allum in it.

or this, blister under each ear one on each rist for drink boil y^e green of elder fill y^e stomak well with it.

Mark and Hephzebah Howe suffered a dreadful affliction in the month of November, 1736, when their whole family of eight children was swept away by an epidemic of throat distemper in twenty three days. Four more were born, Mark, Nathaniel, Philemon and Hephzebah. At the breaking out of the French and Indian war, Lieut. Howe, then just sixty years old, unbroken by toil and sorrow, gathered a squad of soldiers who went with him in Captain Stephen Whipple's company to Crown Point. His son, Mark, lacking six months of eighteen, on the day of his enlistment, went with him. The boy, Philemon, was too young then to be a soldier, but a few years later, he joined the expedition against Louisbourg and died there in June, 1759, lacking a week of eighteen.

The principal farm crops beside the hay were Indian corn, rye, barley and some wheat, and the common garden vegetables, cabbages, squashes, pumpkins, potatoes, etc. A seed

list of 1748 advertised Savoy cabbages, potatoes, endives, mangoes, celery, etc. A list in the Boston Gazette March 25, 1755 mentioned Early Hotspur, Early Charlton, Spanish Murrets, marrowfat and dwarf peas; Hotspur, Sandwich and Windsor large beans, bush and pole varieties; asparagus, cauliflower, spinach, parsley, melons, etc. The Essex Gazette of Feb. 7, 1769 published a long list of seeds, freshly imported from London, offered by Benjamin Coats, near the school house in Salem. It included Blue Marrowfat, Large Marrowfat, Golden Hotspur and crooked sugar peas; large Windsor, early Hotspur and early Lisbon beans; early yellow, scarlet and orange carrot; early Dutch, early Yorkshire, early Battersea, early sugar loaf, red and large winter cabbage and cauliflower, green and yellow Savoy celery, green and white endive; salmon, scarlet and London radish; best curled pepper grass, summer and winter spinach; curled and hambo parsley cabbage, white, goss and imperial lettuce, early and late cucumber, long Turkey cucumber, early and late turnips, summer and winter savory, red and white clover, red top Lucern, Burnet and herds grass, and herbs in variety, hyssop, thyme, sweet marjoram, lavender and rose mary.

But the work of the women on the farms was harder even than that of the men. Upon them fell a multitude of tasks which have almost been forgotten; the making of candles, butter and cheese, the cutting and stringing of apples, the spinning of flax and wool, the knitting of stockings and mittens, the weaving of linen for sheets, napkins and fine underwear, and the homespun woolen cloths for the outer garments. After the long web was finished, many a good wife was tailor and dress maker. No wonder the day was not long enough and the evening hours were spent in sewing the endless seams, or knitting or spinning.

But men had their work in finishing the nicer fabrics. In the middle of the century, there was a group of weavers,

Elisha Brown, William Campanel, Nathaniel and Jacob Low, George Newman, Daniel Safford and Stephen Kinsman, who made fine cloth for men's wear, and when they had woven it, it went to the clothier to be dyed and finished. Caleb Warner, the clothier, was engaged upon a piece of brown woolen, 13 yards in length, and some blue drugget cloth, when Caesar, alias Aniball, a mulatto laboring man, broke in and stole the goods.

There were tailors in abundance, some of whom, at least, went from house to house, making new garments and making over the old: Mager Gould, John Wise, Jr., Daniel Ringe, Joseph Wilcome, Stephen Smith, Joseph Fellows, Aaron Lord, Daniel Ross, Samuel Robins and Archelaus Lakeman were all plying their craft in the middle of the eighteenth century. John Chapman and Richard Sutton had the field to themselves as "leather-breeches makers."

The "cordwainer," too, was a valued member of the community. In the midcentury there were John and Joseph Brown, Jr., Edmund, Nathaniel and Samuel Heard, Jeremiah Chapman, John Hodgkins and Joseph Hodgkins, the Revolutionary Colonel of later days, Daniel Lord and Lieut. Isaac Martin, who were known and styled "cordwainers" or shoemakers and probably gave all their time to their trade. Leather for their use was provided by the tanners and curriers. The ancient tannery of Sergeant Thomas Hart, by the brook near Mr. Ralph W. Burnham's on Linebrook road, was carried on for generations, and Thomas Norton had his tan vats by the brook on the South side, known earlier as Saltonstall's, then as Norton's brook, on the grounds of Mr. Henry Brown. In 1762, Benjamin Lamson from Newbury set up his tannery, which passed at once into the hands of John Farley, who carried it on for many years and passed it to his sons. The old tan and bark house and the currying shop were used finally by the Worths and Stackpoles for their soap manufactory. The Giles Firmin

Garden now occupies the site of this old time industry. On Market St., Michael Farley set up his tan works in 1755.

Joseph Kimball plied the same trade at this period on the Topsfield road. Thomas Smith, Richard Sutton and John Fitts were leather dressers.

The guild of hatters was located chiefly on High St. Samuel Baker, James Fitts, Caleb, Isaac, John, Nathaniel and Samuel Lord, Daniel Day and James Smith were all felt-makers or hatters. The hatter bought his raccoon and other skins from the hunters and trappers, and by various cunning processes transformed them by beating and shaping on wooden forms into hats. Every well dressed man in the mid-century needed a wig as well as a hat. Ebenezer Stanwood and Deacon Thomas Knowlton, peruke-makers, Patrick Farrin, periwig-maker, and William Dennis, plain barber, served the public on North Main Street.

The variety and delicacy of the peruke-maker's trade is indicated by the advertisement⁸ of John Crosby, a Boston member of that craft. He invited attention to his

grey and light-grey feather top dress Wigs, London made, finished off in a workman like manner, the neatest new fashion large, wig and hair black bags, curling tongs and tupee irons, body'd grizzle hairs curled and ready to work, brown hairs, black, brown and pale horse hairs, white goat hair, bleached tye, grizzle crowns, and moy ditto, fine China and raw silk, narrow and broad ribbons, and some very narrow for bag wigs, cauls, neat tupee combs in cases setting combs for to dress half cut wigs and all other combs suitable for a peruke-maker's shop, also hair powder, high perfumed hard black and white pomatum and gum pomatum, excellent with its use to keep hair in place when drest and to make hair grow thicker, English black ball etc.

The honorable trade of the carpenter gave employment to many, for his task was not merely to frame and construct

⁸ Boston Gazette, May 24, Nov. 8, 1762.

the house, but to make the doors, window sashes and shutters, the fine panelled wainscot, the elaborate corner cupboards, mantel-pieces and cornices, and the artistic staircases, which still adorn not a few of the old Ipswich dwellings. Abraham Knowlton was a master of his craft. The beautiful old pulpit and sounding board, which he built for the new meeting house of the First Parish in 1749, still preserved in the tower-room of the present edifice, attests his skill. The old pulpit of the South Church, built in 1747 and still preserved, may have been the handiwork of Deacon Joseph Appleton, the South side carpenter and one of the first Deacons of the new church. Besides these, there were Thomas Burnham, William Baker, John Hodgkins, Joseph Lord, Nathaniel Kimball, Francis Goodhue, Nathaniel Perkins, Joseph Smith, John Pinder, Joseph Fowler, Daniel Low and William Treadwell, and a goodly number of apprentices as well, bound out to learn the trade.

Elisha Newman, John and William Appleton, Daniel, Joseph, Nathaniel and Moses Lord, Jeremiah Kimball, Daniel Lummus, John Ringe and Daniel Smith were cabinet makers, many of them having shops on High St., where John Brown plied his trade as a turner. Daniel Potter on Windmill Hill was a cunning maker of chairs, and Moses Lord, Jr. followed the same calling in 1790.

Abner Harris had his ship-building yard at the foot of Summer Street, then known as Ship-yard Lane. Capt. Gideon Parker, a soldier of the French and Revolutionary wars, built his vessels in the Cove ship-yard. James Burnham and Jabez Treadwell were coopers. Daniel Ringe was a chaise maker.

Near of kin to carpenter and ship-builder and carriage-maker was the blacksmith, who made all the iron work, hinges, latches and bolts, braces and tires, horse shoes, spikes and nails even, until the cut nail was produced.

Samuel Ross had his smithy on the ledge in front of the

old Seminary building and found room there for house, shop and barn. The music of his anvil filled the center of the town and before it was lost, it was taken up by Jonathan Prince, whose shop and dwelling were on the site of the late N. Scott Kimball's dwelling. Nathaniel Foster's shop was by the river side, near the Abner Harris shipyard, and Samuel Lord's was on High St. Benjamin Brown plied his trade on the triangular grass plot in Candlewood, where the road to Hamilton curves from the Essex Road, and William Brown Jr. had his shop near the engine house in the same neighborhood. Nathaniel Perkins, Jonathan Burnam and Moses Pickard were men of the hammer and anvil as well.

One goldsmith, Daniel Rogers, found room for his trade. Richard Farran, the gunsmith, was drowned on Ipswich bar in May, 1761. Ammi R. Wise was a "white-smith." Some artisans seem to have had a monopoly of their craft. John Choate, the axe-maker, whose account with the storekeeper, Dummer Jewett, gives him credit for 6 axes @ 45/ £13-10-0 and 6 hoes @ 25/ £7-10-0; Joseph Low, baker; Samuel Platt, oat-meal maker; Nathan Pierce, chocolate maker, Aaron Smith, clock-maker in 1776; Samuel Williams, saddler and Job Whipple, the travelling tinker. Jeremiah Dodge was a mason, but there must have been others, for the brick-laying and plastering, and brick makers as well.

But the village shop-keeper, taking it all in all, was the most useful man in the community for the every day needs of life. Dummer Jewett's account books for the years 1760 to 1764 reveal the infinite variety of his stock in trade and the numberless ways in which he was able to be of service to his townsmen. Food supplies were always in demand, but some were bought in microscopic quantities. Rev. Jedediah Jewett of Rowley was not ashamed to buy a half ounce of tea, for a shilling eight pence Old Tenor⁴ and a

⁴ The Old Tenor currency was so much depreciated that Mr. Jewett notes an exchange of £2 5s 0 for a dollar.

quarter pound for twelve shillings six. Coffee and chocolate seem to have been in greater demand. Oat meal, doled out by the quart, was sold occasionally. In one instance, Capt. John Baker bought a barrel of flour for £13-11-0 O. T. Figs and currants served for dainties.

His counters groaned under their weight of dress fabrics. The age of ready made clothing was just at hand, as is evident from Capt. Thomas Staniford's purchase of a "great coat ready made" for £27-19-3. He was the master of the schooner "Saunders" and the exigency of an unexpected voyage may have required a sudden purchase. Invariably the town tailors made men's clothing and when a winter coat or a fine Sunday suit was needed, the whole pattern of goods, with trimmings, buttons, silk and thread, was selected at the store. Fine and costly fabrics, in bright and splendid colors, were in constant demand. Capt. John Farley, the tanner, had two and a half yards of broadcloth, and a like quantity of scarlet shalloon. Michael Farley bought for his wear, 3 yards dark ratteen at 52 shillings six pence a yard, scarlet shalloon and a nail and a half of velvet. Capt. Moses Wells of Argilla had 5 yards of claret beaver coating. Rev. Jedediah Jewett ordered 13 yards of crimson callimanco, at a cost of £10-8-0, 3 yards black broad cloth for £22-10-0, 3½ yards of checked drugget and a yard and a half of quattely. Dr. Calef bought crimson tammy, white tammy and a pair of small green shoes. Capt. Charles Smith had 2 yards of padusoy, some crimson baize and pair of callimanco shoes which cost £2. Edward Kneeland, the school master is credited with 7 yards of drawboy and 4½ yards of anteloon.

David Andrews bought a scarlet cap and Purchase Jewett a green cap. Joseph Fowler allowed himself the luxury of a Bengal gown. Elizabeth Hovey purchased a "patch chintz" at the extravagant figure of £19 and Abraham Howe, the Linebrook farmer, ordered a suit of curtains at an ex-

pense of £35. Calico, striped holland, bearskin, kersey, capuchin silk, alamode, sagatha, green cambleteen, everlasting, dowlas, striped camblet, tabaret, Bilboa and Barcelona handkerchiefs, Irish linen, yard wide at 30/ and linen handkerchiefs, diaper and cambric, thickset, mohair, serge and buckram, all found place on his shelves. Pink, green and brown brolio, apron check, fine and coarse fustian, Damascus for waistcoats at 45/ per yard, plain and masqueraded Bengal, black, brown and green Persian were in stock. English lace, too, found a market, though the lace pillow was found in every household and many beautiful patterns were wrought.

When death came, there was need of mourning apparel. The widow Ann Boardman required a lawn handkerchief, which cost £2, bombazeen, fringe and lawn. Andrew Burley provided 9 pair men's white gloves and 5 pair men's black gloves, presumably for his wife's funeral. Isaac Woodbury of the Hamlet ordered two black handkerchiefs and a dozen long pipes.

For sickness in the family, Mr. Jewett carried a large supply of drugs and medicines, Stoughton's Elixir, Turlinton Balsam of Life, Bateman's Drops, and the familiar snake-root and senna, Spanish flies for blisters and blistering salve, spirits of lavender for head-ache, syrup of marsh mallows and camomile flowers. A note in the margin recommends "camamile flowers good bracer after a vomit, choice tea for breakfast."

China and the cheaper earthen ware, tin and pewter, tea kettles and great brass kettles, which hung in every fire place and retailed at £15, 8s, hardware of every sort, nails, hinges, locks, guns, powder, shot and flints, writing paper, slates and pencils, Bibles and other books, spectacles and half hour glasses, awaited purchasers. Col. Rogers bought a chafing dish for £35.

Much of this extensive trade was for barter. Jeremiah

Smith had a case of knives to be paid for in wood, and Thomas Perley of Boxford bargained for cloth, to be paid for in oak bark. Mager Gould made coat and breeches for little Dummer and took his pay in goods. The cordwainer's account for making and mending shoes for the family was paid in similar fashion.

Col. Samuel Rogers brought in quantities of the fragrant bay berry tallow, $17\frac{3}{4}$ pounds at one time. Mr. Jewett bought all the flax-seed which the farmers offered and as it was bought in lots of four, six and even eight bushels, it is evident that the raising of flax and the production of linen was an important industry. In the fall of 1760, he bought a full hundred bushels of flax seed. A large part of this was sold to a Mr. Gibbons, an Irishman, on Nov. 12th, 5 hogsheads, containing $37\frac{1}{2}$ bushels at 35 shillings and 5 hogsheads at 30 shillings a bushel, a total charge of £73-2-6, under which the thrifty tradesman entered.

now due to me, but question whether shall ever get it, except he proves an honest Irish man, which is doubtful.

A week later he entered,

The Fellow has gone into y^e Southern Goverments a peddling as that is his professed business.

Honey, beef, mutton, hides, hay, apples, potatoes, butter and cheese were credited to his customers. He dealt in lumber, shingles and laths, and provided white lead and oil for painting the meeting house of the First Parish in July, 1764. In June, 1760, he acted as the Ipswich agent in selling twenty-one tickets in the Newbury lottery at two dollars apiece. His horse was hired out to any patron who needed to travel to Boston or elsewhere. If a deed must be recorded, it was left with him. John Choate brought his axes to be sold, if possible, and ordered a sea-

coat to be bought in Boston, for which he deposited seven dollars. Another tradesman left a pair of leather breeches to await sale.

But the trade in rum was perhaps the largest item in his business and it must have involved a large force of clerks to attend to the throng of customers who came daily for their portion. The Colony Law required an account of purchases and sales and Mr. Jewett's book reveals his purchase of 14 barrels of rum in 1761, 19 barrels in 1762 and at least 50 barrels in 1763. A considerable portion of this was sold in bulk to the various inn-keepers, much of it was shipped to Virginia in the trading schooner, "Saunders," in which Mr. Jewett owned an interest, but a great quantity remained, which was sold over the counter. The ministers and doctors, his own honored mother, and nearly all the town's folk seem to have had credit on his books. Their purchases were moderate in the main, but there were many who needed their daily dram. The account of one citizen for rum alone was £52 for eight months, the equivalent of 35 gallons, bought in two quart portions. His account contained but one item of liquor of another sort, a small amount of brandy. New England rum and that alone, seems to have been the universal beverage of the Town.

This busy man of affairs came from Newbury and married Mary Staniford, Dec. 12, 1754. He formed a partnership with Major Samuel Epes, who died June 30, 1761. Mr. Jewett died on Oct. 26, 1788, at the age of fifty-seven, and his son, Richard Dummer succeeded him in the business. His son, Israel Kinsman Jewett followed him, and Israel Kinsman Jewett, Junior, of the fourth successive generation, was associated with his father, and succeeded him in the business.

But Mr. Jewett did not enjoy a monopoly of trade, and some of his competitors resorted to advertising in the Essex Gazette, the Salem weekly newspaper, which undoubtedly

circulated in Ipswich, to promote their business. The earliest which has come to our notice is the following, which appeared on April 28, 1772.

Imported in the last ships from London and to be sold by
Joseph Gowen

At his Apothecary SHOP in *Ipswich*.

A general Assortment of
DRUGS and MEDICINES

and the most famous PATENTED MEDICINES all just imported.

Among which are

Dr. Hills Balsam Honey for Consumptions.	British Oyl
Dr. James's Fever Powders	Dr. Scott's Powder for the Teeth
Dr. Stoughton's Bitters or the great Cordial Elixir for the stomach.	Dr. Story's worm-destroying Cakes
Dr. Bateman's Drops	Dr. Baker's Seaman's Balsam
Walter Lake's Health-restoring Pill	The celebrated Volatile Essence for the Head
The famous Anodyne Necklace recommended by Dr. Chamberlain for the easy breeding of Children's Teeth. Children on the very brink of the Grave and thought past all Recovery with their Teeth have almost miraculously recovered after having wore the famous Anodyn Necklace only a few days.	Mary Banister's Golden Treacle.
A Mother then, would never forgive herself, whose Child should die for Want of so easy a Remedy for its Teeth	Swinson's Electuary for the Stone and Gravel.
	British Herb Snuff for the Head.
	Curwin's Issue Plaisters (to stick without filleting)
	Lady's Court Plaister
	Dr. Godfrey's Cordial
	Chase's Asthmatick Pills
	Dr. Anderson's Pills
	Hooper's Female Pills
	Frances's Female Elixir.
	Alum, Copperas, Brimstone
	Redwood, Logwood, Cinnamon, Mace, Cloves, Nutmegs etc.

Also Raisins, Currants, Prunes, Salt-Petre, Sugar Candy and Barley Sugar.

Those who please to favour him with their Custom may depend on the best Usage.

Ezekiel Dodge followed the example set by the Apothecary and inserted his advertisement in the issue of May 19, 1772.

Imported in the last Ships from London and to be sold by
EZEKIEL DODGE
 at his shop in IPSWICH

A good Assortment of English and India Goods, suitable for the Season. Also glass, stone, delf iron and tin Ware, Nails and 7 by 9 Window Glass etc. all which will be sold by Retail on so reasonable Terms as will undoubtedly give the most ample Satisfaction to the Purchasers. N. B. Constant Attendance will be given from 6 o'clock in the Morning till 9 at Night and the least Favours gratefully acknowledged. Said Dodge has to sell a very likely Negro Girl of about 16 years of Age.

Mr. Dodge varied his announcement on June 8, 1773, when he styled himself Vendue-Master, (auctioneer), and gave notice that all kinds of goods, old or new, would be taken in for sale, at his auction-room "a little to the northward of Rev. Mr. Nathaniel Roger's meeting house" "where he has for private sale a valuable assortment of English, West India and Hardware Goods, uncommon cheap"

It would seem that one apothecary shop, coupled with Mr. Jewett's shelf of nostrums, might have sufficed for the town, but another citizen thought he saw room for himself and advertised on May 4th, 1773:

Just opened
 an Apothecary Shop
 in Ipswich,
 near the Sign of Grapes, in the house of
 Mr. Isaac Dodge, and
 To be sold by
 Josiah Lord
 a general assortment of Drugs, Medicines
 and Groceries.

Choice new rice, Surinam and Island molasses, cocoa, coffee, cotton of a superior quality, etc. were offered by John Winthrop Jr. at Ipswich and Stephen Bruce at his store, King St., Boston, in May, 1776.

Dr. Joseph Manning and his son, Dr. John, Dr. Wallis Rust, Dr. Josiah Smith and Dr. John Calef practised their honorable and useful profession. The cure-all for every ailment was bleeding and in earlier days, the barber or "barber-surgeon," was the physician's competitor, and tradition has it that the striped barber's pole in red and white was suggested by the stream of blood flowing over the white limb. Blisters and poultices and home remedies, curious and wonderful, were applied by the mothers and grandmothers, but for severe sickness, for the pulling of refractory teeth, for the simple surgery of the time, the physician was summoned. The "great white plague," consumption, made its dreadful inroads upon the young and the doctor was powerless to check its ravages. Priscilla, the daughter of John Appleton, died on Sept 17, 1748, "being the Last of Seven Daughters Dying with a Consumption within the Space of three years."

There was a wordy battle between two Boston doctors in the Evening Post of 1767 and 1768, one accusing the other of being a "cloaked murderer," because he had drawn twelve ounces of blood from a woman far gone in consumption, which was followed by the patient's death in a few days. But there may have been similar practices in vogue here in Ipswich. Fevers were treated by confining the sufferer in a close room, and withholding even a drop of cold water to relieve the parched throat. Scarlet fever and measles, mumps and whooping cough were allowed to spread through families and neighborhoods, as necessary evils that were better suffered in childhood, with no thought of isolation or of prevention. Nevertheless the physician of the olden time was a large figure in the community, and he held a place

of honor and affection in the family, second only to the minister. His charges were moderate and his daily round was largely as good Samaritan and sympathetic friend.

A communication was printed in the *Boston Evening Post*, on February 15, 1768, addressed "To the Public Fathers" and signed "A Friend to Learning." The writer was a physician in a "considerable town," which he does not mention, and he made just complaint of the quacks and mountebanks, who were allowed to pose as doctors and of the slight appreciation in which the educated physician was held. There is a touch of the pathetic in the tale, this kindly man tells of his experiences.

If I go to a patient one mile, I charge 8d. the advice, bleeding or vomiting, 8d. more. The time generally taken up in this service in the winter is about half a day, people being unwilling a Doctor should come away without some little stay; sometimes no medicine is left, so that get only 8^d for my forenoon's service. Common laborers at this time of year have 1/8^d and seldom work above six hours. My shoemaker charges me 3^s. for small children's shoes, and 8^d more for boys of six years old; two pair of which he easily makes in a day; the leather for such being trifling. My blacksmith charges me 5 s. for shoeing my horse, and I have paid 3^s for his foreman's service in altering my iron by a charcoal fire. The tavern-keeper, four or three pence at least for New England: a gallon of which cost them 1/6^d so that they gain upwards of £10 per barrel, inclusive of retailing and leakage, higher than Doctors sell spirits of wine camphorated: and for cash in hands without taking notes or booking.

I was called in to'ther day to bleed my shoemaker's wife; I desired him to mend my boot the whilst. I charged him 8^d, he charged me 1^s. so that I imagine his ends and wax were tho't to be more valuable than the wear of my lancet. Hundreds of such instances might be offered to demonstrate the valuableness of learning is sinking into obscurity, and

that if any one designs to live nowadays, he must metamorphoze himself into a tradesman.

In addition to the cheapness of the physician's charges, this worthy man laments that he is frequently obliged to wait for settlement five or six years, "or forever, as is often the case."

It was a true picture no doubt of our Ipswich doctors, travelling the long and lonely roads, their saddle bags filled with their medicines, facing rain and snow and nipping cold, by day and by night, for small and long delayed fees and with many rasping experiences of unregenerate human nature.

Of the lesser and lighter things that had a part in the mid-century every day life, the family chit-chat, the sports and games and amusements that undoubtedly relieved the routine of work and care, we have little knowledge. There was the great Thanksgiving day, with its feasting and merry-making, and Guy Fawkes day, November 5th, the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, was celebrated in riotous fashion. There was firing of guns and in Boston, there was an exhibition of "pageantry," with figures representing the Pope and the Devil, attesting abhorrence of Popery and the horrible plot. Royal birth-days and the advent of an infant prince or princess were celebrated in Boston with ringing of bells and bonfires and the saluting by the great guns at the Castle. The distant booming heard distinctly when the wind was fair, may have roused patriotic enthusiasm in Ipswich.

Gossip and scandal had free play and there was a love of the marvellous and easy belief of the most incredible things, which gave spice to many quiet lives and secluded homes. A half century only had elapsed since the dreadful witch-craft delusion had carried away many of the wisest and strongest. Omens and portents and prodigies were much

in evidence. The newspapers of the mid-century give us glimpses now and then of the tales that were circulated and credited.

The following affair, which lately happened at Danvers in the County of Essex is related at a Fact. As three children were sitting at a Door of a House an Adder came from a Pond that was about twenty Rods distant, and seized the Hand of one of the Children about two Years old, and swallowed it as far as the Wrist, and immediately twisted its Tail round the Child's Legs; upon which the other two Children ran into the House affrighted, where were two or three Women, who ran to the Door and discovered the Child in the above Condition, when one of the Women, squeez'd the Throat of the Adder, by which the Child was cleared. The Woman carried the Child into the House, when the Adder chased her round the Room several Times, but being disappointed of its Food, turned about and bit itself, swelled to a considerable Degree and died. The Child was not poisoned nor did it receive any harm.⁵

This Laocoon marvel was paralleled by a story which the editor of the Boston Evening Post admitted to its columns on December 31, 1764.

That a Man near Albany contrary to the Advice and Entreaties of his Friends lately went out to Work in his Field on the Lord's Day with a Pair of Oxen and were all turned into Statues, where it is said they remain immoveably fixed as Examples of God's Judgment against Sabbath Breakers.

This prodigy was so near akin to the instant transformation of Lot's wife into a pillar of salt, that it might have been readily accepted by devout folk. The same editor published on May 25, 1767 "a phenomenon which was vouched for by several witnesses of undoubted Veracity."

A woman at Walpole made two loaves of bread "consisting

⁵ The Boston Gazette, June 7, 1762.

wholly of Indian meal mixed with clear water." When taken out of the oven, one loaf was blood red, except a white streak in the middle, the other was of the proper color. except a red streak.

An editorial note is appended in parenthesis.

(We have lately heard of several other very strange stories from the Country, but for want of more authentic Information, we shall defer publishing them for the present.)

Such were the strange tales that passed from mouth to mouth and there were dreams to be discussed, and dream books read on the sly and ghostly appearances to be told. And these old wives fables were not a whit more foolish than the story handed down to later generations of two old men of the Farley family of tanners on the South side, who prepared to slaughter a hog, but as the water in the great kettle did not come to a boil before the moon reached its full, they were unable to kill, because the pork would shrink on a waning moon.

CHAPTER XII

SCHOOLS AND SCHOOL-MASTERS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

The illustrious seventeenth century teachers, Lionel Chute, Ezekiel Cheever, Thomas Andrews, Noadiah Russell and Daniel Rogers are honored with deserved remembrance,¹ but the first teacher of a "dame-school" has long been forgotten, and only a chance record in the ancient Court Files² has preserved her name, and the long and supremely useful service, which she rendered to the second generation of little children.

Benedict Pulcifer, son of Benedict, had been led into mischief by two associates, brighter and more cunning than himself.³ He was nineteen years old, but his father begged the favor of the Court in May, 1682, as he had always been a boy of simple mind.

My son was of a very weak capacitie. (I pray God to give him more understanding) Therefore he might be easily enticed.

When I put him to the great Schoole dame viz. Goodwife Collens who was accounted above many for that facultie of Teaching Children to Read, to her my son went to schoole the space of four years, in which time he could not be brought by her to know his Letters, shee complaining she never amongst all that ever she Taught who kept Schoole (and did little else) for y^e space of above thirty years saw any so Dull learne, having in a manner no memory:

¹ See Ipswich in the Mass. Bay Colony, Vol. I, Chap. XII. The Grammar School and Harvard College.

² Court Files 37: 100. May, 1682.

³ Ipswich Histor. Society Pubs. XVIII: 51.

Then from her I putt him to scooll unto Mr. Andrewes who I thought would learne him if he were capable to Learn of any bodie, and with him he was the space of two years, but in all that time Mr. Andrewes could not bring him to learn any sense though to know some of his Letters which soon after he forgot, and when I asked Mr. Andrewes what he demanded for his pay, Teaching my son, he Answered that he had taken more pains than ordinary to Teach my son but he was not capable of learning and therefore was ashamed to ask anything, yet I satisfied him to his content.

Goodwife Collens well deserves a place in the honor roll of teachers, and we admire the inexhaustible patience and kindness of Thomas Andrews, who could turn from his bright lads, ready for College, to the simple Benedict, struggling hopelessly for two long years with the alphabet.

The school-house, built by Mr. Robert Paine in 1653 for the use of the Grammar School, near the corner of County Road and Linden Street, facing the School-House Green, as it was then called, continued in use for half a century. Mr. Ezekiel Cheever, the first school master, occupied the dwelling and taught the school until 1660, Mr. Andrews following him with twenty-three years of faithful service until 1683, Mr. Russell teaching from 1683 to 1686, and Mr. Rogers until 1715.

The Selectmen reported to the Town on Dec. 19, 1700, that several charges must be met, which included "about mending the school-house, £4, 16s," and in 1704, the need of a new building was apparent. From the beginning, the meeting-house had been the only public building. Town meetings and all other public gatherings had been held there. The increased size of the Town meetings, due to the natural growth of population, coupled possibly with the unwillingness to use the new meeting house for all public functions, rendered the building of a Town House advisable. The Courts of Justice had held their sittings in the tavern of

John Sparks, but there was evident demand for a more becoming and convenient Court-Room.

Accordingly the Town voted on May 11, 1704, to build a Town House, "with a school-house under it." The upper story provided a spacious Court Room, and the County shared the expense of the new structure. The ancient record book of the Feoffees contains the scarcely legible entry :

At a meeting of y^e Feoffees in y^e new school-house
Mr. Robert Payne in behalf of y^e Rest, having rece'd
school house from the Committee of the Town did in y^e
Name of the Rest deliver ye same to Mr. Daniel Rogers
the School master, desiring him to remove thither as soon
as he could with convenience

In July, 1702, permission had been given by the Town to the inhabitants of the Chebacco parish "to sett a school house upon some convenient place in the Common for y^e Encourageing of Learning among them." With this exception, there was no other school building in the whole township. Little children, however, and girls of any age, were not eligible for the Grammar School and there were "dame schools," or schools of like nature, taught in private houses in the various neighborhoods. Mr. Rogers resigned his position as school-master in 1715 and became a Justice of the Sessions Court. In his long period of service from 1687 to that date, he had fitted a fine group of promising lads for college, and had enjoyed the satisfaction year by year of seeing his pupils take their degrees at the Harvard Commencement and go forth into the broad world, to win for themselves positions of honor and usefulness.

During Mr. Rogers's tenure, the relations between the Town and the Feoffees of the Grammar School began to be strained. Although the Feoffees held the Paine bequests in trust, as the income of these funds did not suffice for the maintenance of the school, and the Town made direct ap-

propriations in its behalf, they did not have complete authority in the conduct of the school's affairs. As early as March 14, 1709-10, the Town voted

to give to Dan^l Rogers school mast^r Ten pounds in money in y^e next Town Rate to help him build a stone wall about y^e school orchard & Land upon Condition he be att y^e charge of all y^t it shall cost more & cause all y^e outside to be so fenced.

Making contribution to the Grammar School funds, the Town naturally claimed a voice in school affairs. It asserted itself very definitely in the vote passed on April 8, 1714:

Whereas y^e Committee which y^e Town chose to treat with y^e Feoffees of y^e Grammar school about setting up a free schoole in y^e Towne have had a meeting with sd Feoffees.

It was thought by us that y^e Town for this year should make an addition of twenty-five pounds to the present income which belongs to y^e School & that upon their soe doing a school-master should be chosen by a Committee appointed by y^e Town to joyn with the Feoffees of y^e School in teaching Grammar Scholars & also English scholars y^t have been entered y^e scholars to perfect y^m in y^r reading & to instruct y^m in writing & Cyphering.

And that the School shall for the year be absolutely free to all such schollars belonging to this Town. This was agreed upon by y^e Feoffees & y^e Comittee for y^e Town.

John Appleton
Jabez Fitch
Philemon Dean
Jonathan Wade
Daniel Ringe
Andrew Burley
John Rogers
Matthew Whipple
Samuel Appleton
Symon Wood
John Whipple
Nathaniel Lord.

This was accepted and adopted by the Town and it was also voted, "that the Watch house be improved this present summer by such a person as y^e Selectmen shall judge meet who will undertake also the teaching of young Childⁿ to read."

This is apparently the germ of the public school system, the Town in its corporate capacity through its Committee providing for the education of the children in reading and writing. The watch-house was near the meeting-house and as the peril of Indian attack no longer remained, it served the community very well, as a centrally located, albeit crude school room. In the following March, the use of the watch house for the ensuing summer was granted "to such woman, as will teach children to read and as in y^r prudence" the Selectmen shall appoint.

In Feb. 1715-6, a Committee of the Town was appointed to agree with the Feoffees in providing a school-master for the free school. Mr. Ebenezer Gay, a Harvard graduate in the class of 1714, was chosen, but he kept the school only one year. Thomas Norton, a native of the Town and a resident, Deacon of the First church in his later years, followed Mr. Gay with a similar short term. Benjamin Crocker, Harvard, 1713, was chosen master in 1717 and kept the school two years, but acted as school master for short intervals in after years, alternating with service as chaplain in the Louisbourg expedition and ministerial supply.

"For y^e encouragement of y^e Grammar School in y^e Town of Ipswich," it was voted on May 8, 1718,

That what y^e Income of y^e School by every child goeing to school who shall pay for y^r schooling att y^e rate of 20 sh. p^r schollar what that will faile of sixty pounds the Town will make up to y^e sum for y^e year ensueing.

A contention now arose between the Town and the Feoffees, the Town maintaining that "as respected the School farm and other lands granted by the town, no power was given

by the Town to their trustees to appoint successors in that trust for receiving and applying the rents, or of ordaining and directing the affairs of the school." On Nov. 5, 1719, the Town ordered "That the Selectmen with all convenient speed provide a School Master to make up y^e remainder of this p'sent year," and in the following February, as the tenants of the school-farm withheld their rents, on the ground that no legal provision was made for collecting them, a Committee of three was chosen to readjust the lease made with Mr. John Cogswell and the other tenants, and if no agreement could be made, to proceed to law. A month later, March 8, 1719-20, Rev. John Rogers and Rev. Jabez Fitch, ministers of the First Church, presented a Memorial to the Town, praying that the lease of the school-farm be not disturbed, but it found little favor and a minority pressed for a law suit with the tenants. The Town met again on June 6, 1720, and a Committee of three, John Wainwright Esq., Ensign George Hart and Mr. Thomas Boardman, were chosen to make new leases of the school lands for a term not exceeding twenty-one years. The Town voted, also, "that the Selectmen take the necessary care to bargain and agree with a Grammar School Master for the Towne for the year ensuing."

At a meeting of the Selectmen, June 20, 1720, Mr. Henry Wise accepted the offer the Selectmen made him for keeping the school for the year ensuing. Accordingly the Selectmen delivered the key of the school house, and he began to instruct the Grammar School forthwith. Mr. Wise was the son of Rev. John Wise of the Chebacco parish, a graduate of the Grammar School and of Harvard, in the class of 1717.

The Town thus assumed complete control of the Grammar School, and for twenty-seven years, there is no recorded act of the Feoffees. Further action was taken on Jan. 24, 1720-1, when the Town affirmed:

lest there should be any words wanting to express the Town's mind & meaning concerning the last mentioned Committee and their authority. It is farther Concluded agreed & Voted by this Town of Ipswich and the Town doth hereby Constitute, authorize, nominate and appoint the said John Wainwright Esq. Ens. George Hart & Mr. Thomas Boardman to be Trustees for the use of the Gramar School according to the authority reserved by the Town vote aforesaid of January 11th 1650. hereby also empowering & appointing the said Trustees to eject all or any persons in possession of school lands, etc.

Voted that the Town will not allow a School to be kept in the Town house & that the Selectmen have the immediate care of said house.

No record remains to inform us whether the school was obliged to seek a new habitation and where it was. The watch house was no longer regarded as a fit place for a school. The Alms house, a large log house, built in 1719, about 40 feet long, 16 feet wide and 6 feet high, near the Pound on Loney's Lane, was larger than its inmates needed, but the pride of the Town forbade the removal of its famous Grammar School thither. But when William Stone, a poor fisherman, sick and unable to earn an honest living, and unwilling to become a burden to the Town, petitioned for a disused room that he might keep a reading and writing school, the Town readily consented and granted him the use of the "westerly middle room" in 1725. Mr. Felt in his History of Ipswich, which was printed in 1834, states that the Grammar School had place in the Town House until 1794, and the remembrance of people then living would easily cover the intervening period of forty years.

Thomas Norton Jr., son of Deacon Thomas Norton, Harvard, 1725, was chosen teacher in June, 1729 with a salary of £55, and for the first time, the Town made provision for an official inspection of the school, voting:

that the Selectmen be also desired to take care and have

the more immediate Inspection of the School & see that it is duly & regularly kept and that the children be well instructed and taught.

He was chosen again in 1730, but there seems to have been a suspicion that he was not wholly fit for his task, as Daniel Appleton, Esq., Mr. Thomas Staniford and Mr. Jonathan Wade were appointed a Committee of inspection :

and if sd. Committee should be of opinion that the said school master does not attend and perform his duties, they are authorized to choose another and said Mr. Norton is dismissed, but if they find no default in the said school master's conduct for the first three months, then he is to continue for three months longer and so to continue for the year.

Whatever may have been his youthful indiscretion, Mr. Norton retrieved himself in the course of this critical year and was chosen annually until 1740.

Meanwhile the contention between the Town and the Feoffees and the tenants of the School Farm had been carried into Court, and in 1729 the Town received £100 from Gifford Cogswell "on acc't of charges at Law ab't the School Farm." Taking advantage apparently of this educational windfall, Adam Cogswell, Thomas Choate and Solomon Giddings of the Chebacco parish petitioned the Town in March, 1729-30, "that a sum of money be raised to enable remote parts of the Town to have school set up among themselves for the more convenient education of children." The Town voted £100, the precise sum received from the School farm tenants, to be distributed to the several parishes and neighborhoods in proportion to their share of the Province Tax, to pay for the support, in whole or part, of reading and writing schools. Accordingly there was paid to Henry Spillar, for the First or Town parish £41, to the Chebacco Committee £20, to the Hamlet Committee £20, to Mark

Howe of the Linebrook settlement £4-8-9, to Moses Davis for "his neighborhood," now known as the Village, £8-11-10, and to Dea. Fellows, for "his neighborhood," now known as Candlewood, £2-4-0.

An appropriation of £50 for reading and writing schoolmasters was made in 1730-1, and the next year, John Smith and others of "Little Chebacco," as the Argilla neighborhood was often called, petitioned for their part of the remainder of the £100 unappropriated, £5-15-5, as well as part of the £50 for a school in their neighborhood. Their petition was negatived, but their appeal seems to have been regarded a few years later, when an appropriation was made for those portions of the First Parish least benefitted by the Grammar School, to enable them to keep a school among themselves. Henry Spillar was allowed the use of a room at the southerly end of the almshouse in May, 1732, that he might teach the youths reading, writing and ciphering. He received the same favor the following year, with a grant of £15 in consideration of his age and the destitute condition of his family.

In 1734, the Town voted:

that the Reverend Elders or Ministers of the town be desired to make a visit once a quarter to the Grammar school & inquire into the proceedings of the School Master, and of his instructing & educating the youth, and that our honoured Judges, Col^o Wainwright & Col. Berry be desired to assist in this affair.

The School Committee was now a well established addition to the Town officials, and the most prominent citizens found place from year to year on this dignified Board. The Hamlet parish petitioned for a portion of the income of the Grammar School for the establishment of a school in 1738, and on March 4, 1739-40, the school appropriation was increased to £150, inclusive of school rents, for the Grammar

School and the reading and writing school, and it was divided between the three parishes. Notwithstanding this zeal for her schools, the Selectmen were authorized by the Town in April, 1739, to answer to the Court of General Sessions to a bill of presentment found against the Town "for not keeping a reading & writing school." In May, 1742, a further division of the school funds was made "to those parts of the first parish in Ipswich that have lest [least] benefit of the Grammar School to enable them to keep a school among themselves."

Mr. Daniel Staniford, Harvard, 1738, succeeded Mr. Norton as teacher, and kept the school five years. Upon the completion of his term, Benjamin Crocker was again chosen and served continuously from March 4, 1745-6 to March 6, 1753, when John Dennis was chosen. He was a Harvard graduate of 1730, and had served as chaplain at Fort St. George and Fort Frederick from Sept. 1737 to March, 1749.

At the March meeting of 1753, the Feoffees were again in evidence. Although the rent of the school lands had been included for many years in the salary of the Grammar School master, it would seem that the rents had not been paid, and now it was voted by the Town, "that the Feoffees in conjunction with the Selectmen be impowered to proceed in recovering school rents." Col. Berry, on behalf of the Feoffees, addressed a Petition to the General Court. It resulted in the passage of an Act "for regulating the Grammar School in Ipswich and for the incorporating certain persons to manage and direct the same."

Reciting the story of the various bequests and Town grants and the existing doubt as to the power of the Town or the Feoffees to compel the payment of rents, the Act incorporated Thomas Berry, Daniel Appleton, Samuel Rogers, Esq. and Benjamin Crocker, the surviving Feoffees and Francis Choate, Esq., Capt. Nathaniel Treadwell and Mr.

John Patch, Jr., three of the present Selectmen, joint Feoffees, with full power to lease lands, recover rents, appoint Grammar School masters and agree for their salaries, etc. This Act was limited to ten years from March 1, 1756. Before this term expired, a new Act, identical except in the persons named, was passed, limited to twenty years from March, 1766, and in 1787 it was made perpetual.

Mr. Samuel Wigglesworth, Jr., son of the Rev. Mr. Wigglesworth of the Hamlet parish, Harvard, 1752, had been elected school-master by the Town in May, 1755, and he kept the school until 1759. A reading and writing school master was also employed by the Town, keeping his school in the Chebacco parish three months and a fortnight, in the Hamlet the same period, in the West parish, now known as Linebrook, two months, and the other three months in the two Town parishes.

In March, 1760, William Brown and others of the South Eighth district, now known as Candlewood, made their appeal for a school, which was referred to the two Town parishes for adjustment. In March, 1761, in response to the petition of Lieut. Daniel Giddings and others of the Chebacco parish, twenty feet near the Lime Kiln was granted as a site for a school house.

Benjamin Crocker succeeded Mr. Wigglesworth in the years 1759 and 1760, and in 1761, Joseph Howe, son of Increase Howe, the tavern-keeper, a Harvard graduate in the class of 1758, became the school-master. He had married Elizabeth, daughter of Col. Thos. Berry, Jan. 9, 1759. The bride died in May of the same year in her twenty-second year. Mr. Howe died in March, 1702. His frail health, presumably prevented his teaching longer than a single year.

Daniel Noyes from the Byfield parish, of the Harvard class of 1758, came to Ipswich to teach the school in 1762 and continued at his task until 1773. He married Sarah, daughter of Capt. John Boardman, in 1763. During his

long public career, he served the Town in many capacities, as Postmaster, Register of Probate nearly forty years, a member of the Committee of Correspondence and Inspection in the Revolution and Representative to the Provincial Congress and General Court. He lived in the house, much changed from successive remodellings, on the corner of Central and Market Streets, now owned by Mr. Moritz B. Philipp.

Mr. Noyes was chosen by the Town as its reading and writing school master for several years and in 1769, the Town voted that the person chosen by the Feoffees as Grammar School master should be the master of the reading and writing school. In 1783 there was a demand for longer terms of the reading and writing schools and provision was made for one school, to be kept the whole year in the Chebacco, Hamlet and Linebrook parishes and the other in the First and South parishes with accommodation for the children in the "Village."

The system of "district schools," as they were called was now definitely established. In each district, the lines of which were accurately determined, all the tax payers constituted a kind of corporation, which had a regular organization, provided the school-house at its own expense, appointed the teachers, and drew from the Town treasury for the support of the school an amount proportioned to the taxable property in the district. All the children of the district, except those whose age and attainments permitted them to attend the Grammar School, went to this "deestric school," from little tots four and five years old to young men and women in their teens. Of these ancient schools, only scant records remain.

A few fragmentary records of the "Proprietors of the School-house," and incidental allusions in the Shatswell account books, afford valuable information regarding the neighborhood, which centers about the Paine school-house.

The earliest allusion is in 1750, "reckoned with widow Hannah Nason about schooling." The widow Foster was school-mistress in 1758, and the widow Fulliton in 1766. The Proprietors Record contains brief notes of the meetings of the Proprietors, which were organized with choice of a Moderator and Committee to hire the teacher and agree on the salary.

On June 16, 1767, they voted to hire Mrs. Fullington for five months and to pay her forty pounds, old tenor. On January 25, 1768, it was voted,

That we hire a mistress to keep the school nine months & the school to begin to be kept the first day of March next.

That we give Mrs. Wells £60 for keeping the school nine months.

Apparently the wood for the fire was provided by the parents, and in case of a refusal to find the wood, "the Committee are ordered to dismiss the schollar from the School."

The widow Mary Heard was employed one year, and a scrap of record contains the vote, the year not mentioned: "they that send children to Sowe to pay her Sixpence a week more than the Proportion of Sixty Pounds O. T." No record remains of the years, 1772 to 1785, but John Hart was teaching a portion of the time. His account with Mr. Richard Shatswell is an amusing revelation of the school methods of the time. He may have kept account with every other parent in the same fashion.

Mr. Richard Setshwell to John Hart, D ^r .		
1776 Nov. 19 To Johns part of Charcoal/2 ^d		0- 0- 2
22 ^d To Schooling Hannah between y ^e 11 Day		
of June & 22 ^d of oct ^r . 4 months 8 Days		0- 7- 8
1777 April 5 To Schooling Natha ^l from feb ^r 24 th /		
5 weeks		0- 5- 0
1776 Dec ^r 18. To Schooling John to Read and write		
month		4- 0

SCHOOLS AND SCHOOL-MASTERS OF 18TH CENTURY. 287

1777 Septm ^r 10. To Schooling Hannah 3 months	8- 0
1778 May 5 th To Schooling John from Jan ^r . 5 four months @ 6/	1- 4- 0
28 th To Ditto moses 4 months 23 Days @ 6/	1- 8- 6
1779 Jn ^r 23 ^d To Schooling your Two Boys T write and Read from Nov ^r 30 1 month & 23 Days	5- 8- 9
	<hr/>
	9- 5- 1
Sup. C ^r 1776 Decem ^r 11	
By 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. fowls @ 3/6 old Ten ^r $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. Hogs fatt $\frac{1}{8}$ 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ old Ten ^r in Lawful money	0- 1- 2
1777 July 15 th By $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. Butter /6 ^d	0- 6
1778. Jan ^r 26. By Cash 6/. . . . 6/ 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. mutton @ 1/6	1- 1- 5
March 12. By foot wood 12/ June 15 1 lb. Butter 4/	-16-
1779 Jan. 9. By $\frac{1}{2}$ foot walnut wood 12/	0-12- 0
23 By 1 weeks absence of John & Moses at School @ 7/6 each	15- 0
April 1. By cash 4/	4- 0
	<hr/>
	3-10- 1
	<hr/>
	9- 5- 1
	3-10- 1
	<hr/>
	5-15- 0
Decem. 1 th 1772 To Schooling John from July 19.	
19 weeks @ /6	9- 6
	<hr/>
	6- 4- 6
1772. Jan. 3. By halling Load of wood from Nath ^l Lords /8 ^d	0- 0- 8
Agust 6. By $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. pork /3 $\frac{1}{4}$ (17) pack Barley /10 $\frac{3}{4}$	1- 2
Octo 20. By 3 lb. Lamb @ /2	6
Decem ^r 1. By your part School house Rent	1- 7 3-11
	<hr/>
	£6- 0- 7

The pedagogue's shortcomings in spelling may be dealt with leniently, as the most learned took large liberties at this period, but his jumbling of dates and his error of a shilling in his first addition, £9-5-1, for £9-6-1 may have discredited him with the canny merchant.

Under the year 1780, a page contains the original Proprietors of the School House.

Daniel Lummus	Benj ⁿ Kimball
Jeremiah Lord Jr.	Nath ⁿ Lord Hatter
Richard Shatswell Jr.	Joseph Fowler
Moses Lord	Daniel Rindge
Philip Lord	Jeremiah Kimball
Nath ⁿ Lord	Thomas Smith
Nath ^l Kimball	William Baker
	Aaron Day

John & Jeames Lord Bought Lummus right John Coles Jewett Bought Smith right

Edward Kneeland, school-master, is mentioned in Dummer Jewett's accounts, 1757-1764, John Caldwell 4th is called school-master, in a deed of the year 1787. They may have taught their own private schools or the district schools. A subscription paper, now in the possession of the Ipswich Historical Society, was circulated in May, 1784, to secure funds for a new school building, near the Town House, which then occupied the triangular lot in front of the Methodist meeting-house. Gen. Michael Farley's name headed the long list of subscribers, with a gift of £3. Nearly a hundred citizens contributed cash or labor, timber, bricks and stone, amounting to more than £80 in money and £8 in labor and materials.

On the petition of Gen. Farley and others the Town granted a lot 26 feet by 36 feet for a school house, "near Mr. Joseph Fowler's barn," in June, 1784. An ancient school building, which occupied the same site as the present Deni-

son school-house, is still remembered by our oldest citizens. This is undoubtedly the building erected at this time.

In 1792, a Committee of eleven was chosen to visit the Town schools, a committee of seven for Chebacco and of nine for the Hamlet; also a smaller Committee for Linebrook, Lieut. Nathaniel Appleton and Barnabas Dodge for the Appleton district, Capt. Moses Jewett and Daniel Nourse for the Village, Timothy Bragg and Lieut. Nehemiah Brown for Candlewood, John Patch Esq. and Capt. Adam Smith for Argilla. The Committee of eleven was composed of the most conspicuous citizens: Rev. Mr. Dana of the South Church and Mr. Frisbie of the First, Col. Nathaniel Wade, Capt. Ephraim Kendall, Daniel Noyes Esq., Mr. Samuel Sawyer, Capt. Thomas Dodge, Dea. John Crocker, Mr. John Heard, Dr. John Manning and Capt. Daniel Rogers. The Town had instructed the various Committees to meet and draw up articles of Regulation for the schools. This imposing Committee made an elaborate and valuable deliverance in its report to the Town.

They have contemplated a few things in which they suppose they have the concurrence of the Trustees of the Grammar School and which with all deference they submit:

1. That a line of division between the two schools, accompanied with some proper arrangements, would probably save time and contribute to the advancement of learning in both.

2. That for the present those go with the Latin scholars to the Grammar school who study English grammar, those who are to be taught book-keeping and after them the foremost in reading & spelling untill the number in the Grammar School shall rise to a 3^d part of y^e whole existing number in both.

3. That to read well in the Bible & spell well should be necessary qualifications for entering as students in English grammar.

4. That in order to being taught book-keeping, the pupil must have gone thro the four first rules of Arithmetic:

simple & compound Reduction in both parts, the Rules of Proportions direct, inverse, & compound and the rules of practise.

5. That the master of the English school attend upon all in Arithmetic, except the Latin scholars and those in book-keeping as aforesaid.

6. That in both schools, the Catechism of the Assembly of Divines with Doct^r Watts's Explanatory Notes and the Catechisms by the same author be constantly used as much as 3 or 4 times a week according to the different grades of the Scholars, until the same be committed to Memory.

7. That from the beginning of Apr^l to the first of Sept^r the schools be kept from 8 in the morning until 12 & from 2 P. M. to 5 & that they be kept on Thursday afternoons excepting Lecture Days.

So the children had a strenuous five months, at least, for their wrestling with the three R's, book-keeping and English grammar, the Latin and Greek in the Grammar School, the frequent and diligently repeated exercises in the Bible and the Catechism, the school sessions occupying seven hours a day and six days a week, save the afternoon of the "Thursday lecture," to which they were obliged to go.

Resuming the survey of the Grammar School, Mr. Daniel Noyes was succeeded as school-master by Thomas Burnham, a Harvard graduate of 1772, in the year 1774. Mr. Burnham taught five years, then entered the Revolutionary army and attained the rank of Major, and resumed his school duties in 1786. The school was taught in 1779 by Nathaniel Dodge, son of Col. Isaac Dodge, one of the most prominent citizens. He had been graduated at Harvard in 1777. He taught another year in 1784, and then turned actively to his large business affairs. In 1780, Mr. Noyes returned to the school for a year: Jacob Kimball of the Harvard class of 1780 served as teacher in 1781; Rev. John Treadwell was School-master from 1783 to 1785. He was born on the Island farm,⁴ was graduated from Harvard, 1758, was

⁴ Publications of Histor. Society, No. XVIII, p. 34.

ordained minister of the First Congregational Church, Lynn, 1763. Resigning his pastorate in 1782, he returned to his native town, but after teaching two years and serving as Representative two years, 1785 and 1786, he removed to Salem and engaged in the practise of law, and became a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas.

Major Burnham resumed his old position in 1786 and continued to teach for five years, when young Daniel Dana, son of Dr. Joseph Dana of the South Church, a graduate of Dartmouth College in 1788, taught for a single year in 1792. He entered the ministry, was President of Dartmouth College for a year, when his health failed. Resuming his profession, he spent many years in the pastorate of the Presbyterian church in Newburyport. His brother, Joseph, his class mate in Dartmouth, followed him as teacher of the school in 1793. He became a Professor in an Ohio college.⁵

The Grammar School, as has been said was kept in the lower story of the Town House on Meeting House Hill from 1704. In 1794, largely by the help of a public subscription, a new school-house was built in the school-orchard, on the corner of County Road and Argilla Road, and the school returned nearly to its original location.

The brilliant Joseph McKean, Harvard, 1794, kept the school from 1794 to 1796, the first of the long line of teachers, who have taught in the ancient hip roofed structure.⁶ He was studying divinity with Dr. Dana, and settled as pastor in Milton, Mass, but became Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory in Harvard. Dr. Dana's third son, Samuel, Harvard, 1796, taught from 1797 to 1800, while fitting himself for the ministerial profession. He was Pastor of the Congregational church in Marblehead for many years.

⁵ See Augustine Heard and his Friends. Pub. of Ipswich Histor. Society, No. XXI, pp. 5, 6.

⁶ Now used as a barn by the Lathrop Brothers. It was removed to its present location in 1835.

During Samuel Dana's tenure of office complaint was made that boys not resident in Ipswich were attending the school, and evidently Dr. Joseph Dana, was one of the offending parties. He addressed to the Moderator of the Town Meeting on March 27th, 1798, a written defence, and a justification of the policy of admitting such students to the school. He remarked that a "handsome edifice" had been "just built by subscription," and claimed that the few non-resident scholars were a benefit to the school.

It is an agreeable circumstance that 2 of our latin scholars go into classes with children of the town. A third, who has no class-mate in Latin, always recites at home. The 2 others go into reading classes and write. There is then the trouble of 2 writing constantly; 3 more by spells—a little Arithmetic, and but a little, because 2 who occasionally practise in it, are for the most part overlooked out of school. . . . Losing the stimulus and help which some of them give would be a real loss. And on a moderate reckoning, the hours out of school, which the Master has devoted this year and the last to ruling books, setting copies and sums, for such a number of writers and cypherers belonging to the school (which he is not obliged to do), are an ample equivalent for the extra time spent upon these children: for which, nevertheless, they pay and very cheerfully, whatever is required of them.

Dr. Dana's letter reveals the decadent condition of the ancient school. The Town's people were dissatisfied with it and bright boys like Daniel Treadwell, the future Harvard Professor, were sent to school in other towns. The teachers were capable and often brilliant, but their tenure was brief and continuity of work was impossible.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE BREACH WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

The increased determination of the mother country to impose restrictive regulations upon the commerce of the Colonies and to enforce them by Writs of Assistance caused universal resentment. The culminating affront, however, was the passage of the "Stamp Act" in March, 1765, which required that legal documents and official papers should be written on stamped paper and that stamps should be affixed to printed books and newspapers. The cost of the stamps was insignificant, but the principle involved was subversive of the liberty of the Colonists. The tax had been imposed by Parliament. As the Colonists had no representatives in that body, this was taxation without representation, and such taxation was tyranny. Intense popular excitement followed. The Virginia Assembly made spirited protest. Riots occurred as soon as the names of the stamp distributors were known. In Boston, the house of Lieut. Gov. Hutchinson was wrecked and custom officials were mobbed.

A Town meeting assembled in Ipswich on October 21st to consider the situation. There had been much previous discussion, no doubt, by the citizens, when they met on lecture days and market days, and in quiet groups in their homes. Some representative citizen, Daniel Noyes, the school-master, perhaps, or Francis Choate, had prepared an elaborate document, which was read and adopted by the assembly of citizens. It took the form of Instructions to Dr. John Calef, the Representative in General Court.

In formal phrase, it recited the principle:

That as our subordination to our Mother Country has its foundation intirely In our Charter, you are strenuously tho Decently to maintain that any Measure not Consistent with those Charters, & that Deprives of any Right in them is Neither Consistent with such Subordination Nor Implied in it.

When our Fathers Left their Native Country they came of their Own accord and att y^r own Expense and took possession of a country they were obliged to Buy or Fight for and to which the Nation had no more Right then the Moon.

The Charter, it affirmed, was "the only Reward the Pro^v ever had for Purchasing att an Infinite Expense of their Own Blood & Treasure their Large Part of New Accession of Empire Wealth & Glory to the British Nation." "The Distressing and Ruining Measures" lately adopted, it further declared, were destructive of their right of self-government, which the Charter secured and which the mother land had tacitly acknowledged for many years.

When the first of November arrived, the date set for the operation of the Stamp Act, not a stamp could be bought, and the Act could not be enforced. This odious measure was repealed in 1766, but in 1767, the Townshend Acts, so called, were passed, one of which provided for a tax on wine, glass, tea, gloves, &c, inported into the Province.

Dr. Calef was a practising physician and a prominent citizen, but in the political ferment of the time he failed to satisfy his constituents. In the following year, Capt. Michael Farley was chosen Representative. He was already in middle life, six years older than Dr. Calef, a tanner by trade, and an officer in the militia. He had never before attained the dignity of high political office, though he was a man of forceful personality and unusual ability. From the year 1766, however, he was constantly in public life. He had married Elizabeth Choate, daughter of Captain Robert Choate, Feb. 5: 1746, and their thirteenth child, Sarah, was born July 16, 1769.

During his first year of service in the General Court, the British government demanded damage for the destruction of property by the riot roused by the Stamp Act. The Town instructed him at a Town meeting on August 18, 1766, to use his influence to prevent any money being paid out of the Province Treasury for this purpose, but directed him to "move it to the Court to ask his Excellency our Governor to Recommend it to his People in this Government to Relieve ye Sufferers either by Subscription or Contribution as in Cases of Calamities by Fire."

Capt. Farley, no doubt, discharged his duty satisfactorily as he was chosen Representative again in May, 1768. During the winter of 1767-1768, the General Court issued a Circular Letter, which was sent to the other Assemblies, notifying them of the measure adopted by Massachusetts with regard to resistance to the Townshend Acts and suggesting concerted action. Gov. Bernard was instructed by the Colonial Secretary to demand the Massachusetts Assembly to rescind this Letter, and to command the Governors of the other colonies to dissolve their Assemblies if they voted to act with Massachusetts. He acted at once upon these instructions but on June 30th, 1768, the Legislature refused to rescind its vote, seventeen voting in the affirmative, ninety-two in the negative. This decision was applauded throughout the Colonies and the other Assemblies soon adopted the same course.

A Town-meeting was called, "Pursuant to a request of a Great Number of the Free holders . . . to try their minds by a Vote, whether they Approve of the Proceedings of the late House of Representatives in not Rescinding etc." It met on August 11th, and it was

Voted, that the Town of Ipswich Highly Approve of the Conduct of those Gentlemen of the late House of Representatives, who were for maintaining the Rights and Libertys of their Constituents and were against the Rescinding the resolves of a former House.

Voted, that the thanks of this Town be given to the Worthy & Much Esteemed Ninety-two Gentlemen of the late Hon^{ble} House of Representatives for their firmness & Steadiness in Standing up for and adhering to the Just Rights and Libertys of the Subject when it was Required of them at the Peril of their Political Existence Rescind the resolves of the then former House of Representatives.

The glorious "Ninety-Two" became a popular toast, and a Song¹ was inspired.

Addressed to the Sons of Liberty on the Continent of America, particularly to the Illustrious, Glorious and Never-to-be-forgotten Ninety Two of Boston

Tune, "Come Jolly Bacchus" or "Glorious First of August."

Come jolly SONS of LIBERTY
Come ALL with Hearts UNITED
Our Motto is WE DARE BE FREE
Not easily affrighted.
Oppressions Band we must subdue
Now is the Time or Never
Let each Man PROVE this Motto true
And SLAVERY from him sever.

Unfortunately for himself as after events proved, Dr. Calef voted with the minority.

The seizure of the sloop, "Liberty," owned by John Hancock for alleged smuggling of dutiable goods, led to a riot. More ships and soldiers were demanded by the Royal Governor. He was requested by the Town of Boston to summon the Legislature, and upon his refusal, proposals for a Convention of Towns were sent by Boston to all the Towns. Capt. Farley was chosen the Delegate from Ipswich on Sept. 19th.

Informers, who reported smuggling to the Custom House officials, received summary treatment. A Custom House

¹ From the Pennsylvania Journal of Aug. 4th, printed in the Essex Gazette, August 9-16, 1768.

waiter, guilty of this offence, was taken to Salem Common in Sept. 1768,

where his Head, Body and Limbs were covered with warm Tar and then a large quantity of Feathers were applied to all Parts, which by closely adhering to the Tar, Exhibited an odd figure, the Drollery of which can easily be imagined.

He was set in a cart, with a placard, "Informer," on his breast and back, led into Main Street and escorted out of town by a cheering crowd, who warned him of worse treatment if he returned.²

Joshua Vickery, a ship carpenter of Newburyport, declared that on Saturday, Sept. 10th, he was seized and carried to the stocks, where he sat from 3 to 5 P. M. "most of the time on the sharpest stone that could be found which put him to extreme pain so that he once fainted." He was then put in a cart and carried through the town with a rope round his neck, his hands tied behind him, severely pelted with eggs, gravel and stones. He was taken into a dark warehouse, where he was kept over Sunday, hand cuffed and without bedding. Having made the edge of a tar pot serve as a pillow, his hair was torn out of his head when he arose. On Monday morning he was compelled to lead a horse cart about the town, though his persecutors, he affirmed, were well satisfied of his innocence, and with Francis Magno, who was stripped naked, tarred and feathered, was committed to jail for breach of the peace.³

To deprive the Townshend Acts of all value as a measure for revenue, the merchants of Boston and other large towns bound themselves by agreements not to purchase any of the articles taxed. Ipswich took spirited action. At a Town meeting, held on March 19th, 1770, a Committee, previously appointed, reported as follows:

² Essex Gazette, Sept. 6-13, 1768.

³ Essex Gazette, Sept. 20-27, 1768.

Taking under consideration the Distrest State of Trade of this Government, (and the Whole Continent by Reason of a Late Act of Parliament Imposing Duties on Tea, Glass, etc.) Voted, that we are Determined to Retrench all Extravagances and that we will to the utmost of our Power & Ability Encourage our own Manufactures and that we will not by ourselves or any for or under us Directly or Indirectly Purchase any Goods of the Persons who have Imported or Continue to Import or any Person or Trader who shall Purchase any Goods of said Importer Contrary to the agreement of the Merchants in Boston and the other Trading Towns in this Government & the neighboring Colonies Until they make a Publick Retraction or a Genl Importation Takes Place.

And Further taking under Consideration the Excessive Use of Tea, which has been such a bane to this Country.

Voted that we will abstain therefrom ourselves & Recommend the Disuse of it in our Familys Untill all the Revenue Acts are Repealed.

Upward of three hundred "Mistresses of Families" in Boston had bound themselves by Jan. 31st, 1770, to "totally abstain from Tea (sickness excepted) not only in our respective families but that we will absolutely refuse it, if it should be offered to us upon any Occasion whatsoever." A hundred and twenty-six young ladies of Boston signed a similar agreement.⁴

No doubt the women of Ipswich were equally patriotic, but the tradition remains that the excellent wife of the doughty Capt. Farley persisted in slipping in to neighbor Dame Heard's and partaking of the forbidden thing. As dealers who sold tea were boycotted, the family supply was soon exhausted. The hardship suffered by the Colonial women while the tea embargo prevailed is a forgotten page in the story of the times. Tea alone was excepted, when Parliament repealed the Townshend Acts, in response to the appeal of English merchants, whose trade had suffered severely from the refusal of the Colonists to purchase.

⁴ Essex Gazette, Feb. 6-13, 1770.

But the women of Massachusetts made far more effective protest against the odious taxes than their resolve to abstain from the use of tea. They set themselves vigorously to the making of cotton and woolen fabrics in their homes, that there might be no sale for English goods. One family in Roxbury, carded, spun and wove $645\frac{3}{4}$ yards of cloth from Jan. 1, 1768 to Dec. 29th following and at that time had yarn enough at the weavers for 100 yards more.⁵ Spinning bees became a popular amusement. A communication⁶ from Ipswich, dated June 22, 1769, gives a graphic account of one of these unique affairs.

It gives us a noble Prospect to see what a spirit of Industry and Frugality prevails at this day in the American young Ladies, and Generosity toward their Gospel ministers.

Yesterday morning very early the young Ladies in that Parish of this Town called Chebacco, to the number of 77, assembled at the house of the Rev. Mr. John Cleaveland with their spinning wheels; and though the Weather that day was extremely hot, and divers of the young Ladies were but about 13 years of Age, yet by six o' the clock in the Afternoon they spun of Linen Yarn, 440 Knots, and carded and spun of Cotton, 730 Knots, and of Tow 600, in all 1770 Knots, which make 177 ten-knot-skeins, all good yarn, and generously gave their Work and some bro't Cotton and Flax with them, more than they spun themselves, as a Present

After the Music of the Wheels was over, Mr. Cleaveland entertained them with a Sermon on Prov. 14: 1, "Every wise Woman buildeth her house but the foolish plucketh it down with her hands," which he concluded by observing, How the Women might recover to this Country the full and free Enjoyment of all our Rights, Properties and Privileges (which is more than the Men have been able to do), and so have the Honour of building not only their own but the houses of many Thousands and perhaps prevent the Ruin of the whole British empire viz. by living upon as far as possible only the Produce of the Country, and to be sure

⁵ Essex Gazette, Jan. 10, 1769.

⁶ Essex Gazette, June 27, 1769.

to lay aside the use of all foreign Teas. Also by wearing, as far as possible only Cloathing of this Country's manufacture.

Their Behaviour was decent and they manifested nothing but Pleasure and Satisfaction in their Countenances at their retiring, as well as through the whole preceding Transactions of the Day.

The women of the Linebrook Parish to the number of 13, met at the house of Rev. George Leslie on August 15th, "in the Design of a spinning match." "One of these young ladies carded the whole of the day and of the other twelve, some carded and spun and others only spun." After the work was done, the pastor "entertained the spinners and a number of others of both sexes with a discourse." Perhaps the young men were permitted a part in the final exercises of the day.

From the town of Middleton came the extraordinary report, that there were between seventy and eighty looms in the ninety dwellings, and that from January 1769 to January 1770, there were woven on these looms, 20,522 yards of cloth, more than 40 yards apiece for every man, woman and child.⁷

The Columbian Centinel of June 7, 1791 contained an interesting communication showing that the fine art of spinning was still popular.

The Printer is requested to record it among the numerous instances of female benevolence and harmony, which have been exhibited in these times, and so well reprove the jarring dissensions of the *men* that at Ipswich lately, at the house of the Rev. Mr. Dana, a numerous band of ladies in harmonious concert have again "laid their hands to the spindle and held the distaff" and presented the fruit of their generous toil, 118 run of good yarn viz, 88 linen, 30 cotton, the materials, provisions and handsome attendance, all furnished by themselves, and those who joined with them, "Give

⁷ Essex Gazette, Feb. 27, 1770

her of the fruit of her own hands and let her own works praise her in the gates."

The march of critical events now became rapid. In March, 1770, the clash between the soldiers and citizens, known as the "Boston Massacre" caused the death of several Boston men. In 1772, the "Gaspee," a British armed vessel, stationed in Narragansett Bay to prevent smuggling, ran aground and was captured and burned by an attacking party from Providence. A pamphlet was published in Boston, reciting the encroachments by the Crown upon the liberty of the Colonists, which was circulated among the towns. In the *Essex Gazette*, Jan 7-14, 1772, proposals appeared for reprinting by subscription in a handsome octavo volume, the famous "Vindication of the Government of New England Churches"⁸ by John Wise, the minister of the Chebacco Parish, first published in 1717.

That bold and brilliant book had produced a profound impression by its impassioned advocacy of democracy in the government of the churches. "The end of all good government," he affirmed, "is to cultivate humanity and promote the happiness of all, and the good of every man in all his rights, his life, liberty, estate, honor and so forth, without injury or abuse to any." "No wonder," says Prof. Tyler,⁹ "that the writer of that sentence was called up from his grave by the men who were getting ready for the Declaration of Independence."

The advertisement of the "Proposals" continued,

The aforesaid Proposals were agreed to by most of the Clergy of that day, by which a new System of Church Government would have taken place had not that reverend and bold Champion, the Author, stepped forth for the Churches Defence. And as Human Nature is the same now as it was then, 'tis thought by some Judicious Persons prudent

⁸ Pages 28-30.

⁹ *History of American Literature during the Colonial Time* II: 116.

that the Male Members of every Congregational Church in the World should furnish themselves with this truly valuable Book.

Three hundred subscriptions had been obtained already. The whole edition of five hundred copies was sold at once, and a new issue was proposed in February.

At a Town meeting on Dec. 28, 1772, Ipswich made its response to the Boston Protest in a lengthy and elaborate series of Resolves. These affirmed the right of the Colonists to enjoy and dispose of their property in common with all other British subjects, the unwarranted assumption of power by Parliament to raise a revenue contrary to the minds of the aggrieved and injured people, the expenditure of this revenue in providing salaries, which rendered the Governor and Judges independent of the people, the neglect of their petitions for redress, and closed with the resolution to choose a Committee to correspond with the Committees of other towns.

The Committee, which reported these Resolves, appended their names:

Francis Choate	Mr. Daniel Rogers
Capt. Michael Farley	Dea. Stephen Choate
John Calef Esq.	Maj ^r John Baker
Will ^m Storey Esq.	Mr. John Crocker
Mr. John Hubbard	M ^r William Dodge
Mr. Daniel Noyes	Mr. John Treadwell
	Joseph Appleton Esq.

The Report was read and put to vote paragraph by paragraph, and unanimously adopted. Capt. Farley, Mr. Daniel Noyes and Major John Baker were chosen the Committee of Correspondence, "to Receive and Communicate all salutary measures that shall be proposed or offered by any other Town."

On Dec. 16th, 1773, the tea, which had been brought into Boston harbor was thrown into the sea. A week later, the

Ipswich citizens met in most violent mood, and adopted a series of Resolutions, which are of unique interest.

Resolved. I. That the Inhabitants of this Town have received real pleasure and Satisfaction from the noble and spirited Exertions of their Brethren of the Town of Boston and other Towns to prevent the landing of the detested Tea lately arrived there from the East India Company subject to a duty for the sole Purpose of Raising a Revenue to Support in Idleness and Extravagance a Set of Miscreants, whose vile emissaries and Understrappers swarm in the Sea Port Towns and by their dissolute Lives and Evil Practices threaten this Land with a Curse more deplorable than Egyptian Darkness.

II. That we hold in utter Contempt and Detestation the Persons appointed Consignees who have rendered themselves justly Odious to every Person possessed of the least Spark of Ingenuity or Virtue in America.

III.

IV. That it is the Determination of this Town that no Tea shall be brought into it during the Term aforesaid and if any Person shall have so much Effrontery and Hardiness as to offer any Tea to sale in this Town in Opposition to the general Sentiments of the Inhabitants he shall be deemed an Enemy to the Town and treated as his superlative Meanness and Baseness deserve.

Gen. Gage arrived in Boston in April, 1774, succeeding Gov. Hutchinson, as Governor of the Province. The port of Boston was closed by Royal edict on May 23^d. The line of cleavage between those who professed themselves loyal to the Crown, who were called Tories, and the great body of the people, began to be sharply defined.

The Justices of the Court of General Sessions and Justices of the Court of Common Pleas of Worcester drew up a Memorial congratulating Gov. Gage on his safe arrival and protesting against all "Riots, Routs Combinations and unwarrantable Resolves." The Committees of Correspondence of Worcester and other towns published appeals to the

people to break off all connection with Great Britain. The Justices of the Plymouth County Courts sent an address to Gen. Gage on July 6th, and the Essex County Justices on July 26th.¹⁰

The list of Councilors appointed by the King was received in August. The popular indignation now burst all bonds. At Worcester, two or three thousand citizens went to the house of Hon. Timothy Paine, a member of this body, and obliged him to read his resignation in person with his hat off. They marched then to Rutland and waited on Hon. John Murray.

The Governor issued a Proclamation forbidding a Town meeting in Boston and ordered the Committee of Correspondence to disperse the people. He ordered out his troops. They marched to the town line, halted and loaded and about eighty advanced to within one eighth of a mile of the Town House. But the meeting had transacted its business and dissolved.¹¹

On Thursday morning, Sept. 1, 1774, 260 British regulars in 13 large flat boats went up Medford river, landed and marched to the powder house on Quarry hill, Charlestown, whence they took 250 half barrels of powder and carried them to the Castle. A detachment went to Cambridge and brought off two field pieces, lately sent there for Col. Brattle's regiment. It was rumored that the Committee of Correspondence of Salem was liable to arrest and to be sent to England in the "Scarborough."

Middlesex County took the alarm. By evening, large bodies of men began to assemble with their arms and provisions. By Friday morning, some thousands had arrived in Cambridge, armed only with sticks, as they had left their fire-arms. When the Boston Committee of Correspondence arrived in Cambridge, they found a great assembly about

¹⁰ Essex Gazette, June 28, 1774-July 26th.

¹¹ Essex Gazette, Aug. 23-30, 1774.

the Court House and Judge Danforth speaking from the steps assuring them he had resigned his office and presenting a written certificate. Judge Joseph Lee delivered the same assurance. Lieut. Gov. Oliver went from Cambridge to Boston about 8 o'clock and informed Gov. Gage it was not a mad mob but a gathering of the free holders of the County. Returning at once he met the Committee and declared he was ready to resign as Councilor, but that he had scruples about laying down his office as Lieut. Governor, as he was constitutionally in office.

Commissioner Hallowell chanced to come through on his way to Boston and a troop of 150 horsemen galloped after him. The greater part soon returned but one man followed and stopped his chaise in Roxbury. Greatly frightened, the Commissioner snapped his pistol at him and mounting his servant's horse, rode at top speed to the camp in Boston, declaring that he was pursued by thousands.

A Boston gentleman, seeing movements in the camp indicating an attack, sent word to Cambridge. The people sent instantly for their arms and dispatched horsemen to discover the approach of soldiers. The alarm proved false, they resumed their deliberations, and presented to the Lieut. Governor a document, which he signed, appending to it by their consent the statement,

My house at Cambridge being surrounded by about 4000
People in compliance with their Commands, I sign my name.
Thos. Oliver.¹²

Cambridge, Sept. 2.

Exaggerated rumors of a clash with the troops spread abroad. In Connecticut, no less than 40,000 men were reported in motion and under arms on Saturday, Sunday and Monday, and many meeting houses were not opened for Sabbath worship, as the report had spread that the troops

¹² *Essex Gazette*, Aug. 30-Sept. 6, 1774.

had fired and killed several. The New York Gazetteer of Sept. 8th stated that people were greatly alarmed by an express from Col. Putnam of Pomfret reporting that six persons had been killed, that the artillery had been playing all night upon the Town, and begging them to rally their forces and march to the relief of Boston.¹³

These wild rumors of blood shed were hardly quieted before the delegates from all the towns, 67 in number, arrived in Ipswich on Tuesday, Sept. 6, and the Ipswich Convention began its deliberations, which required two days. Jeremiah Lee Esq. of Marblehead was the Chairman. Resolutions were adopted by unanimous vote, binding themselves to stand together in opposition to the Crown, demanding the resignation of officials holding office by Royal appointment, and declaring the Provincial Congress, soon to assemble, absolutely necessary for the common safety.¹⁴

Demand was made at once upon Hon. William Brown of Salem that he resign his office as Councilor, which he steadfastly refused to do. Dr. John Calef, the former Representative, was no longer in public office, but his Tory sentiments had become a theme of common remark. He had made a voyage to London, sailing on Dec. 30, 1772, as agent for a number of proprietors and settlers in the eastern part of the Province,¹⁵ called the "Penobscot Associated Loyalists," who had built houses on the Penobscot river, thinking they would be well within the limit of what would be determined to be British territory. Dr. Calef remained more than a year in England, endeavoring to secure the Penobscot as the boundary. He was in close touch with Lord North, who was warmly in favor of this scheme, and a lingering family tradition has it that one morning Lord North greeted him with the exclamation, "Doctor, Doctor, we cannot have the Penobscot made the boundary, the pressure

¹³ Essex Gazette, Sept. 6-13th. 1774.

¹⁴ Essex Gazette, Sept. 6-13, 1774.

¹⁵ Essex Gazette, Dec. 29-Jan. 5, 1773.

is too strong." During his stay in England, Dr. Calef made the acquaintance of Selina, Countess of Huntington, and became warmly interested in her work.

His extreme unpopularity on his return is evident from a rough newspaper squib that appeared in August, 1774.

To the Inhabitants of the County of Essex.

Beware.

A strange phenomenon appeared in the Town of Danvers very lately. It took its way from Agawam, many were the conjectures what it was, some thought it was some kind of the human species others by the appearance of the head that it was really a Calf¹⁶ but being carefully viewed by a venerable Sachem, he declared it to be a Tool of Power and gave the following account of his observations viz. That some time after the ore was dug and a little refined, it was put into the hands of one who could to appearance work any bad metal into any shape and for what use he pleased. When he had worked this lump of bad stuff, it came out of his hands in the form of a Pole-Ax. Many of the *tribe* from whence he came used it till they were tired and found, although to outward appearance pretty good, yet there being no steel put into it, it proved to be no better than a dull mattock, and somebody have lately sent it to Danvers to impose on the good people there, who, it is hoped, will take this hint, and never *try* to improve it and if it should be sent to any other town it is hoped they will take the hint.

A word to the wise is sufficient
Done at Headquarters in Agawom
in the eighth moon

PAUGUS.

Dr. Calef addressed a petition¹⁷ to the General Court in July, 1775, which stated that he had built a ship, designed for the West Indies, and that it might be made ready for sea in a few days. It lay at Danvers, with officers on board

¹⁶ The name Calef seems to have been commonly pronounced Calf. It was often so spelled.

¹⁷ Mass. Archives, 180: 81.

and provisions for the voyage. He prayed the Court to grant permission to dispatch the ship to the Penobscot for a load of lumber for the West Indies, and offered to give bonds that she would bring a return cargo of commodities needed for this market. The petition was dismissed summarily.

The climax of the Doctor's unpopularity was reached in early October. A great crowd of citizens gathered about his residence and demanded of him a written declaration of his political sentiments and formal confession of his wrong courses. The document was as follows:

Inasmuch as a great Number of Persons are about the House¹⁸ of the Subscriber who say they have heard I am an Enemy to my Country &c. and have sent a large committee to examine me respecting my Principles.

In Compliance with their Request do declare.

First. I hope and believe I fear God, honour the King and love my country.

Secondly. I believe the Constitution of civil Government, as held forth in the Charter of Massachusetts Bay Province, to be the best in the whole World, and that the Rights and Privileges thereof ought to be highly esteemed, greatly valued and seriously contended for, and that the late Acts of Parliament made against this Province are unconstitutional and unjust, and that I will use all lawful Means to get the same removed; and that I never have and never will act by a Commission under the new Constitution of Government, and if ever I have said or done anything to enforce said Act, I am heartily sorry for it: and as I gave my Vote in the General Assembly on the 30th of June, 1768, contrary to the Minds of the People, I beg their Forgiveness, and that the good People of the Province would restore me to their Esteem and Friendship again.

John Calef.

Ipswich, Oct. 3, 1774.

¹⁸ Dr. Calef owned and occupied the house on the site now occupied by the mansion of the late John Heard Esq. He sold to John Heard in 1777. About the year 1800, Mr. Heard removed the old house to a lot on Poplar St. and built the new dwelling. The Caldwell sisters owned the old Calef house in later years.

I am free the said Committee should make use of the above Declaration¹⁹ as they think proper.

John Calef.

After he had read the above Declaration it was put to Vote and the Company voted Acceptance.

Dr. Calef was one of the most conspicuous citizens of Ipswich. He was born Aug. 30, 1726, married Margaret, daughter of the Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, (inten. Nov. 7, 1747) who died March 27, 1751 at the age of twenty-one, leaving two children, Margaret born in 1748, who married Dr. Daniel Scott of Boston, in October, 1767, and Mary, baptized March, 1750, married Capt. John Dutch of Ipswich. Dr. Calef married Dorothy, daughter of Rev. Jedediah Jewett of Rowley, on Jan. 18, 1753, and eleven children were born to them: Capt. John, who was drowned in February, 1782; Jedediah, who died in 1778 in his 23^d year; Robert, who died in Norfolk, Va. in 1801, aged forty-one; Samuel and Jedediah Jewett, the youngest of the family, who was born on June 22, 1778. The daughters were Elizabeth, Dorothy, Sarah, Susanna, Mehitable and Martha. Elizabeth and Martha died in Sept., 1771. Mehitable married Capt. Henry Mowat, who commanded the British ship "Albany" at the siege of Penobscot in 1779.

Dr. Calef had served as surgeon in the campaign against Louisbourg, and acquitted himself with great credit in the French and Indian War.²⁰ He was a friend of Rev. George Whitefield and was one of the pall bearers at his funeral. Mr. Whitefield provided in his will for a funeral ring for him. He entered the British service and was surgeon of a regiment at the siege of Penobscot.

In December, 1779, a Cartel arrived in Ipswich to take Dr. Calef's family to the Penobscot. An interesting souvenir of this event is the original charge of Capt. Daniel

¹⁹ This was published in the Essex Gazette, Oct. 11-18, 1774.

²⁰ See Chapter VIII.

Rogers for guarding the vessel while she lay in port, preserved in a box of old papers in the Town House.

The Town of Ipswich to Dan^l Rogers Dr.
Dec. 15, 1779.

To my service together with three Men Detached from my Company to serve as Guard on Board the Cartel, which came for Doc^t. Calef's family, provisions, drink, etc. etc. £45- 0- 0
Ipswich, March 27, 1780.

Only a part of his family followed their father. His sons, John and Robert remained in Ipswich, and on Sept. 13, 1780, Robert petitioned the General Court for permission to go to Penobscot for his sister Sarah. The Court did not approve his request, but "Resolved that the Prayer of said Petitioner be so far granted as that the said Sarah Calef be permitted to return into this State in the first cartel from Penobscot."²¹

After the war, Dr. Calef made his home in St. John, but removed to St. Andrews, N. B. where he died in 1812. He wrote an account of the siege of Louisbourg, which has not been preserved, and a narrative of the siege of Penobscot. Although his son, Jedediah Jewett Calef settled in Rowley, the family name in this vicinity has long been extinct.²²

On the day after the Ipswich people had waited on Dr. Calef, the Hamilton folk visited Nathaniel Brown Esq. in a body, presented formal charges of being a Tory and extorted a written confession.²³ In Rowley, a number of freeholders, having met at the house of Solomon Nelson, proceeded to the residence of Thomas Gage, accused of Tory speeches, and forced him to make an humble recantation. Benjamin Adams Sen., husbandman, was suspected of similar sentiments and the penalty meted out to him was in-

²¹ Records of General Court 40: 557.

²² An interesting narrative of Dr. Calef in his later years may be found in *Acadiensis* Vol. VII, No. 3, pp. 190, 229, 260, 261-273.

²³ *Essex Gazette*, Oct. 4-11, 1774.

geniously humiliating. "Voted, he was unworthy of public Notice."²⁴

The port of Boston remained closed to all shipping through the summer and autumn of 1774. As the people were reduced to great extremities for food, the neighboring towns rallied nobly to their relief. Ipswich, already burdened by the great expense occasioned by an epidemic of smallpox, voted to raise a hundred pounds by popular subscription, and the Selectmen were asked to "make a proportion of the same among the Inhabitants . . . according to the Province Tax, exclusive of the poor Inhabitants of this Town." The Southern colonies responded with fine enthusiasm. A sloop from Charleston, S. C. arrived in Salem in July with 205 tierces of rice, the gift of twenty gentlemen. Two vessels arrived at Newport from South Carolina, laden with supplies and bringing word that 2000 barrels of rice had been subscribed. The County of Fairfax in Virginia subscribed £273 in specie, 38 barrels of flour and 150 bushels of wheat. Providence, Philadelphia and New Hampshire towns gave generously. In December, the donations from near and far had reached such extraordinary proportions, that the Boston authorities published on Dec. 8, the donations "lately received by the port of Boston," which amounted in the aggregate to more than £200 in money, 612 sheep, 74 oxen and cattle, 4010 bushels of grain, 256 barrels of flour, 105 barrels of ship stuffs, 35 cords of wood, etc. This common interest in the relief of Boston was another factor that was welding the people of all the colonies into a unit, in resistance to the Crown.

The First Provincial Congress met in Salem on Friday, October 7, 1774, Ipswich being represented by Capt. Michael Farley and Mr. Daniel Noyes. It recommended that companies of Minute-men be organized and that "each of the minute men not already provided therewith, should

²⁴ *Essex Gazette*, Oct. 25-Nov. 1, 1774.

be immediately equipped with an effective Fire-arm Bayonet, Pouch, Knapsack, Thirty rounds of Cartridges and Ball, and that they be disciplined three times a week and oftener as opportunity may offer."

Ipswich responded with the "Troop's Covenant."

The Troop of Horse in the third Regiment of Militia in the County of Essex, Being about to choose their Officers, (agreeable to the Advice of the Provincial Congress) came into the following Agreement this fourteenth day of November, Anno Domini 1774, viz

We the Subscribers the Troopers hereafter Named promise to subject ourselves to the Officers that may be chosen whither it be the cap^{tn} or other Officers under him, duely Chosen by a Major part of the Troop, and that we will attend all military Musters, and in case of Delinquency, we Promise to pay a fine as By-Law in that case is made and provided, unless a Reasonable Excuse be given to the Commanding Officer for the time being, in witness whereof We have hereunto sett our hands the Day & year above written

Timothy Bragg
Robert Perkins
Robert Burnum
John Kinsman
Amos Burnam
Isaac Burnam
Paltiah Brown
Elisha Brown Jr.
Ebenezer Brown
Nehemiah Brown
Sam^l Bragg
John Bradstreet
Allen Baker
Francis Brown
William Conant Jun.
Nehemiah Choate
John Cross
Joseph Cummings Juner

Tho^s Dodge
George Dodge J^r.
John Emerson
Aaron Eveleth
Seth Goodhue
Joseph Goodhue
Mark Haskell 3^d
Nehemiah Jewett
Aaron Jewett
Samuel Kinsman
Joseph Metcalf J^r
Samuel Potter
Nehemiah Patch
John Pearson
Samuel Quarles
Joseph Roberts
Nath^l Smith
Thomas Smith

Joseph Brown
John Harris Juner
Zebulon Smith
Abner Day Jr.

Michael Kinsman
John Whipple
Moses Conant
John Chapman
Robert Choat

after Signing, the Troopers
herein named the same day
Proceeded and made Choice
of Moses Jewett Captain
Robert Perkins Lieut^t
John Kinsman Cornet
Elisha Brown Qurterms.
John Pearson, Clerk
Nehemiah Choate, Corpriel
Nathaniel Smith Corpriel

March 13th 1775, the above
named John Pearson pason-
ally appeared & was sworn to
the faith full Discharge of the
office of Clerk to the Troop
in Ipswich
Before Aaron Potter, Justice
Peace²⁵

At the Town Meeting, held on November 21st:

The Proposals and Resolves of the Continental Congress
being Read the Vote being put whether the Town do approve
of said Proposals and Resolves, it pass'd in the Affirma-
tive Unanimously.

Voted that Mr. N. F. Major J. B. Lt. Isaac Dodge
Capt. M. F. Ens. John Patch, Mr. Jon. Cogswell Jr. Mr.
Jacob Goodhue, Mr. John Patch y^e 4th Capt. John Whipple
Jr. Lt. Abraham Howe, Mr. John Fowler Be a Committee
to see that the said Resolves are most punctually observed.

The Resolves of the Provincial Congress being Read, the
Vote Being put whether the Town will comply with the
said Resolve, it passed in the affirmative.

It was voted that no more delegates be sent to the Pro-
vincial Congress.

On Nov. 21st, 1774, the crisis was at hand. The enlist-
ment of soldiers according to the Proposals of the Provincial
Congress was approved, and a plot of land at the easterly
end of the Town House, fifty feet long and twenty-five feet
wide was granted, "during the Town's pleasure" "to a num-
ber of Subscribers in order to Erect a House for the En-

²⁵ Original document in possession of Mr. A. Everett Jewett of Ipswich.

couragement of Military Discipline." A Committee on Minute Men reported a contract to be signed by those who enlisted, and their proposed wages, on Jan. 3, 1775. This report recommended the enlistment of a quarter part of the Training Band or Alarm List, and the payment of a shilling to each enlisted man for each half day he attended muster. Every man was bound to "attend Duty two half days in each week." After the first of April, the pay was advanced to two shillings, to be continued until "taken into Province pay or Dismissed by said Town."

At the same meeting, Col. Michael Farley was appointed Delegate to the Provincial Congress to be held at Cambridge, Feb. 1st. Mr. Daniel Noyes, William Story Esq. and Deacon Stephen Choate were chosen a Committee to prepare Instructions. These Instructions were embodied in a series of Resolutions which were approved by the Town and entered in full in the Town Records. The first of these enjoined upon their delegate to see that one of the first acts of the Congress should be to set apart a day for fasting and prayer. The second suggested the inquiry whether any of the towns have neglected to comply with the Resolves of the Continental or Provincial Congress. The third Resolution is of especial interest.

It is with Regret that we find there are Enemies among ourselves, who insinuate & endeavor to persuade others that This Province is seeking after Independency & want to break off from their allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain, which is a thing that has not the Least Foundation in Truth; neither can these wicked Persons, we believe, Produce so much as one single Instance thereof Nevertheless to avoid giving them the least handle against us, we desire you would Endeavor that nothing be done by the Congress to change or alter the Form of Government appointed by Our Last Charter, but that with patience and due Fortitude we bear the Injuries brought upon us, waiting for [the] time of our deliverance.

Evidently the popular sentiment in Ipswich, though exceedingly hostile to the Tory attitude, was far from demanding separation from the mother country even at the moment, when the Colonies were arming for their defence.

War was now inevitable and it was only a question of a few months or even weeks, before a clash with the British troops would be precipitated. Indeed the popular feeling was so tense, and preparations for the conflict were so far advanced, that any moment might witness blood shed. That fatal moment seemed at hand in mid December.

A swift messenger from Boston informed the men of Portsmouth that two regiments were coming to take possession of their fort. By beat of drum, 200 men assembled immediately and went to the Castle in 2 gundalows. They were joined by 150 more on the way. Capt. Cochran refused to surrender the fort at their demand and fired 3 guns, but without fatal result. They immediately scaled the walls, disarmed the garrison, and took possession of 97 barrels of powder, which they conveyed to a safe hiding place. The next day the town was full of men from the country, who marched in in due form and chose a Committee to wait on the Governor and inquire as to the truth of the reported march of the British troops. The next morning, it was reported that a thousand or fifteen hundred men "of the best property and note in the Province," were on the march to Portsmouth. Happily the alarm was needless and once more the country side grew quiet.

CHAPTER XIV

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

The drill-shed, authorized by the vote on Nov. 21st, 1774, was no doubt built at once. On Dec. 19th, the Town appointed its Committee to draw up a contract for men to sign, which reported its scale of wages and form of contract on Jan. 3, 1775.

Capt. Wade's company of minute men signed their contract on January 24th.

We, whose Names are hereunto Subscribed, do voluntarily Inlist our selves, as Minute Men, to be ready for Military operation, upon the shortest notice. And we hereby Promise & engage, that we will immediately, each of us, provide for & equip himself with an effective fire Arm, Bayonet, Pouch, Knapsack, & Thirty round of Cartridges ready made. And that we may obtain the skill of compleat Soldiers, We promise to convene for exercise in the Art Military, at least twice every week; and oftener if our officers shall think necessary.

And as soon as Such a Number shall be Inlisted, as the present Captain, Lieutenant & Ensign of ye Company of Militia shall think necessary, we will proceed to choose such Officers, as shall appear to them & to ye Company to be necessary. The Officers to be chose by a Majority of ye Votes of the Inlisted Company And when ye officers are duly chosen, We hereby promise & engage that we will punctually render all that obedience to them respectively, as is required by the Laws of this Province or practiced by any well regulated Troops. And if any officer or Soldier, shall neglect to attend the time & place of exercise, he shall forfeit & pay the sum of two shillings Lawfull money for the use of ye

Company, Unless he can offer such an excuse to the officers of y^e Company as to them shall appear sufficient.

N. B. It is to be understood that when nine Company's of fifty men Each are Inlisted, that then the said Officers of the Minute Company's Proceed to Chose their Field Officers, agreeable to the proposal of the Provincial Congress.

Ipswich, Jan^y 24th, 1775.

Joseph Hodgkins	Nathanael Rust Juner
Aaron Perkins	Charles Lord
Francis Hovey	Ephraim Goodhue
John Graves Jr.	Nathaniel Lord ye 3 ^d
Francis Merrifield	Benjamin Averell
Jonathan Foster	Isaac Stanwood
Daniel Goodhue	John Fitts Juner
Jabez Farley	Daniel Stone
Nathaniel Brown	John Harris 5
Isaac Giddings	Joseph Fowler 3 ^d
Nath ^l March	Jabez Sweet Juner
Nathanael Treadwell	Thomas Appleton Juner
Samuel Burnham	Kneeland Ross
Stephen Dutch	Ebenezer Lakeman for the
Benjamin Heard	Room of John Waitt
Jeremiah Stanford Juner	John Peters in the Room of
Nathaniel Ross	Benjamin Averell
William Goodhue Juner	Thomas Hodgkins in the
John Stanwood in the place	Room of Jeremiah Stan-
of Wm Longfellow.	ford
Philip Lord Juner	Nathaniel Wade
Benjamin Ross	Asa Baker
Michael Farley Jun.	Nath. Souther
John Fowler	James Fuller Lakeman
Samuel Lord 5	Jabez Ross Jun. in room of
Henry Spiller	Jon. Perkins
Joseph Appleton Juner	Thomas Bordman Juner
William Dennis	Edward Stacy
Nathaniel Jewett	Nathaniel Lakeman in the
John Waite	Room of Philip Lord. ¹
Abraham Knowlton Juner	

¹ The original roll is in possession of Mr. Jesse H. Wade.

The first hostile act of Gen Gage's troops was the expedition headed by Col. Leslie which marched from Marblehead to Salem on Sunday, February 26, to seize the military supplies which had been gathered there. The draw bridge over the North River was raised and the minute men rallied to resist further advance. The stores were hastily removed, and after a parley, Col. Leslie agreed, if the bridge should be lowered, that he would march his troops a little way and then return. Word was sent at once to the whole country-side. The Salem Gazette, issued on March 7th, in its account of the event, says that "people of all the neighboring Towns as well as those at 30 or 40 miles Distance, were mustering and great numbers actually on their march for this place, so that it is thought 12 or 15,000 men would have been assembled within 24 hours after the alarm."

Ipswich must have heard the news. There is no record of any march of the soldiery, but fresh impetus was given to the enrollment. A few days later, "the alarm list of the Third Company in Ipswich convened and after choosing a moderator, made choice of the following Gentlemen for their officers, Capt. John Whipple Jr. Captain, Mr. John Thomson, 2nd Lieut. and Ensign Jonathan Lamson, Ensign." This was the Hamlet Company. Thomas Burnham, teacher of the Ipswich Grammar School, had organized a company, and Capt. Abraham Dodge commanded another company. Capt. Jonathan Cogswell's company was composed almost wholly of Chebacco men.

Early in the morning of April 19th the British regulars marched to Lexington and Concord. Swift riders bore the call to arms far and wide. From all the neighboring towns and villages, the minute men poured in, and had a valiant part in the pursuit of the retreating soldiers. The day was well advanced before the tidings reached Ipswich. The alarm was sounded and the minute men dropped their tools,

left the ploughs in the furrows, seized their arms and rallied at the appointed rendezvous.

The march was soon begun and company after company hurried away to the shrill music of fife and drum. Capt. Nathaniel Wade,² Capt. Thomas Burnham,³ the school master, and Capt. Daniel Rogers,⁴ marched at the head of their companies. Capt. Moses Jewett⁵ led his horse troop. Capt. Abram How⁶ with his 43 men, marched from the Linebrook Parish, Capt. Jonathan Cogswell⁷ from Chebacco, and Capt. James Patch⁸ and Dr. Elisha Whitney from the Hamlet.

The day was so hot that the British regulars dropped in their tracks, overcome by the heat, but the hardy minute men of Ipswich pushed on to Medford, 24 miles away, before they halted for the night.

Capt. Jonathan Burnham at the head of his Hampton company arrived in Ipswich the next morning, after an all night march. According to his own story,⁹ he found the town panic-struck, "because, two Men of Wars tenders were in the river full of men and would land and take twenty British soldiers out of a goal that was taken prisoners at Lexington battle and would burn the town, so we stayed that day and night." The town was nearly defenceless, as more than three hundred men were in the eight companies of minute-men, but about two hundred men were mustered and Capt. Burnham was chosen as their commander.

Everybody was busy hiding valuables or carrying them away to some place of safety. One brave Ipswich woman,

² Mass. Archives 13: 157.

³ Mass. Archives 11: 204.

⁴ Mass. Archives 13: 74.

⁵ Mass. Archives 12: 163.

⁶ Mass. Archives 12: 146.

⁷ Mass. Archives 11: 204.

⁸ Mass. Archives 13: 65.

⁹ The Life of Col. Jonathan Burnham, now living in Salisbury, Mass.

however, as the family tradition asserts, was wholly unmoved, Daniel Ringe's good wife, Elizabeth. It was her washing-day and she stood to her scrubbing. Her father, who had just buried his silver spoons in the cellar, ran to his daughter's dwelling to render her assistance. Surprised at her indifference, he cried out, "Why Betty are you washing?" "Yes," she replied, "if the red coats come they may as well have my clothes wet as dry."

The "alarm," to which Captain Burnham alludes, spread far afield and took on serious and even ludicrous proportions. Without stopping to find whether there was any truth in the alarming report, frightened messengers put spurs to their horses and roused the whole country side with their out cry.

Mr. Coffin, the historian of Newbury, describes the fright vividly.

On Friday afternoon, April twenty-first, the second day after the Lexington fight, the people of Newburyport held an informal meeting at the town house, and just as the Reverend Thomas Cary was about opening the meeting with prayer a messenger rushed up stairs, in breathless haste, crying out, "For God's sake, turn out! turn out! or you will all be killed! The regulars are marching this way and will soon be here. They are now at Ipswich cutting and slashing all before them."

The messenger proved to be Mr. Ebenezer Todd, who stated that he had been sent from Rowley to warn the people of their impending destruction. The news spread like wild fire, and being generally credited, the consternation became almost universal. As a large part of the militia had marched to the scene of action early the next morning after the fight at Lexington, the terror and alarm among the women and children was proportionately increased, especially as from all quarters was heard the cry, "The regulars are

coming. They are down to Old Town bridge cutting and slashing and killing all before them! They'll soon be here!" It is remarkable that the same story in substance was simultaneously told from Ipswich to Coos. In every place the report was that the regulars were but a few miles behind them.

Mr. Eliphalet Hale of Exeter was at Ipswich and waited to ascertain the correctness of the report. Learning that it was without foundation, he made haste to undeceive the people by riding from Ipswich to Newbury in fifty minutes. In the mean time all sorts of ludicrous things were being done by men and women to escape impending destruction. Vehicles of every kind filled with all sorts of people together with hundreds on foot, were to be seen moving with all possible speed further north to escape the terrible regulars.

Some crossed the river for safety. Some in Salisbury went to Hampton and spent the night in houses vacated by their owners who had gone on the same errand further north One man yoked up his oxen and taking his own family and some of his neighbor's children in his cart, drove off to escape the regulars One woman having concealed all her pewter and silver ware in the well, filled a bag with pies and other edibles and set off with it and her family for a safer place, but having travelled some distance and deposited her bag to make some enquiry, she found on her return that there had been "cutting and slashing" not indeed by the regulars among the people but by the irregulars among her provisions.

Another woman, as I am informed, having run four or five miles, in great trepidation, stopped on the steps of Reverend Mr. Noble's meeting-house to nurse her child and found to her great horror that she had brought off the cat and left the child at home. In another instance, Mr. [. . . .] having placed his family on board of a boat to go to Ram Island for safety, was so annoyed with the crying of one of his children that he exclaimed in great fright, "Do throw

that squalling brat overboard or we shall all be discovered." Mr. J— L.— seeing Mr. C— H.—, a very corpulent man, standing at his door with his musket loaded inquired of him if he was not going. "Going? no." said he, "I am going to stop and shoot the devils."

It has come down in history as the "Great Ipswich Fright," and it furnished Mr. Whittier material for a very spirited tale in his *Prose Miscellanies*. The innocent occasion of it all was "the discovery of some small vessels near the entrance of Ipswich river,—one at least, known to be a cutter, and it was apprehended that they were come to relieve the captives there in jail."¹⁰ We may be sure there was fright with good reason at the farms on Castle Hill and Castle Neck, when those British vessels were seen, standing in over the bar.

On the 22nd of April, 1775 the Warrant for a Town-meeting was posted. It met on the 24th at 7 o'clock in the morning, and Voted that:

Dummer Jewett Esq. Lieut. John Choate, and Mr. Daniel Noyes be a Committee to join with the other Committees from the several Sea-Port Towns, in this County to meet them at the tavern near Beverly meeting house this day and to Consult upon the Measures to be taken for our safety at this Difficult time.

The likelihood of attack from the sea was a constant source of anxiety, intensified by the order passed by the Provincial Congress on April 27th, requiring these Essex County sea-port towns to endeavor to have all the effects of the inhabitants removed as quickly as possible. "Congress considers it absolutely necessary for said inhabitants to be in readiness to go into the country on the shortest notice." It was further ordered on April 29th, that word should be sent to

¹⁰ From a letter of Benjamin Greenleaf of Newburyport to the Committee of Correspondence in Hampton, N. H. (*Currier's Hist. of Newburyport*, I: 543, 544, 545).

the neighboring towns, requiring one half the militia to be sent immediately to Roxbury and Cambridge and the remainder to hold themselves in readiness to march at a minute's warning.

Capt. Wade was again in the field with many of his men. He was then twenty-six years old; Joseph Hodgkins, his First Lieutenant, was thirty-two; his fifer was William Galloway, a lad of seventeen and William Osborn of Boston, eighteen years old, beat the drum. Three sons of Philip and Sarah Lord came from their home on the Linebrook Road, now owned by Mr. Ralph W. Burnham, David, eighteen years old, Charles, twenty-one and Philip, twenty-seven. Francis Merrifield, thirty-six years old, was the senior member of the company, Thomas Hodgkins, 5th, sixteen years old, was the youngest.

Capt. Elisha Whitney marched again from the Hamlet and Capt. Abraham Dodge and his Chebacco men were again in the field. Capt. Gideon Parker, who had served with distinction in the French and Indian war, marched as a private in Capt. Rogers's minute men on the Lexington alarm, but early in June, he had recruited a company. Although he was then fifty years old, he was again commissioned Captain, and led his company to the front.¹¹

As there was no arsenal or depot of supplies, on May 9th, the Provincial Congress instructed Selectmen to make search in their towns and "borrow or purchase arms or accoutrements from those who can best spare them." Fifteen muskets were borrowed from individuals to equip Capt. Dodge's company. Every soldier thus armed was required to pay 6 shillings, and if he failed to return his gun to its owner, the full value would be deducted from his wages. Every one was ordered to save his straw that the camp might be provided with bedding. An order, passed May 10th, forbade any one to remove to Nova Scotia or else-

¹¹ *Mass. Archives* 146: 207. *Muster-rolls*, 15: 91.

where, without permission of the Committee of Correspondence of the Town. Col. John Baker, Dummer Jewett Esq. Mr. Daniel Noyes, Lieut. John Choate and Captain John Whipple Jr. were chosen a Committee of Intelligence for Ipswich.

Delegates from the towns in Essex County met at Ipswich on May 4th, at the request of the Committee of Safety of Newburyport, to consider the establishment of a regular post from Newburyport to Cambridge. The Provincial Congress voted on May 13th, to establish Post offices in Cambridge, Salem, Ipswich, Newburyport, Haverhill, etc. James Foster was appointed Post-master at Ipswich. Rates of postage were established, 5¼ pence for any distance not exceeding 60 miles and for every ounce weight, four times as much as a single letter.

Another Town meeting assembled on May 15th, at 8 o'clock A. M. to consider

whether the Town will petition the Committee of War that they would grant a regiment of the New Raised Army to be stationed at Ipswich, Newbury and Newburyport, or otherwise that the Towns mentioned may be guarded in this difficult time. Inasmuch as the Scituation of these Towns are such that the Stock will immediately be put to Pasture, where the said Stock will be exposed and Great Numbers of Chattle and Sheep may be taken by armed cutters, unless prevented by our Guards. . . .

The Town voted to request protection, to continue the Town watch of four persons already in service, and that two persons should continue their constant watch on Castle Hill. The Selectmen were instructed to "provide a suitable Quantity of Tarr in order to set it on fire on a Beacon Erected for that purpose that the Town may be Alarmed in the night and that the Flag be hoisted in the Day time to Alarm the Town." Dummer Jewett Esq. Nath. Farley,

Capt. Jona. Cogswell, Dea. Nath. Whipple, Lieut. Thomas Foster were added to the Committee of Correspondence.

William Wade, a carpenter on the South side, presented his bill to the Town in May, 1775.

To work on the Flag-Staff & watch-house at Cassell

Hill

0-15- 4

Oct. To carriage a field Piece

6-13- 4

7- 8- 8

A memorandum, dated November 24, 1775, of supplies and assistance to the Continental Army and "for the Company stationed in the Town of Ipswich" show that the request of the Town was honored and a company assigned for the defence of the Town.

At the battle of Bunker Hill on June 17th, 1775, Ipswich men had a brave part. Capt. Nathaniel Wade's company and Capt. Abraham Dodge's were in the line in Col. Moses Little's regiment. Jesse Story Jun., son of Jesse Story of Chebacco, a lad of eighteen years, was killed on the field, the first Ipswich man to lay down his life in the struggle for Independence. Philip Lord, a private in Capt. Wade's company lost his gun in the battle.

Joseph Hodgkins, First Lient. in Capt. Wade's company, gave details of the battle, in the family letters, which are still preserved:

Cambridge, June y^e 18, 1775.

Dear wife. I take this opportunity to inform you that I am well att Present. I would Just inform you that wee had a verry hot ingagement yesterday. But God Preserved all of us for which mercy I Desire Ever to be thankfull we have Bin alarmed to Day But come to no Engagement it is all most knight now and we are going to Entranching to night therefore I Cannot be Pertickler Dont be Discor-edged I hope that wee shall Be Carred thru all our Diffilties and have abundant occasion to Prase the Lord together So

no more at Present But remain your Loving Husband till Death.

Joseph Hodgkins.

Cambridge, June y^e 20, 1775.

Dear wife I take this oppertunity to inform you that I am well but Verry Much Worred with our Last Satterday Curnege & yesterday's moving Down to winter Hill where we now are & Live in Expectation of further Engagement with the Enemy. But I Desir to be content with the alotments of gods Providence and hope in his mercy for Salvation and Deliverance from all these Eavels witch we feel & fear.

Cambridge, June y^e 23^d, 1775.

. . . . Have not time to write Pertickler of y^e Engagement. But we whare Exposed to a very hot fire of Cannon & small arnes about two ours But we whare Presarved I had one Ball went under my arme and Cut a large hole in my Coate & a Buck shot went through my coate & Jacket But neither of them Did me any harme.

Cambridge, July 3, 1775.

Loveing wife

. . . . I have nothing Remarkable to rite Except that geaneral Washington & Lea got in to Cambridge yesterday and to Day they are to take a Vew of y^e Armeey & that will be atended With a grate Deal of grandor there is at this time one & twenty Drumers & as many fiffers a Beting and Playing Round the Prayde. But I must Conclude by Subscribing myself your Loveing Husband
till Death

Joseph Hodgkins.

Deacon Francis Merrifield in his old age used to describe the battle and the approach of the regulars. "When they got so near we could fairly see them, they looked too handsome to be fired at, but we had to do it."

The burden of providing and maintaining an army in the field was felt at once. The troops had volunteered but they were poorly equipped and scantily clothed. On July 5th, 1775, the Provincial Congress ordered that 13,000 coats

should be provided, one for each non-commissioned officer and soldier in the Massachusetts army, to be proportioned immediately on all the towns, according to the last Provincial tax. Ipswich was made responsible for 204 coats of good plain cloth, and the women of the town must have worked long and hard to finish them before they were needed. The work gained a romantic character, from the very suggestive direction which accompanied the Order, that a certificate should be sewed in each coat specifying where it was made, and we may well imagine more than one of the women of Ipswich stretched the order and appended her name, and then waited the acknowledgment from the unknown soldier, who enjoyed the fruit of her labors.

Clothing of every sort was required from the towns and the bill which the Ipswich Selectmen presented to the Treasurer of the Colony in September, 1775, leads us to believe that the Colonial soldiers vied with Joseph of old in the color of their garments, and that the smartly uniformed British troops may have been moved to mirth by the motley appearance of their rustic foes.

Sept. 1775

To	6 pair of Striped woolen Breeches at	7/1	2- 2- 6
41	" Bearskin	8/	16- 8- 0
8	" Ratteen	8/10	3-10- 8
7	" Kersey	10/5	3-12-11
4	" Swanskin	9/	1-15- 0
2	" Searge	14/4	1- 8- 8
2	" Blue Broad Cloth	10/	1- 0- 0
2	" Redish " "	10/	1- 0- 0
6	" Leather	18/	5- 8- 0
8	" "	16/	6- 8- 0
4	" "	15/	3- 0- 0
3	" "	14/	2- 2- 0
1	" Fustian	9/2	1-10- 4
2	" Serge	21/4	
3	" "	9/6	1- 8- 6

96 pr breeches	.	49- 7- 1
3 white cotton & linen shirts at 9/6		1- 8- 6
8 " " " 9/3		3-14- 0
2 striped " " " 9/9		19- 6
41 checkt woolen " 6/5		13- 3- 1
<hr/>		
57 shirts		
63 pr. stockings at 3/		9- 9- 0
59 " shoes 6/		17-14- 0

The patriot army lay encamped for weary months, while the siege of Boston dragged on, neither party making any active assault. In September, Gen. Montgomery set out to take Quebec. A force of 1100 men, consisting of two battalions of musketmen and 3 companies of riflemen as Light Infantry under the command of Col. Benedict Arnold, was detached for this service. The little army marched in several separate bodies. They reached Ipswich on September 15th, and all day long, the stillness of the summer air was broken by the shrill notes of fifes and the roll of drums, as company after company marched along the old Bay Road, followed by the rumbling wagon trains with their camp equipment.

The Journal of Ebenezer Wild¹² notes that the division of which he was a member, marched very early in the morning, and though the weather was very sultry, covered 25 miles and encamped at Beverly.

Sept. 15. This morning marched briskly along and got into Newburyport at 8 ° clock at night After a general review on the 17th, embarked on the 18th and sailed on the 19th.

The Battalion commanded by Major Return J. Meigs marched on the 14th, through Malden, Lynn and Salem and encamped in Danvers.

¹² Mass. Histor. Society Proceedings 1885-1886, Vol. II., Sec. Series.

15. In the morning continued our march throgh the towns of Beverly and Wenham and encamped at Rowley.

It reached Newburyport at 10 A. M. on the 16th.¹⁸ The 2nd Battalion encamped at Salem on the 14th, on the 15th encamped at Ipswich, and reached Newburyport on the 16th.

This Battalion included apparently the famous Capt. Daniel Morgan with his Virginia riflemen, and two companies of Pennsylvania riflemen, commanded by Captain William Hendricks and Captain Matthew Smith. The excitement occasioned by the marching soldiery, with music and flags, was only a prelude to the astonishment and wonder, roused by the camp. The spectacle of tents pitched, camp fires lighted and supper cooked, was the rarest sight Ipswich had ever seen. These riflemen, with their fur caps and deerskin frocks, fresh from the wild life of the woods, were strange figures in the old Puritan town. Perhaps they gratified the throng of towns folk with an exhibition of their skill as marksmen. A Pennsylvania newspaper described a camp of one of these companies on the march to Cambridge.

One of the company held a barrel stave perpendicularly in his hands with one edge close to his side while one of his comrades at the distance of upwards of sixty yards and without any kind of a rest shot several bullets through it. The spectators appearing to be amazed were told that there was not one who could not plug nineteen bullets out of twenty, as they turned it, within an inch of the head of a ten penny nail. At night, a great fire was kindled where the company gave a perfect exhibition of a war-dance, and all the manoeuvres of Indians, holding council, going to war, circumventing their enemies by ambuscades, scalping, &c.

But if the veil of the Future could have been drawn aside, the Ipswich folk would have gazed with keener in-

¹⁸ Journal of Major Return J. Meigs, Mass. Histor. Soc. Collections II., 2nd Series, p. 227.

terest on the leader of the expedition, Col. Benedict Arnold, or on a youth in his twentieth year, marching in the ranks, who was destined to rise to high renown by his great talents, and rival his leader in a deed of endless shame. Aaron Burr, prostrated by a nervous fever in his tent at Cambridge, heard his friend Ogden, conversing with fellow soldiers about Arnold's Expedition. He called Ogden in and inquired about it. Raising himself up in bed, he declared he would go and at once commenced dressing himself. He formed a mess with four or five hearty fellows and "with his new associates in arms, on the 14th September, 1775, shouldered their muskets, took their knapsacks upon their backs and marched to the place of embarkation."¹⁴ Arnold led his men from the mouth of the Kennebec through the Maine forests to Quebec. They underwent incredible hardships, and made an heroic attack on the impregnable fortress on the last day of the year, only to suffer disastrous defeat.

Shortly after the battle of Bunker Hill, the Provincial Congress ordered that 10 companies of 50 men each should be raised in the County of Essex, to be stationed by the Committee of the Congress, chosen for this purpose, and to be under the direction of the Committee of Correspondence of the town where they were stationed. An Ipswich company was dispatched to Gloucester¹⁵ in October to aid in the defence of that exposed town, and on Nov. 29th, Capt. Moses Jewett's horse-troop¹⁶ was sent there to guard the harbor and the ship "Nancy." The privateer schooner, "Lee," Captain John Manly, had captured and brought in the ordnance-ship, "Nancy," from London bound for Boston with a great quantity of small arms and ammunition, besides cannon and a large brass mortar of a new construction. These munitions of war were greatly needed and were carted at once to Cambridge.

¹⁴ *Memoir of Aaron Burr.* Matthew L. Davis, 1836, p. 62.

¹⁵ Babson's *History of Gloucester*, pp. 396, 397.

¹⁶ Original Roll owned by A. Everett Jewett.

The sailors captured at Cape Ann were brought to Ipswich and confined in the jail, which stood on or near the site of the residence of the late Rev. David Tenney Kimball, near the meeting-house of the First Parish. Some British soldiers taken at Dorchester were also imprisoned there. Serg^t. Thomas Livermore of the 63^d Regiment addressed a petition to the General Court, Nov. 28th, 1775, in behalf of seven soldiers and nine sailors, his fellow prisoners, "confined to the narrow limits of a Goal and deprived of every injoyment that the Almighty has been pleased to bestow upon us, except our meate which we have in plenty and in due season." Five of their number had been very sick, and one remained very ill, with nothing to cover him but his clothes. The soldiers each needed a shirt and bedding. The sailors "each want Every Necessary to hide their Nakedness."¹⁷

The General Court took action very considerably and instructed the Selectmen to furnish them with clothing and bedding and return their account to the Court.¹⁸

Zephaniah Decrow, a political prisoner, had been confined in the jail prior to September, but on Sept. 18th he had been taken to Wenham and delivered to the Committee of safety of that Town.¹⁹

As Winter set in, there began to be a scarcity of food supplies. The farms had been cultivated very indifferently, as many of the farm people were in the army. Early in December the Town voted to procure two vessels and fit them for sea, with the co-operation of the citizens, to secure cargoes of corn, rye and wheat. On Dec. 13th, Daniel Noyes, Capt. Daniel Rogers, Capt. Isaac Dodge, John Crocker, Samuel Lord, Capt. Ephraim Kendall, Major Jonathan Cogswell, Capt. Abraham How and Mr. John Patch y^e 3^d, were chosen a Committee of Inspection, and also to act as a Committee of Correspondence and Safety.

¹⁷ Mass. Archives 180: 234; also 137: 99; 8: 193, 228, 236; 9: 2; 33: 373. Names of the prisoners are given.

¹⁸ General Court Records 33: 373.

¹⁹ Town Papers.

The Winter camp on Prospect hill brought bitter experiences both to the unseasoned soldiers and to the friends at home. Lieut. Hodgkins wrote on Jan. 7, 1776:

It is a good Deal Sickly among us we Bured Willeby Nasón Last thursday John Sweet is Very Sick in Camp & Josiah Persons of Cape Ann in our Company is Just moved to the ospittle . . . John Holladay Died Last thursday night there whas five Bured that Day.

P. S. we Live in our tents yet But the men are Chiefly gone into Barracks.

On Feb. 3^d, he wrote,

we Live in our tent yet only when we are Smoaked out and then we git Shealter Some whar Else.

The British evacuated Boston on March 17, 1776, sailing for New York. The American army followed, and interesting glimpses of the summer campaign are afforded by the frequent letters of Lieut. Hodgkins. His regiment marched by way of Providence and Norwich to New London, sailing from there on April 14th and landing on Long Island on May 2nd. Writing on August 25th, he reports the death of his cousin Abr^m Hodgkins, "lamented Both by officers and men," and a sharp skirmish. They had gone 42 miles on an expedition to destroy boats and collect cattle, when having received word that the enemy had landed, they made a forced return march of 34 miles without a stop. Lieut. Lord was shot through the thigh. "I had my sleeve button shot out of my sleeve and the skin a little grased."

Capt. Nathaniel Wade wrote to his mother a graphic account of the severe experiences of the Long Island campaign, under date of Sept. 5th, 1776.

On tuesday the 26th Come the Second turn for our Reg^t. to take Post on the Flatbush Road in the Wood, there ware

Beside Ours, two other Parties, one on the Bedford road one on the Right the Road Next the River

. . . . Morning coming on the Enemy Was Seen all on a Move, when we Expected them up the Road where we ware Posted. But being informed (as I suppose) that the Road was so fortified that they could not Pass the Way We ware Posted Without Great Difficulty we had a brest work of trees falen a Cross the Road upon a Steep Hill and two Brass Six Pounders; we Perceived their Plan was to Surround us Kept our Post till the fire Got a Cross the Road in the Rear Betwixt us and our Lines; and Not a Sufficient Number to make a Stand; or fight the Way through the Commanding officer Gave orders to Retreat and ascending the hill, found there ware a Vast Body of the Enemy Betwixt us and the Lines; and no other Way to Escape but Crossing a Piece of Marsh and through a Creek Breast high, Near Which was a Redout Well Manned Els we should have Been all Cut of; there were a Continual fire kept up the Whole of our Retreat, wherever we thought to get any advantageous Post in the Bushes or Elsewhere; they Lay in ambush for us in Cornfield and Behind Walls and the like Places the troops Pretty Much fatigued By Being obliged to be at the Lines Continually Night and Day and Rain almost Constantly that it was hardly Possible to keep our Guns and ammunition fit for action.

. . . . The General Seeing the Situation that the Army had Cut of our Communication By Land and the Shipping only Waiting for a Wind to Surround us on the other and that Would Cut of all Supply from any Quarter: therefore Saw fitt to Remove the troops and Quit the Island intirely Which I hope Will God Grant it May be for the Best.

The Retreat Was Nobly Effected Without the Loss of a man, though our Boats Ware so few that it Was from before Sun Down till after Sun Rise Before they Ware all Brought: the intention of Leaving the Island was unknown to us till Nine o'Clock in the Evening when Every Man was ordered to turn out with Gun and Pack when the Col. Rec'd orders to Strike tents and Get all the Bagage to the ferry as soon as Possible at one o Clock We Got over With our Baggage.

From the Best intelligence I can Git our Loss in the

Skirmish in the Wood was about six hundred killed taken and missing: and from information By Deserters and Some others that have Made their Escape that the Enemy had upward of five hundred killed and wounded I have the unhappy News to Send that Akelus (Archelaus) Pulsepher is one of those that Missing wither kill or taken uncertain. Will^m Allen of My Company Wounded I have three other Died Since my last. Abraham Hodgkin; Will^m Goodhue 3^d instant; Thomas Winter of the feaver and flux May God Comfort there friends under the Heavy tidings. May the Blessing of heaven Ever attend our Cause in which we are Ingaged in and Crown us With Victory and Success: Dear Mother I remain your Ever Dutiful Son

Nathaniel Wade.

The Wade papers contain Capt. Nathaniel Wade's memorandum:

Jeremiah Diskel Lost his Gun when sick on Board Ad^m. Hopkins fleet

Arkelus Pulsepher taken in the flat-bush fight

Joseph Pettengill Gun spilt by a shot

flatbush fight }
Left at port Green }

Thomas Winters

Will^m Allen

Abraham Hodgkins

John Caldwell

Ebenezer Staniford

Will^m Mansfield

} all Lost there Guns in the Retreat on
Long Island

James Brown's Gun Lost in the Battle on York Island

Mikel McGlathlen Deserted Carried of his Gun

Francis Cogswell taken at Mile Square

Isaac Caldwell Gun taken with Gen^l Lee

Elisha Gould and Gun Join'd Capt. Gerrishes Comp^{ry}.

As the War continued, Tory sentiments were met with severe measures. Jonathan Stickney Jr. of Rowley was so unwise that he used very uncomplimentary language regard-

ing the patriot cause and its leaders. He was arrested and sent to the General Court. Its decision was quick and sharp, as the Mittimus which was issued makes evident.

To the Keeper of Ipswich Jail.

You are ordered to receive into your custody Jonathan Stickney Jr., who has been apprehended by the Committee of Inspection, Correspondence and Safety of the Town of Rowley and sent to the General Court for having in the most open and daring manner endeavored according to the utmost of his abilities to encourage & introduce Discontent, Sedition, and a Spirit of Disobedience to all lawful authority among the people by frequently clamoring in the most impudent insulting and abusive Language against the American Congress, the General Court of this Colony and others who have been exerting themselves to save the Country from Misery & Ruin all which is made fully to appear. You are therefore him safely to keep in close confinement (in a Room by himself & that he be not allowed the use of pens Ink nor paper, and not suffer him to converse with any person whatever unless in your hearing) till the further order of the General Court or he be otherwise discharged by due course of Law.

In the Name and by the order of the Council and House of Representatives

John Lowell, Dep. Sec.²⁰

Council Chambers

April 18, 1776.

The Committee of Safety of Rowley petitioned²¹ the Court on June 5th, 1776, that, in view of his penitence he be removed from jail to his father's house, under such restrictions as may be imposed.

The Summer of 1776 was brightened by one luminous event, the Declaration of Independence, on July 4th, the thought of which had been indignantly disclaimed by the votes of Ipswich not many months before, and by Washington himself and all the patriot leaders, but which had been

²⁰ Mass. Archives 15: 46.

²¹ Mass. Archives 181: 81.

forced upon the Colonies by the trend of events. On June 10th, 1776, the men of Ipswich, in Town-meeting assembled, instructed their Representatives,

that if the Continental Congress should for the safety of the said Colonies Declare them Independent of the Kingdom of Great Britain, they will solemnly engage with their lives and Fortunes to support them in the Measure.

Apart from this it was a dark and troubled time. Calls for fresh troops followed close upon each other. The General Court had ordered that 5000 men be raised immediately from the training band and alarm lists on June 25th. On July 11th two regiments were ordered to reinforce the troops for Canada, and they were to be raised by a draft of every twenty-fifth man in the training band and alarm lists, to serve until Dec. 1, 1776. Provision for enforcing this draft was made in every community. The Continental Army was in such critical condition in New York, that on Sept. 12, 1776, a draft was ordered from the militia of every fifth able bodied man under fifty years of age, under a penalty of fine and imprisonment for a period not exceeding two months.

While the defeated and discouraged little army was retreating across New Jersey, constantly pressed by a superior force, an Act was passed, requiring that one quarter part of all the able-bodied men from 16 years upward, not in actual service, should be held in readiness to march at a minute's warning to serve for a period not exceeding three months. An Ipswich company of 67 men, Ebenezer Lord, Captain, Moses Treadwell, 1st Lieut., Richard Sutton, 2nd Lieut. was joined to Col. Timothy Pickering's Regiment and ordered to march to Providence and Danbury, Conn.

The food question became acute once more, with the approach of Winter, as the lack of laborers had greatly diminished the staple crops. Francis Cogswell and others

petitioned²² for a permit to send the sloop, "Two Brothers" to North Carolina for a cargo of provisions, which was granted by the House on Jan. 1, 1777, provided he include in the cargo no articles mentioned in the Resolve of Dec. 10, 1776. The Town Committee to procure grain, Ephraim Kendall, Isaac Dodge and John Choate, reported on March 3^d, 1777.

for the charge of fitting out the schooner Betsey & 7/16
of the sloop, Friendship, 50- 0- 0
and the loss of the schooner Betsey the year before,
333- 06- 08

Prices naturally advanced though extreme measures were adopted to prevent needless rise in prices of food stuffs, in the pay of laboring men and in the shipping rates. The Selectmen and the Committee of Correspondence and Safety, acting under the authority of the General Court, issued a schedule²³ of prices covering all articles of food, clothing, wages of labor of every kind, entertainment at hotels, shipping rates etc.

The citizens met in Town meeting on April 14, 1777, and the Committee appointed to draft a Vote relative to the Act of General Court to prevent monopoly and oppression, reported:

Whereas some persons from an inimical Desposition to the Glorious Cause are doing their best to prevent the regulation of prices from being carried out

Voted. The Inhabitants of this Town will not only strictly adhere to & observe the aforesaid act but also use our utmost endeavors to detect and bring to punishment those unfriendly selfish persons who at this important crisis shall have the effrontery to counteract the good wholesome laws of this State.

²² Mass. Archives 181: 422.

²³ The original broad-side is in the possession of the Ipswich Historical Society.

This was carried unanimously and the Selectmen were instructed not to approbate any innholder or retailer who did not strictly adhere to the regulating Act. A Committee of seven persons was chosen on June 9, to prosecute all persons guilty of any breach of the Act, and the Representatives were instructed to oppose the repeal of the Act.

The regulation of prices was again in question in 1779, and in mid August, a Committee was chosen to meet with Committees of other towns to consider proposals of the late State Convention respecting the high prices of several articles of consumption. A Convention met in Concord in October, to regulate prices, John Baker and Stephen Choate being the Ipswich delegates; and in November, a Town Committee was chosen to regulate the prices of innholders, mechanics' wages &c. according to the recommendations of this Convention.

All expectation of a speedy termination of the war was now given up. Enlistments for a three year period were ordered by the Continental Congress, as the army was greatly weakened by the constant loss of soldiers, whose brief terms of enlistment had expired, and the coming of raw recruits. Orders for fresh levies were issued in January, March, April, May and August, 1777, for service in the defense of Boston, in Rhode Island and in the Northern army. The raising of the required number of soldiers was no easy matter, and the expense involved in the wages of the volunteers soon grew into huge proportions. A Committee reported on Jan. 21, 1777, that 67 men had been enrolled in the coast defense in the field, and that the total outlay had been £1737-5-0, and £1000 was assessed "to defray the Charge of men's going into the War." As one of the vessels that went to Virginia in 1776, had been lost, the loss had to be made good by the Town.

To encourage enlistment under the Act of General Court, which required one seventh of the men from sixteen years

old and upward to the age of fifty, the Town voted in February, 1777, to pay for a three year enlistment, either a single payment of £18, in addition to Continental and State bounties, or a progressive sum increasing from £6 the first year to £10 the third. In May, the sum of £16 was voted as a bounty to hold good until Jan. 10th, and as the currency was now much debased, the Representatives were instructed to petition Congress to redeem the State money with Continental money. The sum of £1200 was appropriated in November to hire the men called for, and further sums for firearms and ammunition.

The first enthusiasm for the War had long since spent itself, and there was less and less willingness to enlist. In May, 1777, a bounty of £18 over and above the Continental and State bounty was paid to 18 men, all inhabitants of Woolwich and a draft was necessary in May or early June to fill the Ipswich quota. The Treasurer's accounts of this period reveal frequent trips of the Committee to Boston, to New Hampshire and elsewhere to secure men.

After the capture of Fort Ticonderoga by the British, an order was issued on August 9, 1777, requiring that one sixth part of the able-bodied men of the training band and alarm lists, not already engaged, be at once drafted and marched for the relief of the Northern army under Gen. Gates.

Major Charles Smith of Ipswich commanded a regiment which was engaged in this service, and Captain Robert Perkins was in command of a company of Light Horse Volunteers attached to this regiment.²⁴ Candlewood was well represented with Elisha Brown, Lieut., Nehemiah Brown, Sergeant, John Brown, Trumpeter, as well as the Captain. From Ipswich Village, came Cornet John Pearson, Mark Haskell and Nehemiah Jewett.

Capt. David Low and his company were in the same regiment, and his 48 men were all from Ipswich. John

²⁴ Mass. Archives. Muster Rolls 22: 58.

Potter was the drummer, Jno. Smith, the fifer, Francis Merrifield and Paul Lancaster were the Lieutenants.²⁵ Capt. Robert Dodge's company in Col. Samuel Johnson's regiment did duty in the campaign under General Gates and the guard service at Prospect Hill from August to December. The 42 members of the Company were chiefly from the Hamlet and Chebacco. Moses Lufkin was the Drum Major.²⁶ Capt. Richard Dodge had 28 men from the Hamlet in his company, engaged in the same service.²⁷

Gen Burgoyne surrendered his army after two severe defeats at Saratoga, numbering about 6000 men and those captured at Bennington and elsewhere, raised the total number of British prisoners in the hands of the Americans to about 10,000 or about a third of the entire British army in America. A large force was detached to accompany the prisoners to Cambridge, where a great prison camp was established and to guard them there. Many Ipswich soldiers were engaged in this service.

The American victory at Saratoga has been pronounced by a competent authority,²⁸ one of the great battles that have had a lasting influence on the world's history. Its immediate effects made it the turning point of the Revolution, as it broke up the plans of the British and secured the alliance with France. But whatever of hope and courage were inspired by it, were destroyed by the terrible experiences of the army in its winter camp at Valley Forge. Joseph Hodgkins, then a Captain in Col. Timothy Bigelow's Battalion, wintered there. His letters to his wife brought the dreadful truth home to all the people of Ipswich. Under date of Feb. 22, 1778, he wrote:

I must Just inform you that what our Soldiers have Suf-

²⁵ Mass. Archives. Rolls 20: 225.

²⁶ Mass. Archives. Rolls 18: 146.

²⁷ Mass. Archives. Rolls 18: 151.

²⁸ The Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World by Sir Edward S. Creasy.

fered this winter is Beyond Expression as one half has Ben bare foot & all most Naked all winter the other half Very Badly on it for Clothes of all sorts and to Come Pleat our messery Very Shorte on it for Provision not Long Since our Brigade Drue a half Days Lownce of Meet in Eight Day. But these Defilties the men Bor with a Degree of fortitude Becoming Soldiers.

But I must say one worde to the People at home who I fear have Lost all Bowles of Compassion if they Ever had any for the Country Towns have Provided Clothing for there men and Brought them to Camp. But as there has Ben none from the Seeport Towns I fear they have lost all there Publick Spirit I would Beg of them to Rouse from there Stupidity and Put on Som humanity and stir themselves Befor it is too Late I would not have them thing hard of maintaining there Soldiers for what the Soldier has Suffered the past year Desarved a Penshon Dureing Life.

These heart-rending tales were enough to damp the ardor of the most devoted friends of the cause, and it is not strange that the renewed calls for troops in the summer of 1778 were responded to very slowly. The wonder is that any volunteers could be found. Still the large bounties proved attractive. In February, 1778, the Town Committee hired two men from Passamaquoddy, one from Fox Island and seventeen Frenchmen, "lately from France," lured probably by the prospect of the high wages paid to recruits. They received a bounty of £60 each.

On April 20, 1778, 2000 more men were summoned into the field for duty on the Hudson River, and it was ordered that every town, which failed of sending its full quota, should be fined £100 for every man deficient. Each town was allowed £30 for every man enlisted before May 20th.

Twenty-one men were enlisted for nine months under this Resolve.

Rhode Island was threatened in June, and again the call was made for a short enlistment. Ipswich sent 50 men

and the Town Treasurer reported in August that he had paid them £33 each for their six weeks in the field, a total of £1650. Jonathan Ingersoll testified that on July 1st, while in command of the sloop-of-war "Packet," he had been chased ashore at Nova Scotia by the British. He compelled three men to bring his crew and himself in a boat to Ipswich and on his arrival, he made request that they should not be detained as prisoners.

The cost of the struggle was already appalling. The Town Treasurer balanced his accounts and drew up

A Schedule of the Debts arising within the Town of Ipswich for the year 1778, Exclusive of the charge of the Poor and Soldiers Families.

Continental men for 3 years & the War	£1434- 0- 0
Nine months men	3129- 2- 0
Six months Providence men	508- 1- 0
Cloathing for Continental Soldier	536-12- 6
Mileage for 6 mos. Providence men	49-12- 0
Mileage 6 weeks Rhode Island	109- 8- 0
Guards at Winter Hill, 3 mos.	315- 0- 0
	<hr/>
	6131-15- 6
Clothing now Eng. by Selectmen	620
	<hr/>
	6751-15- 6
The total War Debt was	12396- 4- 2

The year 1779 brought a lull in active military operations, but in May there was a call for 1500 men, in June another call for 800 men to serve until Jan. 1, 1780, which was followed immediately by another for 2000 men, in consequence of a requisition made by the Continental Congress. In October, 2000 men were called on a 3 months term and guards for the sea-coast defence were enlisted at Christmas. The one grand event of the year was the victory of John Paul Jones in the "Bon Homme Richard" over the British frigate "Serapis," and the Town was proud

of the two Ipswich sailors, Jonathan Wells and Francis Perkins, who belonged to the famous ship.

The Treasury accounts of the United States contain the item.

Ipswich, Sept. 1st, 1787.

Hon^{ble} Nathan Dane Esq^r.

Sir. Please to pay to John Story, Esq. or order, what money you have or shall receive for Prize money due to Jonathan Wells & Francis Perkins both of Ipswich as belonging to the Continental Ship Bonum Richard, John Paul Jones Esq^r. Commander, from the time she first sailed from Le Orient in France till she sunk at sea—whose receipt shall be good for what shall be received.

I am your Honors most Obed^t & most humble Servant

Will^m Story Jun^r Attorney to said
Jon^a Wells & Eliz^a Perkins Mother
to said Francis Perkins.

Treasury Department, Auditor's Office

Oct. 3^d 1791

I hereby certify that it appears by the records of the late Marine Department now deposited in this office. That on the 6th of Nov^r 1787, John Story received from Benjⁿ Walker Esq^r the Commis^r for Marine Account, fifty two Dollars and sixty ninetieths—being Jonathan Well's Share of the prizes Captured by the Cont^l Ship Bonne Rich^d—rec^d by said Story in consequence of a power of Attorney from said Wells unto Nathan Dane Esq. & transferred by said Dane unto the said John Story.

Doyle Sweeny.

Jonathan Wells enlisted first in Capt. Abraham Dodge's company on May 3, 1775, took part in the battle of Bunker Hill on June 17th and was discharged after 12 weeks 6 days service. As he received coat-money Dec. 21, 1775, he was again in the army. He enlisted again January 1st, 1776. He was a seaman in the brigantine — five months and fourteen days in 1777, being discharged July 31.²⁹ He

²⁹ Mass. Soldiers and Sailors in the Revolution.

was in the privateer "Fair Play" in December, 1777, in the "Black Prince" in July, 1778 and in the "Gen. Wadsworth" in February, 1781.

It is a family tradition that Mr. Wells was wounded during his first enlistment. While at home, recovering from his wound, he went one day to the Meeting House Green, where recruits were being enrolled, and was so fired with enthusiasm, that he re-enlisted and marched away with his arm in a sling. Entering the navy, he passed from ship to ship, without being allowed an opportunity to return home and see his family. He used to say that he thought he had seen war before he became a seaman in the navy, but his land service was not to be compared with the fight between the "Bon Homme Richard" and the "Serapis." He stood at his gun when nine men and a boy lay dead around him. He always expressed great admiration for John Paul Jones, telling how small a man he was, and of his brilliant ability and dauntless courage. On his return home after this battle, his house was besieged for days with friends and neighbors, who desired to hear from his own lips the story of the great sea-fight. His wife picked the powder from his face with a fine cambric needle.

A popular song, which was inspired by this battle has been remembered by a descendant⁸⁰ of the brave soldier and sailor.

An American frigate
A frigate of fame,
With guns mounted forty
And Richard by name,
Went to cruise in the Channel
Of old Eng . . land
A valiant Commander
Paul Jones was the man.

⁸⁰ Mrs. Lora A. Littlefield of Brookline, who has communicated the interesting family traditions. Her grand-mother was grand-daughter of Capt. Wells, as he was familiarly called.

We had not sailed long
Before we espied
A large forty-four
And a twenty likewise.
The Lion bore down,
While the Richard did rake,
And caused the poor heart
Of Percy to quake.

We fought them eight glasses,
Eight glasses so hot,
Seventy bold seamen
Lay dead on the spot.
And ninety brave seamen
Lay bleeding in gore,
While Percy's cannon
Most wretch'dly did roar.

A gunner in fright
To Paul Jones then came
We take water quite fast
Our side is in flames.
Brave Jones made reply
In the height of his pride
"If we can't do no better, boys,
We'll sink along side."

"Stand firm at your quarters
Your duty don't shun,
The first one that quits them
Through his body I'll run!"
The shot flew so hot:
They couldn't stand it long;
And the undaunted Union
Of Great Britain came down.

Thomas Knowlton and Nathaniel Farley Jr. are said to have had part in the expedition to the Penobscot, which sailed from Boston, July 19, 1779. On the British side Dr. John Calef, now openly an enemy of the patriot cause,

was actively engaged as a surgeon. His "Siege of Penobscot (Castine) by the Rebels" and his Journal, have preserved a valuable record of this campaign.

The year 1780 opened with a depressing report of the Town Treasurer. The Town debt had advanced by leaps and bounds, the excessive figures revealing the extreme depreciation of the Continental currency. The charges for 10 Continental soldiers for 9 months were about £8000; for 11 men at Rhode Island for 6 months, about £5700; for men on guard at and about Boston, £445; for 33 men sent to the Hudson River in October, £4330. The charge for the poor was £6000, and the notes given by the Treasurer amounted to £14,000, making a grand total deficiency of £38,475 for the year 1779. The General Court directed the Selectmen of the towns in May, 1780, to report the monthly average price of beef, Indian corn, sheeps' wool and sole-leather, for several months in 1780 and in 1781, for the purpose of determining the value of the securities given by the State to Continental officers and soldiers to make good their established pay and wages. By the end of the year, the old Emission money had depreciated to such an extent that on Dec. 25, the Town voted £1850 of the last Emission or £74,200 of the old to purchase beef.

The Southern States were the scene of the war for the most part as the summer advanced, but there was a call for 3,064 men on June 5, 1780 for 6 months, with the severe condition that £150 should be imposed upon any person drafted, who neglected to hire an able-bodied man, the fine to be paid within twenty-four hours after being drafted. The Town's quota was 60 men. On Gen. Washington's call for more troops, it was ordered on June 22nd, that 4,726 men should be enlisted for three months from their arrival at Claverack on the Hudson. The Town sent 52 men at an expense of £1170 each, its quota again being sixty. The proportion of supplies for the army allotted to

GEN. WASHINGTON'S ORDER TO COL. WADE

Ipswich included 106 shirts, as many pairs of shoes and stockings, 33 blankets, and 31,800 pounds of beef. The Town paid £19,080 in Continental money in lieu of half the allotment of beef.

Col. Nathaniel Wade's regiment, which included many Ipswich men, was stationed at West Point. Gen. Benedict Arnold, the commander of the post, had made overtures to the British officers to surrender it to them. Upon the arrest of Major André, who acted as agent in the secret communications, Arnold fled precipitately to the British ship, "Vulture," lying in the Hudson. A family tradition has always affirmed that Stephen Pearson of the Village was one of the crew which rowed the traitor's boat. Indeed the whole boat's crew may have been detached from Col. Wade's command.

Washington, Knox and La Fayette were at West Point. The defection of Arnold was a crushing blow. There was great uncertainty as to the extent of the conspiracy and the preparations made by the enemy for an immediate attack. Aides and orderlies were dispatched in every direction with orders that arrangements might be made for any emergency. Col. Lamb, the officer in charge of the fortifications at the time, had been detached on other service. Col. Wade was directed to assume command.⁸¹ The original order is a cherished heirloom in the Wade family.

Head-Quarters, Robinson's House.
25 Sept. 1780

Sir.

General Arnold is gone to the enemy. I just now received a line from him, inclosing one to Mrs. Arnold, dated on board the Vulture. From this circumstance, and Col. Lamb's being detached on some business, the command of the garrison for the present devolves on you. I request you will be as vigilant as possible, and, as the enemy may have

⁸¹ Narrative and Critical History. Winsor, VI: 460.

it in contemplation to attempt some enterprize, even to-night, against these posts, I wish you to make, immediately after the receipt of this, the best disposition you can of your force, so as to have a proportion of men in each work on the west side of the river. You will see or hear from me further to-morrow.

I am Sir, your mo. obt. servt.

Geo. Washington.

This letter was followed by another on the following day:

Sir:

Under the present situation of affairs, I think it necessary that the respective works at West Point and its dependencies be supplied with provisions and water. You will therefore be pleased to have a proper quantity distributed to each of them without any loss of time.

I am, sir, your most ob'dt serv'nt

Go: Washington

Head Qr. 26 Sept. 1780.

Colonel Wade.

Prof. Daniel Treadwell, in his *Reminiscences*⁸² of Col. Wade, narrates some interesting incidents. A few days before the capture of Major Andr , Col. Wade dined by invitation with Gen. Arnold at Robinson's house, where he had his headquarters, some three miles below West Point, on the east side of the Hudson. On taking leave of his host, one of the General's Aides-de-Camp walked to the bank of the river with Col. Wade. As they neared the river, he said in a very impressive tone. "Col. Wade there is something going on here that I do not understand and cannot find out. I say this to put you on your guard at the Fort. I fear there is something brewing about us, and all I can say is, look out for [it]." He then turned about suddenly, evidently wishing to avoid any inquiry or explanation. Col. Wade always believed that the suspicion of the Major had been aroused by the secret communications, which were

⁸² *Antiquarian Papers*, Vol. II: No. XIX.

carried on, and that he took this method to rouse the vigilance of a principal officer of the garrison, without involving himself by making charges against his superior.

When La Fayette visited Ipswich in 1824, he greeted Col. Wade with great cordiality. They indulged in reminiscences of the War, and when Col. Wade exclaimed "But my dear General, do you remember West Point?" Lafayette replied, "'O my dear friend, I do,' and when Gen. Washington first heard of the defection of Arnold, he asked, 'Who has the immediate command?' On being told that it was you, he said, 'Col. Wade is a true man, I am satisfied.' Gen. Green and myself immediately repaired to the Garrison. Do you not recollect seeing me riding rapidly in from the north-east corner when we took the Division up to King's Ferry?"³³

After pointing out the danger and folly of short-term enlistments, the General Court ordered a levy of 4,240 men for three years or the War, in December, 1780. Inhabitants of towns were now directed to form themselves into classes for procuring men, each class to hire or engage one able-bodied man for the service. This method proved more successful than any other means adopted. In February, 1781, Selectmen were instructed to class the inhabitants into as many classes as they were deficient in the number assigned. The difficulty of procuring recruits is painfully evident in Col. Hutchinson's letter to the Ipswich Committee. Under the call of Dec. 2, 1780, 52 men were assigned to Ipswich. But on Oct. 30, 1781, nearly a year later, Col. Hutchinson notified the Committee that only 45 men had been procured. Two of these had failed, so that nine men were still lacking.

The list of citizens included in one of these classes has been preserved.³⁴

³³ From the Newburyport Union. Antiquarian Papers Vol II: No. XIX.

³⁴ Family papers of Hon. John Heard.

350 IPSWICH, IN THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY.

Class No. 25.

John Heard	1- 8- 3- 5	Ebenezer Cogswell	1- 0- 7- 7
Capt. Abraham Dodge		Stephen Brown Jr.	1 -10- 8
	1- 3-12- 0	Capt. Joseph Cummings	
"Guardain to John Pitman"			1- 0
	1 -16	Capt. Thomas Cummings	
Asa Baker	2 -18- 3		1- 6
Nath Heard	1 - 5- 0	Lt. John Goodhue	1- 3-18- 0
Dan ^l Fuller	2 -14	Ephraim Goodhue	1 - 6- 0
Will ^m Wise	1- 1- 3- 4	Aaron Staniford	1 - 8-10

To Mr. John Heard

The persons above named having been classed agreeable to Resolves of the General Court of the second of December and twenty-sixth of February last, You are hereby required to notify a meeting of said class at some convenient Place as soon as conveniently may be in Order to procure an able bodied and effective man to serve in the Continental army for three years or during the War agreeable to sd. Resolves, hereof fail not and make Return to the Commanding Officers of Companies and Assessors of the Town of Ipswich at or before the twenty-fifth day of this instant March.

Barnabas Dodge, per Order.

The class was duly organized, and its soldier was secured.

Ipswich, March 14, 1781.

We, the subscribers, do hereby obligate ourselves and successors to pay to Ammi Burnham Junior the sum of four pound hard money monthly from the date hereof in consideration of his serving as a soldier in Class No. 25 for the Term of 3 years . . . or so long as he shall serve.

John Heard.

Abraham Dodge.

In the mean time, upon information from Gen. Rochambeau that Rhode Island was in peril once more, the Governor had been authorized on Feb. 28, 1781, to issue orders for 1200 men for 40 days, and another call on June 30th, required 2700 men for 3 months, as temporary reinforce-

ment at West Point. Ipswich was assigned 42 men, and due proportion of shirts, shoes and stockings: and on Nov. 5th, the Town was credited with 21 oxen delivered at Andover, estimated at 13,334 pounds and £20 specie in lieu of 1820 pounds, the balance of quota due June 22.

But the end was now near at hand. Cornwallis surrendered on October 19th, 1781. A levy of 1500 men for 3 years or the end of the War was made in March, 1782. On July 6th, small detachments of artillery were stationed at Plum Island, Gloucester, and other exposed points on the sea-board. A treaty of peace was signed at Paris in September, 1783. The Town voted on May 7, with great enthusiasm no doubt, that the Town "will give the Committee the powder taken out of the Town Stock & used in the late day of rejoicing."

Eight anxious, bitter years had passed since the Lexington alarm. The men of Ipswich had acquitted themselves nobly in the long marches and the dreadful winter camps as well as on the battlefield. Again and again, they had responded to the endless calls for reinforcements. The wives and mothers, with hearts heavy with fear for their own loved ones, had toiled cheerfully upon the yearly supply of clothing for the army. Col. Nathaniel Wade and Col. Joseph Hodgkins were in the field during the whole war, and won their well-deserved honors. Major Charles Smith and the school-master, Major Thomas Burnham, rendered valiant service. So did the veteran Capt. Gideon Parker, Capt. Robert Perkins, with his Light Horse troop, Capt. Abraham Dodge, Captain Robert Dodge and Capt. David Low.

Col. Michael Farley was 56 years old when the War began, too advanced in years to take the field. But no man rendered more efficient aid to his country. He was a member of the three Provincial Congresses in 1774 and 1775, and was constantly employed in committee work of the most important character. When the General Court was re-

established in 1775, he was chosen Representative and continued a member until 1780. He was chosen High Sheriff, and advanced in military rank to the position of Second Major General of the Militia. He was Town Treasurer, and conspicuously active in all Town affairs. His sons, John and Jabez entered the army. Robert was not quite fifteen when his brothers, Jabez and Michael, marched with Captain Wade's minute men. But as soon as he had passed his sixteenth birthday, he enlisted. His mother helped him put on his equipments, and bade him "Behave like a man."

A supply of powder was kept in the garret, and on one occasion, when a company was being hurriedly equipped, Mrs. Farley filled every man's powder horn with her own hands.³⁵ Young Robert was captured by the British, while engaged in privateering, in 1780 and imprisoned on the "Jersey," in New York Harbor. His youth and his engaging personality so commended him to his guards that he was allowed unusual privilege, even being permitted to ride horse back on Long Island, and he was plied with bribes to join the British army. He was released after nine months imprisonment, so changed that he was hardly known by his friends.

On the sea, as well as on the land, Ipswich men gave a good account of themselves. A number of privateers were owned and sailed from this port. The commission, dated 1781, signed by his Excellency Samuel Huntington, President of the United States Congress at Philadelphia, authorizing Richard Lakeman of the schooner, "Diana," to privateer in destroying British commerce is still preserved.³⁶ A commission was granted on Dec. 18, 1781, to Ebenezer Lakeman, Captain of the schooner, "Delight," 70 tons, 10 men,

³⁵ Felt. History of Ipswich, p. 184. Col. Farley owned and occupied the house now owned by Mr. David A. Grady. It was raised on the day Robert Farley was born in April, 1760.

³⁶ Owned by Miss S. E. Lakeman, a lineal descendant.

4 carriage guns, for a letter of marque.⁸⁷ Richard Dummer Jewett sailed from Salem on Sunday, June 18, 1781, on board the "Porus," ship of war, mounting 20 nine pounders, commanded by John Carnes Esq. of Salem. Mr. Jewett was Clerk, and his memorandum of the four months cruise is of great interest. His list of the large crew contains many Ipswich names. Daniel Newman was Sailing-Master. Capt. John Dutch was one of the numerous Prize Masters. William Wise was Gunner, Robert Farley, Steward, Nath^l Lakeman, Prize Master Mate, Nath. Jones and William Galloway, Quartermasters, Samuel Lord, Sergeant of Marines, Abraham Perkins, Carpenter. Among the "privates" were William, Stephen and Thomas Hodgkins, Jonathan Farley, Moses Caldwell, Aaron Goodhue, James Fuller, William Walker, John Choat, John Gallaway, a boy of fifteen, and Nath^l Perkins, two years younger.

The brig "Maria" was captured on July 18th, and the brig "Swift" laden with wine and brandy on the 26th. Young Jewett's entry for Sunday, July 8th is:

We were chased by the ship⁸⁸ and Thorn and they came within 2 Leagues of us, when we Saw them. we had a hard Time to get clear.

August 18th, 1781. Spoke with the Scourge In Lat. 42: 48. north

Broth^r Jabez Farley⁸⁹ came on board the Porus.

The "Porus" lost a considerable number of men including William Wise, the gunner.

The most comprehensive and minute source of information regarding the privateer vessels and their crews, that is available, is the old account book of Hon. John Heard. He was already well established in the distillery business at the breaking out of the Revolution. A fleet of vessels,

⁸⁷ Felt. History of Ipswich, p. 315.

⁸⁸ On the day before, a British 50 Gun ship had captured the "Thorn."

⁸⁹ Brother of Robert Farley, the Steward, cousins of Jonathan.

some of them of considerable size, sailed from Ipswich with cargoes of fish and lumber principally, to West India ports and brought back cargoes of molasses. Mr. Heard operated these vessels as sole owner, or in partnership with Capt. Jonathan Ingersoll and Captain Ephraim Kendall. A number of these vessels were fitted as privateers by Mr. Heard. But he owned shares in many other privateering craft, and many Ipswich sailors belonged in the crews of the privateers, which fitted from Newburyport, Gloucester and Salem.

These sailors contracted with the owners or masters of the privateers, that in case of a prize being captured, they were to receive a certain portion of the proceeds. Their next step was to realize in advance on the prospective prize money, to which in case of good fortune, they might be entitled. Mr. Heard played the role of a prize broker, paying the sailors a certain cash sum for their shares. He recorded these conveyances carefully, and these ancient account books thus preserve the names of many sailors and their ships, and the ventures made by the thrifty Ipswich folk in various privateering craft.

The first mention is of the "Yankee Notion," in May, 1776, when William Wise, a member of the crew, gave a power of attorney to Mr. Heard. In August, James Richardson conveyed half his share in the "Fair Lady," Capt. Jacob Martin. Joshua Fisher, an Ipswich surgeon, having shipped in that capacity on the Brigantine, "Fancy," Capt. John Lee, sold a share in the prizes that might be taken in the cruise to Mr. Heard for £60 in May, 1777. John Smith sold him a quarter of a share for \$38, and Samuel Harris, a third of a share for \$51. Nathaniel Heard conveyed an eighth of a share. In December, 1777, Mr. Heard bought for £650 half the share of Nathaniel Kinsman, mariner, in the Brigantine "Dillon," Capt. Lefabre, which had been captured by the "Fancy," and condemned. David Ross sold a quarter share for £300.

Jonathan Galloway, a sailor on the "Neptune," conveyed half his share to Mr. Heard on Aug. 4, 1777, and John Holmes, a quarter, on the same date. Abraham Perkins, shipjoiner, Nathaniel Fuller and William Wise, each conveyed a half of their shares in the schooner "Warren" in September. In December, 1777, four seamen of the privateer "Fair Play," Capt. Isaac Somes, sold their shares in a three or four months cruise, Jonathan Wells and Daniel Lakeman, each a quarter, and William Wise an eighth to John Heard; William Wise, a quarter to Nathaniel Heard, a minor, with consent of his father. Robert Cole of the same vessel sold half his share to Mr. Heard in June, 1778. Mr. Heard received several sacks of oats, containing four bushels each, from some prize taken by the "Fair Play."

He bought fractions of their shares of many sailors in 1778 and 1779. William Wise sold three quarters of his share in the "General Arnold" in May; Elisha Gould, a quarter, in the same ship in June; Francis Rust, a half share in January, 1779. Jonathan Galloway sold a quarter share to Ephraim Kendall; Nathaniel Mansfield disposed of a quarter share in April, 1778; Mansfield sold a half share in the "Cruel Usage," Capt. John Smith, in April, 1778.

In the "Black Prince," Capt. Elias Smith, in June and July, 1778, Jonathan Wells conveyed three quarters of his share, William Smith, John Smith Jr. and Thomas Spiller, each a quarter and William Smith another quarter in November. Mr. Heard's interest in the "Black Prince" brought some return: 1½ ? Congo Tea, 5 bottles port-wine, 5 bottles porter, 5 lb. candles, 2 qts. peas, 2 quires of paper, 28 lb. shot, 5 lb. bread, 7½ lb. nails, 4 lb. soap, 9 sacks of oats, 2 lb. flour.

In the brig "Bennington," Capt. William Tuck, Abraham Perkins and Daniel Lakeman conveyed a half share, and Daniel Low, a quarter, in May and June, 1778. William Wise sold

a half share in the ship "Skyrocket" in June, 1778; Daniel Low, a quarter in the "Dallas"; James Clinton a quarter in the Ipswich privateer, "Diana," Capt. Richard Lakeman, in August, 1778.

The ship "General Stark," Capt. James Pearson of Gloucester was very popular with the people of Ipswich. William Wise, Moses Harris, David Pulcifer, William Story Jr. and Daniel Lakeman all had shares. Mr. Heard invested largely in her outfit and maintenance, £180 in 1778, £305 in 1779, £540 in 1780, and Kendall, Heard and Story, £900 in September, 1780. A prize schooner is mentioned in Jan., 1779. Mr. Heard furnished a tierce of pork and another of beef and John Harris was paid £7-13-0 for hauling it to Cape Ann.

William Smith disposed of half a share in the "Hector," July 3^d, 1779; William Galloway, a quarter share in the "General Lincoln," Capt. John Carnes, in September. William Smith conveyed a half share in the "Harrison," Capt. James Jonson, April 26, 1780, and three quarters share in the ship "Pilgrim," Daniel Lakeman also conveying a quarter in July, 1780.

The brig "John," owned by Mr. Heard, was fitted for privateering in the fall of 1779. She was equipped with wooden guns, and had painted ports, as well as her real armament. His account books contain many items of interest.

To 24 dollars for a gun.

To 1 gun 81^w. Balls,—to haling to y^e Stag.

(i. e. Diamond Stage)

To 50 dollars paid Mr. Choate for a gun.

To painting 3 ports of guns	0-24- 0
To Burnam Bill for 3 wooden guns	9- 0- 0
To panting 3 guns	31/
To 1 gun & bayonet	55/
81½ lb. Bullets	18/

To haling Load to Dimon Stage	20/
To Lakemans bill for bringing guns	£36
Cash for guns	£269-11- 8
To 24 dollars for a wooden gun.	
By Isaac Stanwood, month's pay	£40
3 mens advance wages in brig John.	

The account of the sloop, "Success", contains the item:

1781. To blunderbuss bought at Salem for sloop
 Success, now rigging at the Neck, 2-14- 0
 and in the same year, the Schooner "Delight" was credited
 with 65 pounds of powder.

Jonathan Wells, Ebenezer Smith, William Longfellow, Joseph Perkins, Abraham Perkins and William Wise, of the privateer sloop, "General Wadsworth," Capt. Paul Reed, gave a power of attorney to Mr. Heard, from the time she sailed from Newburyport, (dated Feb. 12, 1781). John Dennis, of the ship "Grand Turk," Joseph Perkins, shipwright of the ship "Franklin," Thomas Burnham of the brigantine "Active," conveyed to Mr. Heard in the summer of 1781. He also owned an eighth of the brig "Gloucester," bought shares in the schooner "Adoring," Capt. Howell, of Abraham Perkins, Capt. Nath. Fuller and William Wise, and shares in the "General Mercer" of William Jackson and James Kent, and received power of attorney from Jonathan Galloway Jr.

Many of the Ipswich men gave their lives for their country. The records are so incomplete that it is impossible to know all the names of this band of patriots, but some not already mentioned have been preserved.

Amos Jewett Jr. died at Christmas, 1775, in his twenty-first year. Willeby Nason and John Holladay died in the camp at Prospect Hill in the winter of 1775-6. David Goodhue died of fever in 1776. Abraham Hodgkins sickened and died in August, 1777, in the Long Island cam-

paign. Jonathan Galloway was on board a privateer which sunk suddenly off Plum Island in the same month. Ebenezer Mansfield died in 1778. In 1782, a cartel from Halifax put into Gloucester and landed a number of sick prisoners, brought for exchange in January, Ishmael Rivès, an Ipswich soldier, among them. In the same year Joseph Goodhue died on a prison ship at St. Lucia. William Choate Jr. died in May, 1782, and Capt. Moses Harris, on a prison ship in March, 1783.

Moses Sweet, John Sweet and William Stone were reported⁴⁰ in the list of prisoners on board the "Prince of Wales," prison-ship in New York, July 24, 1777. They were released and brought from New York in the schooner, "Speedwell," Aug. 3^d, 1777. William Stone, then a sailor on the sloop-of-war, "Wasp" of Newburyport, was killed in the fight with the "Frolic."

The Chebacco parish had distinguished itself by its enthusiastic loyalty. Rev. John Cleaveland had served as Chaplain in the French and Indian War at Capt Breton and at Lake George. When the Revolutionary war began, it was the common remark that "he preached all the young men among his people into the army and then went himself, taking his four sons with him." He served as Chaplain. Two of his sons were surgeons and after the war were conspicuous as physicians and citizens, interested in all public affairs. One of them became a useful and successful clergyman. Ebenezer died on March 30, 1780, aged 26 yrs. "on board the Continental ship Eustis, Lemuel Bishop, Capt. dyed of the jail fever, having been captivated in his voyage to the west indies, first by the British and then by the french in a dutch ship; and put into Jail at Guadeloop: he sailed from Salem on his sd. voyage with Capt. Jacobs, the last of October, 1779."⁴¹ Jesse Story fell at Bunker Hill. In 1776, Thomas Emerson Cole, Jonathan Cogswell

⁴⁰ Independent Chronicle, Boston, July 24, 1777.

⁴¹ Town Records.

3^d, William Jones, died of disease, Joseph Marshall Jr. was killed by a cannon ball at Lake Champlain, and Joseph Lufkin was struck by a tree he was felling and died from his injuries. Jeremiah White died at Albany, and Joseph Burnham was fatally wounded at Stillwater in 1777. James Rust, a prisoner at Halifax, Stephen Kent and John Andrews at Albany, Abraham Jones, Isaac Jones, Israel Andrews, Nathaniel Emerson and Abijah Story, a black man, all died in the year 1778. Lieut. Samuel Burnham died of consumption, caused by exposure, in 1782. Felt, the historian, says that they were all Chebacco men.

Manasseh Cutler, the minister of the Hamlet parish, then a young man of thirty-one years, addressed the minute men before they marched to Lexington, and then rode on horseback with his neighbor, Mr. Willard of Beverly, afterwards President of Harvard College, as far as Cambridge, where he came in sight of the British soldiers retreating to Boston. He was commissioned as Chaplain in the regiment of Col. Ebenezer Francis in Sept. 1776, and served 6 months, and the same period subsequently in Col. Titcomb's Regiment at Long Island and elsewhere. Dr. Elisha Whitney, the physician of the Parish was Captain of a company of minute men and re-enlisted in the army. He was taken prisoner, and in Dec., 1777, Gen. Michael Farley petitioned the Council, that Dr. Whitney then a prisoner at Halifax, might be exchanged for Dr. McCullough, a British surgeon, billeted at Ipswich. The exchange was effected.

While these brave men were in the field, the Committee of Correspondence and Safety, Daniel Noyes, the school-master and post-master, Dummer Jewett, an important member of the Provincial Congress and a conspicuous citizen, John Baker, Capt. Jonathan Cogswell, John Heard, John Patch and many others were engaged with momentous issues at home. The raising of soldiers, the apportionments of beef and clothing, the care of soldiers' families, borrowing

money from citizens, the struggle with the epidemic of small pox, the consideration of the best form of government for the State and the Nation, required anxious thought and long and patient self-sacrificing devotion.

[**"Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the Revolutionary War,"** in seventeen large volumes, compiled by the State from every known source of information, contain such minute and exhaustive record of individual service that the printing of company rolls etc. in this chapter seemed needless. These books are deposited in all Public Libraries, and the Library of every incorporated Historical Society in the Commonwealth.]

CHAPTER XV.

AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

The immediate cost of the Revolutionary War in life and permanent disability from wounds and in the vast expense of eight years of warfare was a great price for the liberty that was gained at last. But the true significance of the mighty struggle was yet to be realized. An oppressive volume of debt was every where in evidence. Massachusetts owed £250,000 to the Revolutionary soldiers, and her share of the Federal war debt was £1,500,000. Every town was deeply involved and every man owed more or less.

Before the war, Ipswich had enjoyed a flourishing trade in fish with the West Indies, but her vessels had been driven from the sea and now, there was no market for the products of the fisheries. The British government refused to allow the importation of American fish into the West Indies under any flag, imposed a prohibitive duty on whale oil, and forbade any but English ships bringing American goods to British ports. There was a great scarcity of specie and the paper currency was sadly depreciated.

An Import and Excise law was enacted in 1783 to provide funds for the State Treasury. It required that a stamp should be affixed to newspapers and there was frequent allusions to it, as the "Stamp-Act." The editor of the Salem Gazette lamented a fresh imposition in his issue of August 2, 1785:

This day the act imposing a duty on advertisements takes place. No printer can now advertise even in his own paper any books or pieces of Piety or Devotion, not excepting the

Holy Bible, without paying a heavy tax for it. How this accords with his Excellency's late Proclamation let the framer of the act determine. Were it not for the tax upon advertising *good Books*, the Printer hereof would inform the publick that he has just published "Extracts from Dr. Priestly's Catechism" which he sells at five coppers single and two shillings the dozen.

The "Tender Act," so called, of 1782 provided that executions issued for private demands might be satisfied by neat cattle and other articles particularly enumerated. It was the first signal for hostilities between creditors and debtors, and led to hostile criticism of the law and at length to bolder attack upon the Courts themselves.¹ Imprisonment for debt was also legal.

The popular unrest assumed a violent phase when delegates from fifty towns in Hampshire County met in Convention at Hatfield on August 22, 1786. In a lengthy deliverance, it formulated the sources of the popular discontent: defects in the form of government, excessive salaries to public officials, the existence of the Courts of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace, unjust methods of taxation, the lack of paper money, etc.; and recommended that the towns in the County petition the Governor to call the General Court together immediately, that these grievances might be redressed. Middlesex County held a Convention on the following day. On the last Tuesday of August, some 1500 insurgents, fully armed, assembled at Northampton, took possession of the Court House and forcibly prevented the sitting of the Courts. During the next week, 300 insurgents interposed a line of bayonets to the entrance of the Judges at Worcester and compelled an adjournment of the Court. Daniel Shays, who had been a Captain in the War, came to the front and the uprising that soon became general in the western Counties has since

¹ The History of the Insurrections in Massachusetts, Geo. R. Minot, 1788, p. 14.

been known as "Shays Rebellion." Governor Bowdoin was obliged eventually to summon the militia. In January, 1787, an army of 4400 men, rank and file, was ordered to rendezvous on Jan. 19th near Boston for 30 days service. Essex County furnished 500 men, including 25 from Ipswich. Col. Nathaniel Wade commanded one of the regiments and Robert Farley served as Aide-de-Camp to the Commander, General Benjamin Lincoln. A march was made to Worcester and Springfield in weather of great severity. After a short but severe campaign, the insurgent forces were scattered, at the cost of only a few lives and law and order again prevailed.

Among the devices to promote prosperity that found place in this period of gloom, the lottery was easily foremost. As early as 1760, Dummer Jewett advertised tickets in the Newbury lottery for sale at his store, and in November, 1782, a lottery to repair the Parker River Bridge was authorized by General Court. Six thousand tickets were offered for sale at \$2 each, and after a reservation of \$1800 for the bridge, the balance of the \$12,000 was to be divided among the ticket holders, a single prize of \$500 heading the list, 1685 tickets drawing \$4 each, and 4135 blanks.² Tickets could be bought in Ipswich of the Postmaster, Daniel Noyes Esq., Dea. William Story and Nathaniel Dodge. A second series of tickets, 3000 in number for the same object, was announced in the following April.

A lottery for the distribution of public lands in Maine was announced in Dec., 1786,³ with 2720 tickets at £60 each in securities. No blanks were guaranteed, the lowest prize would be 160 acres, and the highest, a township of 21,760 acres. In 1790, the General Court devised an original method "to ease taxes and promote public credit," and ordered a State lottery, which should be drawn in the

² Salem Gazette, Nov. 7, 1782.

³ Salem Mercury, Dec. 23, 1786.

chamber of the House of Representatives, and secured \$2000 to the State and \$13,000 to the lucky holders of five thousand tickets.

Marblehead had suffered greatly in the Revolution, and resort was made again and again to the lottery to recoup her losses. In March, 1790, 8000 tickets were advertised at 50 cents each, and in April, the lottery craze must have risen to fever heat, when the highest prize in the State lottery, \$1500, fell to some Marblehead women.

About 30 were joint possessors of that fortunate number and five others. The highest share in them did not exceed one dollar, and the lowest was nine pence, expressive of the different abilities of the concerned, by which circumstance the property of the prize is most agreeably divided: it has excited a smile in the cheek of poverty nor diminished the pleasure of those in easy circumstances. A blunt person burst out, "Well, I believe that God had a hand in that."⁴

The first prize in the Marblehead lottery fell to a worthy and industrious mechanic, who had a large family. It was stated in May, that the lottery tickets sold in Salem within about sixteen months past had paid in prizes upward of \$14,000. Three thousand tickets in the Marblehead lottery were sold in Boston in a single week. A monthly State lottery was ordered by the General Court, although Gov. Hancock urged its discontinuance, as it tended to withdraw the people's attention from industry, and was most in favor with the indigent and embarrassed.

Harvard College lent its sanction, however, again and again, and funds for an Orrery were thus secured, and for Stoughton Hall in 1805. The lottery to repair the road from Manchester to Gloucester in 1796 with its first prize of \$1000, and only \$2 for the ticket that would draw it, made an adroit appeal to Ipswich people. "The necessity

⁴ Salem Gazette, April 13, 1790.

of good roads from Gloucester to Salem and Ipswich is so well known that any observation is unnecessary."⁵

Ipswich shared in the exciting game no doubt, and the tempting lottery tickets were purchased with money that should have been used for far wiser and necessary ends. But the more sober minded folk were now engrossed in an undertaking of profounder significance to the whole nation, than the most far seeing could imagine.

Congress had granted to the officers of the Revolutionary War, bounty lands in the little known region, north-west of the Ohio River. Gen. Benjamin Tupper explored the country and was amazed by the fertility of the soil, the mild climate, and the general fitness of the whole region for settlement. He formed the plan at once of leading a band of pioneers thither to make their new homes and returned to Massachusetts filled with enthusiasm. He soon won Gen. Rufus Putnam to his aid. They planned a land company, to be known as the Ohio Company, the members of which must be citizens of Massachusetts, and invited all officers and soldiers of the War to cast in their lot with them, and make a new settlement. Rev. Manasseh Cutler, minister of the Hamlet parish, had cherished the plan of removing to this new country for several years, that he might provide more satisfactorily for the needs of his growing family, and in 1783, a move had been made by some of the officers to locate their lands in a single compact settlement.⁶

Nothing came of this earlier scheme, but Mr. Cutler still looked with longing to the Ohio country, and when the new company invited his co-operation, he gave ready adherence. On the first of March, 1786, delegates from eight counties met in Boston and drafted a plan of action, which was adopted at once. It involved the raising of a fund not to

⁵ Salem Gazette, March 1, 1796.

⁶ Felt. History of Ipswich, p. 296.

exceed one million dollars, to be divided into a thousand shares of a thousand dollars each, in the Continental land certificates, and the purchase and settlement of land in the Western territory. A year later the subscriptions had surpassed all expectations. The agents met on March 8th, 1787, chose Rufus Putnam, Samuel Parsons and Manasseh Cutler, directors, and authorized Mr. Cutler to go before Congress and purchase the land.

The Memorial of the Ohio Company had already been before Congress for several months and there was a general disposition to grant its petition, and open up the country to settlers, but there was no quorum and no vote had been taken. Mr. Cutler rode into New York on the night of July 5th, "with a portmanteau full of letters to Congressmen and citizens of note." He began at once a series of interviews with those friendly to the project and pushed the scheme with great enthusiasm and adroitness. He discovered that a stubborn minority was determined to oppose the measure. Pressure was brought to bear upon these, promises were made to influential leaders in Congress, but the Ordinance still hung fire.

Mr. Cutler now assumed an air of complete discouragement, gave out that he was tired of the whole business and would make his purchase of some of the States or even of the Indian tribes, and even announced the day of his departure. The ruse succeeded. Even the enemies of the measure were unwilling to lose the opportunity of entering into a contract that promised so much for the country, and on the 27th of July an Ordinance was passed, conceding all he asked. It granted nearly five million acres of land at two thirds of a dollar an acre, one third of a dollar being allowed for bad land, cost of surveying, etc. But as this was to be paid in United States certificates of debt, which were worth only twelve cents on a dollar, the actual price of the land was about eight or nine cents an acre. One mil-

lion and a half acres were bought for the Ohio Company, the remaining three and a half million acres were for a private land speculation, in which some of the members of Congress were deeply interested.⁷

Mr. Cutler returned at once and began active preparations for the settlement.

Carpenters and surveyors, boat builders and blacksmiths, farmers and laborers were enlisted. He had a large wagon built and covered with black canvass, which had on its sides, in white letters,—“Ohio, for Marietta on the Muskingum.” His son, Jervis, was included in the company, which agreed to accompany the wagon and begin the settlement. On a December morning, 1787, the emigrants gathered at Dr. Cutler’s house, armed and equipped for their dangerous enterprise, and having fired a volley as a salute, they began their march.⁸

The Winter was spent on the banks of the Youghiogeny, the Indian name of the Ohio, near Pittsburg. When the ice broke up, their boat proceeded down the Ohio to its confluence with the Muskingum, where they began building the town, which they named Marietta. Mr. Cutler wrote a pamphlet in praise of the new territory, which was widely circulated in the Spring of 1788. Prospective settlers were offered farms at a few shillings an acre with free transportation, and a second company was sent out.

Mr. Cutler, himself, set out from the Hamlet in July, in his sulky, arrived on Aug. 19th and preached on the following Sunday. The new town prospered wonderfully. Thousands of young and vigorous settlers cleared the forests and built their homes. Emigration to the new West became the rage of the time, and that vast movement of population was begun, which was destined in a few generations, to cover the prairies, to reclaim the deserts, to roll over the mountains and reach the shores of the Pacific. One article of the Ordinance,

⁷ McMaster. *History of the People of the United States*, I: 513, note.

⁸ Felt. *History of Ipswich*, p. 297.

under which the contract was made with the Ohio Company, the greatest that had been made up to that time, prohibited human slavery, although fugitive slaves from other states must be given up. This restriction, coupled with economic reasons which were unfavorable to the growth of the products, which were raised by slave labor, barred the extension of slavery into this grand domain, and thus curbed the slave power, which might have dominated the whole land in due time, had it been allowed a foothold in the great Northwest. Ipswich may well be proud of the part she had in this splendid achievement.

Emigration to the West, while it opened the way to prosperity for many, was not a complete solvent for the troubles of the time. Constructive measures to establish new industries were of more importance than the agreements to discourage the importation of foreign goods. The merchants of Boston met in April, 1785, and pledged themselves to buy nothing more from the agents of British merchants, and the mechanics and artisans adopted similar resolutions. Associations were formed, the members of which pledged themselves to wear only home-made clothes, and encourage economy, frugality and industry. The women of Hartford bound themselves for eight months to buy no gauze, ribbons, laces, feathers, beaver hats, silks, muslins, chintzes, except for weddings or funerals.

But the women of Ipswich contributed their own skilful handiwork to take the place of foreign-made finery. Tench Coxe, who has been called the father of American cotton industries, in an address to the Pennsylvania Society for the Encouragement of Agriculture in 1788, told his hearers that Massachusetts had made such quantities of linen, that the price had gone down from New York to Georgia, that in Lynn 150,000⁹ pair of stuff and silk shoes were made,

⁹ The Salem Mercury, Aug. 12, 1788, says that it is computed that 170,000 pair of women's shoes were made annually.

and "how with a population of four thousand, five hundred, Ipswich had in a year produced 42,000 yards of silk lace and edgings. He then delighted the women of his audience by showing them 36 specimens of Ipswich Trimmings."¹⁰

As early as 1692, a writer observed, of this Ipswich industry, "Silk and thread lace of an elegant and lasting texture are manufactured in large quantities by women and children and sold for use and exportation." It seems to have been a singularly skilful local industry, which was handed down from mothers to daughters, and it continued to furnish profitable home employment until the advent of machine made lace in the 19th century. The lace was made on pillows, following a pattern pricked on a strip of parchment, with thread or silk wound on light bobbins.

Political questions of the highest moment engaged the minds of all. At the close of the Revolution, the thirteen states were in danger of drifting widely apart. Each had its system of taxation, its currency, its restrictions on trade, and its petty variances with its neighbors. The Federal Congress, which had been vested with authority by common consent, because of the common peril, ceased to be recognized as necessary and useful. There was no agreement as to what the form of government of the new nation should be. At last a Convention of fifty-five delegates assembled in Philadelphia, in October, 1787, and after a four months session, adopted a Constitution which was sent to the different states to be approved or rejected. Two political parties were formed at once. The Federalists urged the adoption of the Constitution, as securing a strong Federal government; the Anti-Federalists opposed it, on the ground that it gave the national government too much power, and threatened the liberties of the people. The State Conventions were characterized by hot debates and scenes of vio-

¹⁰ McMaster. History of the People of the United States, I: 299.

lence. In January, 1788, the Massachusetts Convention assembled. Hon. Michael Farley, John Choate, Esq., Daniel Noyes, Esq. and Col. Jonathan Cogswell were the Ipswich delegates. The Constitution had been read in Town meeting on Nov. 20th, 1787, paragraph by paragraph, and the delegates had been chosen on Dec. 3^d. After long debate, the question of ratification was put on the sixth of February, and it was carried by a vote of 187 to 167, the Ipswich delegates all voting Yes. The crowd awaiting the announcement of the vote went wild with joy. The church bells were rung, cannon fired and bon fires burned all night in the streets. Presumably, the vote of the delegates from Ipswich reflected the sentiment of the community, and the result of the Convention was received with great satisfaction.

Gen. George Washington was elected the first President of the United States by the vote of both parties, with John Adams of Massachusetts, Vice-President. The President took his oath of office on April 30, 1789 and the new Constitution went into operation. In the Fall of that year, he made a tour through New England. In his Diary, he noted:

Friday, October 30th, 1789.

From this place (Beverly) with escorts of Horse, I passed on to Ipswich, about ten miles; at the entrance of which I was met and welcomed by the Selectmen and received by a Regm't of Militia.

At this place I was met by Mr. Dalton and some other Gentlemen from Newburyport; partook of a cold collation and proceeded on to the last mentioned place, where I was received with much respect and parade about four o'clock.

Mr. Felt, writing in 1834, while many still remembered the particulars of his visit, remarks:

George Washington . . . is escorted into town, receives a short address; dines at the inn, then kept by Mrs. Ho-

mans;¹¹ reviews a regiment, mustered to honor him; is visited by many, stays three hours and leaves for Newbury, through lines of a multitude comprising both sexes of all ages, who had assembled to give him, with deep emotions of gratitude, a welcome and a parting look.

Rev. Augustine Caldwell writes:¹²

We have heard again and again of Washington, standing upon the great stone step of entrance, and with Col. John Heard and Col. Nathaniel Wade at his side, he heard the Ipswich welcome; lifted his hat and graciously acknowledged it; and when at that moment a little Rebekah was brought to him and introduced as the daughter of his late friend and officer, Col. Dodge, he laid his hand upon the head of the child and kissed her in memory of his friend, her father—an incident never forgotten by the crowd.

With the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1792, and the French War with England and the Continental nations, came international difficulties for the United States, that threatened the most serious results. This country was grateful to France for the great help she had rendered in the darkest days of the Revolutionary struggle. The new republic had opened her ports to the privateers of France by a solemn treaty, and denied this privilege to her foes. Envoys from France urged an alliance between the United States and France, but Washington was determined that the policy of neutrality should be enforced, and strict neutrality was maintained.

A brisk trade with the West India Islands under the French flag sprang up. England refused to recognize this trade as neutral and began to seize and condemn American vessels, carrying cargoes of food products to French ports. American sailors were roughly treated and thrown into prison. American vessels were condemned by British

¹¹ The Homans Inn, remodelled by Dea. Zenas Cushing, is now the residence of Dr. William E. Tucker.

¹² In a paper entitled "Our Honored Seminary."

prize courts and sold. French privateers assailed American shipping as well. The situation was delicate and perplexing. The country was bound to defend her honor, but war with Great Britain would be attended with disastrous consequences. British garrisons occupied Detroit and the St. Lawrence, a British fleet would find the Atlantic coast defenceless. Salem and Gloucester and the other active ports were in sad plight.

A Salem newspaper¹³ of the period tells the tale:

General gloom and anxiety in Town. Every day brings fresh intelligence of insults to our flag, abuse to our seamen, and destruction to our commerce. Our merchants have suspended their business. Our sailors are wandering about for want of employment, and our laborers will soon be starved into idleness.

On Saturday last a general meeting of the inhabitants was called and a memorial to Congress adopted, reciting injuries to shipping and suggesting an embargo on British shipping and a seizure of British property as security for indemnity for losses.

So inevitable is our involvement in war that *privateers* have already been contracted for in this town and are now actually building.

At Gloucester a procession of one or two hundred sailors paraded and declared themselves ready to act in defence of their country.

Beside the troubles with England and France, the depredations of the Algerine pirates on American shipping had reached an acute stage. Ipswich had especial interest in this quarter, as one Ipswich sailor at least, Thomas Manning,¹⁴ was held as a slave.

He was one of the crew of the schooner, "Jay Calder" of Gloucester. He told the story of his capture in a letter to his parents at Ipswich, dated

¹³ The Salem Gazette, March 18, 1794.

¹⁴ Probably the son of John Manning, Jr. and Mary (Proctor), baptised May 7, 1775.

Algiers, 9 Dec., 1793.

On the 10th October, 5 days out from Malaga, we were attacked by an Algerine cruiser, who made a prize of us, and brought us into this place, where we remain in the most wretched state of slavery. We are forced to continual hard labor, Sundays not excepted; our daily allowance is two loaves of bread, weighing about $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. as black as one's hat. We have scarcely clothes sufficient to cover our nakedness. After working all day, we are driven together into a jail, to lie on the cold stones, and again at break of day are turned to our labor. We live in hope that the U. S. will before long do something for our relief. 14 sail of American prizes are already arrived here and there are upwards of 100 prisoners.¹⁵

Congress took action, passing a bill on March 4th, 1794, providing for the fortification of harbors. Shortly after, it was decided that ships should be built to be sent against the Algerines. On the 26th of March, Washington proclaimed an Embargo on all ships and vessels in ports of the United States, bound to any foreign port, except vessels under the immediate direction of the President of the United States. "This will cut off supplies to our enemies from this country, and if they can subsist without them, they must be more abstemious than Englishmen are generally willing to be."¹⁶

War with Great Britain seemed inevitable and preparations for it were pressed with great enthusiasm. A hundred influential Vermont men calling themselves Green Mountain Boys, petitioned the President to permit them to invade Canada. Within five days, they declared they would march with 20,000 men to besiege Quebec and in case of failure, they promised to ask no indemnification. If successful, they asked only the military stores, all other property would be resigned to the United States.¹⁷ Salem authorized

¹⁵ The Salem Gazette, April 15, 1794.

¹⁶ The Salem Gazette, April 1, 1794.

¹⁷ Salem Gazette, Extra, April 3, 1794.

a quit-claim to the Government of the old fort and such other land as was necessary for defence.¹⁸ Portsmouth, Gloucester and Boston were to be fortified. A Committee of merchants, who had suffered depredation on their property by subjects of Great Britain and other belligerent powers from Boston, Charlestown, Salem, Marblehead, Beverly, Newburyport, Gloucester, Manchester, Ipswich and Danvers, met in Salem and drew up a Memorial to Congress, looking for indemnification.¹⁹

Congress ordered that 80,000 of the militia should be organized and made ready to march at a moment's notice, the Massachusetts quota being 11,885.²⁰ Marblehead and Gloucester ceded land to the United States for purposes of defence, and a contract was made for building about 300 feet of wall in dry stones at Fort William in Salem, erecting a brick building, and sinking and stoning a magazine.²¹ Happily, by the effort of John Jay, a treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation between Great Britain and the United States was signed on Nov. 19th, 1794, but it was not until early in March that a copy of the Treaty reached the President, though it was dispatched at once by a sailing packet. Popular excitement still ran high, however, and there was still a strong sentiment for war. Sufferers by British spoliation in Salem, Danvers, Beverly and Ipswich were invited to meet at the Court House in Salem on Nov. 26th, 1795, and determine upon a Memorial²² to be presented to Congress. Notice to claimants to specify the vessel, tonnage, age, where built, etc., was published by the Committee at Philadelphia, on June 1st, 1796.²³

Opposition to the Treaty was very violent in some portions of the country. From Salem, Beverly, Newburyport,

¹⁸ Salem Gazette, April 22, 1794.

¹⁹ The Salem Gazette, April 29, 1794.

²⁰ The Salem Gazette, June 3d, 1794.

²¹ The Salem Gazette, Sept. 2, 1794.

²² The Salem Gazette, Nov. 24, 1795.

²³ The Salem Gazette, June 10, 1796.

and Marblehead, and many other Massachusetts towns, Memorials were sent to Congress, bearing hundreds of names, praying that the Treaty might be carried into effect.²⁴ Meetings were called to sign the petitions. The ministers were urged to stop their congregations and urge them to sign the Memorial.

British indignities continued. The schooner, "Sally," Captain Smith of Ipswich, arrived in port, 42 days from Surinam, via Antigua, 25 days, and reported that she had been taken by the English frigate, "Concord," and carried into Antigua. "After examination of her papers, she was treated politely and permitted to depart without any expense."²⁵ On April 2, 1798, a Town meeting was held to see whether the Town would petition Congress not to authorize the arming of merchantmen and to pray that the Stamp Act may be rejected. "After some conversation," the meeting dissolved without taking any action. Evidently Ipswich was not in sympathy with the aggressive attitude of her neighbors.

The French government was exasperated by the conclusion of the Treaty of 1794 between Great Britain and the United States, and became more and more hostile. To restore friendly relations, John Adams, the successor of Washington in the Presidency, had sent a Commission to France, but it was received with discourtesy and ordered to leave the country.²⁶ The President was authorized to raise a provisional army of 10,000 and accept the service of the volunteer corps, and steps were taken to secure the building of a navy.

The people did not wait for the National Government. A number of the citizens of Newburyport agreed to build and equip a ship of 355 tons, to be armed with 20 six-pound cannon, and to offer her to the United States. They voted

²⁴ McMaster. *History of the People of the United States*, II: 282.

²⁵ *The Salem Gazette*, March 20, 1798.

²⁶ Channing. *Students' History of the United States*, 305.

also to accept no other compensation than six per cent. per annum on the cost and eventual reimbursement at the convenience of government.²⁷ They announced their action in a communication to Congress, on June 1, 1798.

On the same day, the Salem Gazette announced that Capt. George Crowninshield and Son of Salem had offered to the Government the loan of the ship, "America," 700 tons. A subscription was opened in Boston for building an armed ship, and in one hour \$75,000 was subscribed by 34 gentlemen, \$10,000 of which was given by W^m. Phillips Esq.²⁸ Patriotic subscriptions were begun in Salem. The cockade was becoming universal "as a badge by which the friends of Government and of their country mean to distinguish themselves,"²⁹ and the hope was expressed that no man who would not be suspected of Jacobinism would appear without one.³⁰ On Thursday, August 9th, the commissioned officers of the Ipswich regiment, commanded by Col. Joseph Hodgkins, met at the house of Major Swasey to choose a Major.

Col. Hodgkins, thinking that the time was now come when the characters of men should be known, especially in the military line, informed his corps of officers that he should wear his cockade and regimental uniform on Sabbath days and all other public occasions and recommending it to others to do the same, which proposition was immediately complied with.³¹

Gen. Washington accepted his appointment as Lieut. General, in a letter dated July 13, 1798. The building of a navy went on rapidly. The Newburyport ship, the "Mer-rimack," was launched on Oct. 12th, having been built in 74 working days and only 14 days more were needed to

²⁷ History of Newburyport, John J. Currier, p. 111.

²⁸ The Salem Gazette, June 29, 1798.

²⁹ The Salem Gazette, July 17, 1798.

³⁰ The Salem Gazette, July 20, 1798.

³¹ The Salem Gazette, August 14, 1798.

make her ready for sea.⁸² Subscriptions for the Salem frigate, the "Essex," were completed in October. She was built on Winter Island, launched on Sept. 30, 1799, and sailed on Dec. 24th, Capt. Preble in command. Seventy-four French prizes were captured before a Convention of peace was adopted in September, 1800.

Ipswich was not large enough or rich enough to share with its more prosperous neighbors in the patriotic task of building and equipping a ship for the new navy, and the quiet life of the community may have been lacking in zealous ardor for another war. But Col. Hodgkins and his friends dressed in full regimentals for the Sabbath day, cockade in hat, and sword by the side, bore witness that the old passion for defending the honor of the nation was still alive, and many others shared his enthusiasm. The newspapers of the day, the Columbian Centinel and the Essex Gazette, known later as the Salem Gazette, came into some of the Ipswich families every week. There were business trips to the busy towns near by. There were Town meetings, at which there was profound discussion of neutrality toward the French, the new Constitution, the arming of merchantmen, the indemnity for vessels and cargoes taken by British and French ships. In the taverns and between meetings on the Sabbath day, the farmers and shop keepers and fishermen talked politics and defended staunchly Federalism and anti-Federalism. The good wives took counsel together as to their sons away from home on their voyages, exposed to the awful danger of sharing Algerine slavery with Thomas Manning, or enrolled in the militia and ready to march when the war drum beat. Of course the men and women both refused to buy the imported cloths and food stuffs, wore home made fabrics, and ate plainer fare for the honor of their country.

But apart from the large affairs of the Commonwealth and the Nation, the life of our quiet town in these closing

⁸² The Salem Gazette, Oct. 16, 1798.

years of this eventful 18th century had much of interest. There were revolutions impending in the home life that were of infinite account to the busy and patient wives and mothers. The advertisement⁸³ of Samuel Blyth of Salem, calling attention to "a few of Willard's much improved Patent Roasting Jacks with Improvements together with all the apparatus." makes it evident that new methods of cooking the family roast, which saved much time and trouble were already in the market. A sheet iron stove with fifteen feet of funnel was advertised in 1788,⁸⁴ an ominous forerunner of the coming of the cast iron cook-stove, and the passing of the glory and the inconvenience of the primitive open fire.

Dr. Benjamin Franklin was applying his practical philosophy to the cure of smoky chimnies. He had seen new houses, in which the chimnies were so smoky, unless a door or window were left open, that the owner was ready to sell, in utter discouragement.⁸⁵ He suggested many devices to secure a draught, but recommended giving up the huge chimney, with yawning throat large enough to allow room for the grimy chimney-sweep to climb up with his brooms and brushes and fire places large enough for a four foot stick, and substituting in the lower rooms of the dwelling, a fire place about 30 inches square and 18 inches deep, and the burning of two foot billets, and yet smaller ones in the upper rooms.

Joseph Hovey of Salem announced⁸⁶ in May, 1783, that

he has made and ready for sale, paper hangings, an elegant arched pattern, suitable for entries, staircases and large rooms, very neat papers (much approved of) for covering furniture from the dust and flies, and for many other uses. Papering rooms will be in the end four times as cheap as white-washing.

⁸³ The Salem Gazette, March 1, 1785.

⁸⁴ The Salem Mercury, Oct. 21, 1788.

⁸⁵ The Salem Mercury, Nov. 4, 1786.

⁸⁶ The Salem Gazette, May 29, 1783.

In 1768, a gentleman in Boston deposited \$100 with the Selectmen, to be used as premiums for raising of mulberry-trees in this Province. To the person who should raise the largest number of said trees in the Fall of 1771, a first prize of \$40, a second of \$30 would be paid in the hope that raw-silk might become "no inconsiderable Branch of Export from this Province."⁸⁷ Loammi Baldwin of Woburn, the originator of the apple that bears his name, took the first premium. He advertised in April, 1772, mulberry trees, for 3^d, fit to transplant into a sort of espalier hedge. He had raised silk worms for two or three years and made a machine to wind the silk. He had sent some to the Society for Encouraging Arts, Sciences and Commerce in Great Britain, which had examined it and found it equal to the Italian silk. The trees were easily propagated, and some of his had grown above nine feet in the proceeding Summer.⁸⁸ There is no evidence that at this early period, Ipswich became interested in silk culture, but early in the 19th century, many mulberry trees were planted, and an experiment in silk culture was undertaken.

Caterpillars despoiled the orchards but it was found that a few drops of train oil dropped from a loose mop in a nest would kill the tenants.⁸⁹ Canker worms as well were very abundant and caused great damage. An item in the Essex Gazette of July 17, 1770, describes their inroads in Salem and this vicinity.

The Canker-worms, which have ravaged the Fields and devoured the Grass in great Quantities in New Hampshire and Rhode Island as well as this Province, have appeared in this and the neighboring Towns in great Multitudes, so that some People, to prevent as far as possible being infested with them, have been obliged to dig Trenches round their Buildings, Cornfields, etc. These Insects travel from

⁸⁷ The Essex Gazette, April 21, 1772.

⁸⁸ The Essex Gazette, April 28, 1772.

⁸⁹ The Essex Gazette, May 22, 1770.

Field to Field, passing Roads and crawling over Fences, Walls, and Houses, eating and destroying the Grass as they came across it.

Ipswich farmers were equal to the emergency. Indeed, they were more enterprising than the men of today. They had learned, perhaps, from the neutral French, who had dwelt here, their great success in diking the Acadian salt marshes, and securing great crops of English hay from thousands of acres, thus reclaimed. The Ipswich marshes were an inviting field for experiment. The Argilla farmers united in an interesting petition to the General Court:

The Petition⁴⁰ of a number of the Inhabitants of the Town of Ipswich humbly sheweth:

That your petitioners, being proprietors of a body or quantity of Salt marsh . . . in Ipswich, above Boardman's Bridge, so called, thinking it will be beneficial to the interest of said proprietors that said body of Marsh be so diked as to prevent the salt water's overflowing the same, [proposed to improve a section of marsh,] beginning at the eastern most side of the Creek, running north east over the marsh of Thomas Caldwell, . . . by land of Stephen Choate, Esq. to a former dike, thence northeast by said Choate to Hovey's Island, east by Hovey's Island to land of Captain Adam Smith . . . by land of Joshua Giddings and over the creek to first. [They therefore,] pray for incorporation as Proprietors of the Argilla Inclosure for the purpose of authorizing said Proprietors to begin, finish and maintain said dike upon the principles of Justice and Equity.

Thomas Burnham
William Dodge
Bimsley Smith
Adam Smith
Nathaniel Wells
John Baker
David Andrews

Majer Woodbery
Joshua Giddinge
Joshua Smith
Asa Smith
John Choate
Nehemiah Brown

Ipswich, Jan. 30, 1793.

⁴⁰ The Salem Gazette, Feb. 12, 1793.

A Charter of Incorporation was granted by the Legislature, June 15, 1799. The large dike which still remains, was built probably about this time.

While the incorporation of the proprietors of the Argilla Inclosure spoke well for the thrift and progressiveness of the land owners, another enterprize of a very different character revealed the intellectual strength and soberness of mind of a larger group of citizens. A Religious Library was proposed, and subscription papers were circulated to provide the necessary funds. Liberal response was made, an association was formed, styled, "The Religious Library in Ipswich," and a library was gathered which evidently proved popular and useful. The original record book and a considerable portion of the library are in possession of the Ipswich Historical Society.

The Library seems to have maintained itself until 1830, and perhaps later, and the old books in their worn bindings, often lacking a cover, bear their own witness, that they were read eagerly and often. To modern readers, they would be unspeakably dull. Here are ponderous volumes of sermons, systems of Divinity, guides to a religious life, some of them bearing the name of Nathaniel Rogers or John Rogers on the fly leaf, and dating back to the early years of the 17th century, and once a part of the ancient ministerial libraries. The very names suggest a wondrously pious temper that was not satisfied with the long services of public worship on Sabbath days and lecture days and diligent home reading of the Scriptures, and craved the stimulus of religious books. Baxter's "Saints Rest" and his "Call to the Unconverted," Bunyan's "Holy War" and the immortal "Pilgrim's Progress," David Brainard's melancholy "Journal," Dickinson "On the Five Points," Doddridge's "Family Expositor" and his "Rise and Progress" in 2 volumes, Jonathan Edwards's "On Original Sin" and his "History of Redemption and the Religious Affections,"

Webb's "Directions for Conversion" are suggestive of keen appetites for theological controversy as well as earnest desires for growth in grace. Fox's "Book of Martyrs" with its dreadful pictures of their sufferings, and "Pilgrim's Progress" are the only ones that would have made any appeal to a child. There are a few standard works, Milton's "Paradise Lost" and "Paradise Regained," and Young's "Night Thoughts."

Still, this sombre Religious Library blended well with the spirit of the times, when College Commencements and the whole curriculum were severely religious and the Sabbath day retained much of its Puritan propriety. The people of Roxbury, on a July Sunday in 1785, "actually prohibited the Boston folk crossing the line, without giving such an account of their business as appeared to them satisfactory,"⁴¹ and a person passing along the Topsfield road on the Lord's Day, for some necessary reason "in the space of eight miles after five in the afternoon, did not see one person abroad or a single person of either sex gazing through the windows."⁴²

For lighter minds there were lighter things, and even the most sedate needed to relax at times. The singing schools, taught by Daniel and Joseph Dana, sons of the Rev. Joseph Dana, the husking bees and apple parings, and the demure delights of the spinning bee, were much in vogue, and afforded young men and maidens innocent diversion.

Holidays were few and far between. Fast Day and Thanksgiving Day and half a day perhaps on the Fourth of July broke the monotony of toil, but no sports or games or worldly diversions were permissible on the solemn day of Fasting and Prayer. Thanksgiving Day was not wholly free from religious duties though "turkey-shoots" and other diversions, distinctly worldly and mildly illegal, were winked

⁴¹ The Salem Gazette, July 19, 1785.

⁴² The Salem Gazette, May 24, 1796.

at by the authorities. But the "training days" were given over to uproarious delights. Every man of military age was obliged to turn out fully armed and equipped, for parade and drill on the Meeting House Green and the South Common, while the young women, who lined the borders of the drill ground, gazed admiringly upon the budding heroes.

The Fall training in October, 1788, was fully reported⁴³ by some local correspondent.

On Wednesday last, Col. Wade's Regiment was reviewed at Ipswich by the Hon. Major General Titcomb. After the review, a well planned representation of the storming of a fort was exhibited with much spirit and propriety. The fort was situated on a hill near the meeting-house and defended by a party of infantry and Capt. Brown's horse. The assailants came up in two columns from different quarters when the fort was summoned, the commander of which resolutely refused to surrender. The battle then began. Each body of the assailants was opposed by a party of horse; the former were repulsed when three cheers resounded from the fort; they however, returned to the attack, displayed upon the hill, surrounded the fort and carried the work in an instant. This performance gave great pleasure to many military characters, who were spectators. After this was finished, the line was formed and the troops went through the firing with a regularity and precision, which could not have been expected. The men were well dressed, well-armed, and paid that strict attention to command, which in a great measure made up for their want of experience and gained them the approbation of their fellow citizens.

As the Topsfield and Wenham militia were combined with the Ipswich companies to form Col. Wade's regiment, there were large delegations from these towns of soldiery and citizens. The streets were filled with good natured crowds. Rows of tents provided for the needs of the hungry and thirsty multitude. Catch-penny fakir shows offered their

⁴³ The Salem Mercury, October 21, 1788.

cheap wares and enticing games. The officers banqueted, drank their toasts and made their patriotic speeches at the inns. Many of the town's folk kept open house for their friends. With the martial music, the dress parades, the waving flags, the mimic battle, the volleys of musketry, and the revelry and license, permissible on these great days, the sleepy town scarcely knew itself.

Many Ipswich families had relatives in Salem, and an occasional visit opened thrilling delights to the Ipswich youths. Mr. John White advertised that he would teach minuet dancing in the genteelest manner in the Assembly room,⁴⁴ and Mr. Outein, a French dancing master, taught his art in 1798.⁴⁵

Theatrical entertainments of a very modest character began to be popular in Salem about 1793. The celebrated tragedy written by the Rev. Dr. Young, entitled, "The Moor's Revenge or Spanish Insult Repaid," was announced on Nov. 5th, to be followed by a humorous entertainment in two acts, called, "The Wrangling Lovers or Like Master, Like Man." The tickets were half a dollar. "Doors to be opened at 5.30, begin promptly at 6.30."⁴⁶

The same company made a more stirring announcement on December 10th.⁴⁷

[By particular Desire]. At Washington Hall, will be presented a Comedy (altered) from Shakespeare by Sir William Davenant called *The Tempest* or *The Enchanted Island*.

In Act the first, a shipwreck and a shower of fire. To conclude with the Prospect of a (calm) Sea and Neptune and Amphitrite in a Sea-Chariot, followed by a Musical entertainment, Padlock, by Isaac Bickerstaff Esq. On account of the length of the entertainment, the door will be opened at 5, performance will begin at 6.

⁴⁴ The Salem Gazette, April 16, 1784.

⁴⁵ The Salem Gazette, Jan. 9, 1798.

⁴⁶ Salem Gazette, Nov. 5, 1793.

⁴⁷ Salem Gazette, Dec. 10, 1793.

In 1790, a company of players petitioned the authorities in Boston for permission to open a theatre under proper regulation, but their request was flatly refused. The next year, thirty-eight gentlemen signed a petition to the Selectmen praying them to take the sense of the Town in Town-meeting. A great gathering assembled in Faneuil Hall and debated the matter. The question, Theatre or No Theatre, was put to vote and carried in the affirmative by a vote of 3 to 1.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, I: 93, 94, 95.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE POOR AND THE STRANGER WITHIN THE GATES.

In the first year of their settlement, the men of Ipswich passed a very significant vote:

That theire shall noe forriner amongst us come into our meetinge unless he will subject himself unto the like orders and penalties that we the freemen of the Towne have established for our own peace and comfort in our meeting.

They affirmed by this vote their exclusive right to all the privileges of citizenship in the new community they had established, and gave formal notice that no stranger coming among them could have place or standing except by conforming to the regulations they had made. They proceeded to divide the land among themselves, giving to every man a house lot, tillage lots, and rights in the common land and large farms to the more favored. But when one Humphrey Griffin appeared, they felt no delicacy in refusing to do anything for his comfort or convenience.

The Towne doth refuse to receive Humphry Griffin as an Inhabitant to provide for him as Inhabitants formerly received the town being full.

But Griffin was not expelled, nor was he refused the liberty of purchasing land and of dwelling among them, and no one questioned his right to remain, even when in later years his tippling habit had brought him under the censure of the law. In contrast to his reception, was the welcome extended to another in 1647.

Rob't Gray hath free liberty to come to towne and to dwell amongst us.

This jealous guarding of their community against the intrusion of strangers was due not to Pharisaic self-righteousness, nor to Puritanic narrowness and intolerance, but had its origin in the ancient and inalienable right of a community to control its membership. Francis Palgrave, in his "Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth,"¹ remarks:

The earliest notices respecting the Teutonic Townships are to be collected from the laws of the Salic Franks. A "Villa" was entirely the property of the inhabitants and no stranger could settle within its boundaries unless with the consent of the whole incorporation. Any one individual Townsman could forbid the entrance of the new colonist upon the common fields of the Sept. If, after thrice warnings had been given and thirty nights had elapsed, the intruder continued contumacious, he was summoned to the 'Mallum' or Court; and in default of appearance, the "Gravio" (Mayor) proceeded to the spot and by force expelled the occupant from the purpresture which he had made. But it is important to remark that the freedom of the community might be legally acquired by an uncontradicted residence; for if the stranger remained in the Township, without challenge, during twelve months he was from thenceforth allowed to dwell in peace and security, like the other neighbors of the community.

It is an interesting survival of this communal idea, which was the basis of English civic life, that the Puritan settlers thus "challenged" each new comer. No doubt they exercised this right in securing the moral and religious character of the colony, by excluding any who were alien and unsympathetic in their creed, but they had an economic purpose as well. The intrusion of idle and shiftless strangers

¹ Quoted by Josiah H. Benton in his "Warning Out in New England," (p. 5.) a valuable study of early colonial civic life.

meant not only moral degeneracy but poverty, and an eventual burden upon the community.

But after the year 1637, it was not left to the towns to decide their own course toward strangers. On May 16th, 1637, the General Court of Massachusetts Bay passed the order:

It is ordered that no towne or pson shall receive any stranger resorting hither wth intent to reside in this jurisdiction, nor shall allow any lot or habitation to any, or intertaine any such above three weekes, except such pson shall have allowance under the hands of some one of the counsell, or of two other of the magistrates, upon paine that ev^{ry} towne that shall give or sell any lot or habitation to any such, not so allowed, shall forfeit 100s. for every offence & ev^{ry} pson receiving any such for longer time than is heare expressed (or than shalbe allowed in some special cases, as before or in case of intertainment of friends resorting from some other parts of this country for a convenient time) shall forfeit for ev^{ry} offence 40s; and for ev^{ry} month after such pson shall there continew 20s; provided, that if any inhabitant shall not consent to the intertainment of any such person, & shall give notice thereof to any of the magistrates wthin one month after, such inhabitant shall not bee lyable to any part of this penalty.

This was followed by another order in 1638 that the constables in each town should inform the Court of Assistants whether any new comer was admitted without license. While the stranger was thus looked upon with suspicion, the poor and needy among the inhabitants found that Ipswich did not lack kindly feelings. There were clay pits and thatch banks, which were set apart for public use, and the poorest man had liberty to provide himself with the daubing for his chimney and the crevices between the logs of his humble dwelling, and the thatch for his roof. Allowances for his fuel were made in the great Common lands, and there was a "poor mans field" in 1641. When Alexander Knight,

a poor man, and "his wife near her time," asked for relief in 1657, John Cogswell was ordered to admit them to a vacant house, and it was voted that a "house be built for them, sixteen feet long, twelve feet wide and seven or eight feet stud, with a thatched roof," for which an appropriation of £6 was made.

The General Court passed another order respecting the settlement of poor strangers in May, 1659.

For the avoyding of all future inconvenjenjes referring to the setling of poore people that may neede releife from the place where they dwell, itt is ordered by this Court and the authoritye thereof, that where any person wth his family, or in case he hath no family, shall be resident in any towne or peculiar of this jurisdiccon for more then three moneths wthout notice given to such person or persons by the constable, or one of the selectmen of the sajd place, or theire order, that the towne is not willing that they should remajne as an inhabitant amongst them and in case, after such notice given, such person or persons shall notwthstanding remajne in the sajd place, if the selectmen of the sajd place shall not by way of complaint, petition the next County Court of that shiere for releife in the sajd case & the same prosecuted to effect, every such person or persons (as the case may require) shall be provided for & releived, in case of necessity, by the inhabitants of the sajd place where he or she is so found.

Acting under this law, the Selectmen made complaint to the Ipswich Court in March, 1661, that they had notified Daniel Grazier and John Morrill, Irishmen, that they were not willing to have them as inhabitants, and they had not removed. The matter was referred to the next Court. Their nationality was not the constraining cause. Grazier had just been before the Court for non-performance of contract with Richard Dummer. In 1664, he was sued for debt and in 1667, he gave bond that he would remove and never come within ten miles of the town, and that he would ap-

pear at Ipswich Court to be examined for all his misdemeanors. John Morrill seems to have been an associate and a man of the same color.

Again in 1668, fear was expressed lest the number of inhabitants be increased to the prejudice of the Commoners and trespassing was forbidden. In 1673, the Town adopted decisive measures to free itself from the incumbrance.

Ordered the Constable give notice unto William Nelson and Abner Ordway and an Irish or Guernsey man that married Rachell, Qr. Masr. Perkin's mayd that the Town will not allow them to inhabit here in this Town but that they depart the Town unless they give security to save the Town harmless from any charge the Town may be put unto by receiving of them.

Nelson had been fined for drunkenness in 1661, and Ordway was convicted of theft at the same Court, and sentenced to sit an hour in the stocks and pay costs. In 1662, Ordway was sued for debt. Nelson was found guilty of stealing six pieces of beef from Thomas Bishop in 1664. Ordway had been in Court in 1667 on two charges. It was only in justice to itself that the Town sought to rid itself of this pair of ne'er-do-wells.

Edward Nealand, frequently styled "Irishman," in deeds of conveyance, and others of the same nationality, Edmund Dear, William Danford, Philip Welch, and John Ring, suffered nothing from this cause. Now and then, a poor Indian was an object of public charity. Ned, or Ned Acocket, a servant of Sergeant Brewer, was too fond of the "fire-water" introduced by the white men, but the Town granted him two or three acres of land to plant during his life in some convenient place, provided he would fence it sufficiently with a stone wall, in the year 1670. In 1678, some items of expense were recorded:

	s.	d.
Three men for finding the Indian squa	7-	6.
for carrying old squa to the wigwam	3-	6.
for carrying another squa to the wigwam		

In 1686, the Selectmen of Ipswich petitioned the Court for leave to

putt out such children as are in their Towne that are like to suffer for want in their families where they are or become a Town charge unto such persons as they may Judg Careful & honest & like to bring them up as the Law provideth that the Towne and p'ties may not be both exposed to sufferings.

The Selectmen were authorized so to do and to make the proper Indentures.

In one case, a poor man bound himself for life.

This Indenture² made May y^e third in the year of ou^r Lord, 1700, between Peter Frost of Ipswich, Laborer, on y^e one part and William Cogswell Jun^r of Chebacco in Ips^{ch} Gent. on y^e other part.

Witnesseth that the said Frost with consent of y^e overseers of y^e Poor of Ipswich under whose protection and care y^e said Frost now is, hath with free and full consent Let himself considering his own weakness & inability to guide himself and affaires to the said Mr. William Cogswell his heirs exec^{rs} Admin^{rs} him y^e sd Cogswell his heirs Exec^{rs} Administrators faithfully to serve & all his Lawfull commands to obey, during the whole term of his naturall Life commencing from y^e date hereof. In consideration whereof the said Cogswell doth hereby covenant & engage the sd Peter Frost to keep & maintaine & at all times to provide all sutable for him in sickness & in health, both Meat Drink Clothing Washing & Lodging & all things necessary and convenient for such an apprentice during the whole time of his Life, and when Providence shall so dispose that y^e s^d

² Town Records.

Frost shall Decease the s^d Cogswell shall be at the charge of a decent Buriall.

For the true and faithfull performance hereof, I the sd Cogswell do bind myself my heirs Executors & administrators in y^e Bond of one hundred pounds money to y^e Overseers of y^e Poor of Ipswich as above s^d to be recovered against me, my heirs, Executors, Administrators etc upon my failure hereof.

In witness Wee have hereunto interchangeably sett to our hands & sealls the day & date above written.

William Cogswell. (seal)

Signed sealed & d'd
in presence of
Daniell Rogers
Jacob Perkins Jun.
Jacob Foster Jun.

At the beginning of the new century, the Town set itself resolutely to the task of guarding itself against undesirable prospective citizens. The Town Order adopted March 7, 1699-1700, seems almost inquisitional.

Whereas sundry persons for their p'ticular advantage are ready to entertaine into their houses or to Lett out Lands or tenements to such p'sons as are no ways desirable and may prove burdensome in severall respects to this Town, for the preventing whereof it is ordered that not any person inhabiting in this Town or the bounds thereof shall suffer any stranger comeing from other Towns to continue or live more than one week in his own Dwelling house or any tenement of his or whereof he hath y^e disposal under y^e penalty of Twenty shillings for every week he shall suffer any such person to continue or abide in any of his possessions to be distrained by the Constable by order of y^e Selectmen of such delinquent unless such person do give satisfaction and security of their honesty and ability to the Selectmen or the Major part of them at a full meeting obtaine their License to be Entered in y^e Town book for y^e entertaining of such p'sons.

Provided always this order shall not restraine any of y^e

Inhabitants from entertaining any of their friends or Relations y^t come to visitt them at their own Dwelling Houses or household servants that are single persons.

This order was soon put in force. John Wainwright, one of the most prominent citizens and merchants of the Town, leased his farm, now included in the Town Farm, to Samuel Cars of Hampton, and on May 27, 1700, he gave his bond of £200, silver money, to the Town that if

either he y^e sd Cars or his wife or any of his children fall soe into decay that y^e sd Town of Ipswich shall be necessitated to relieve them, then the above sd obligation to abide

A Scotch woman, Mrs. Dent, became a public charge, and in May, 1700, the Town voted:

That the Town will be at the charge of fifteen or twenty Pounds to transport Good^{ma} Dent to Scotland, her native place and that the Representative have the manageing thereof.

This thrifty scheme of avoiding the expense of continued maintenance failed to work out, and on Oct. 23, 1701, the Selectmen were instructed

to take care y^t some convenient building be erected on y^e Town Common for y^e entertainment of the widow Dent or any of the Poor of the Town.

The poor woman seems to have needed "entertainment" for many years as the Town Records note the death of the widow Margaret Dent on April 29, 1728.

The relatives of indigent persons who had received help from the Town began to be looked after. Thomas Lufkin filed a bond of £200 with the Town in March, 1714-15, "to maintain my honored father, John Downing & his wife." John Brown, a notorious tippler and disturber of the peace,

called "the glazier" or "the drummer," to distinguish him from the highly respectable "farmer John Brown" of Candlewood, after many years of dissolute living, became a Town charge. The Overseers of the Poor held his relatives responsible, and finally complained to the Quarter Sessions' Court, which ordered in March, 1717,

Whereas ye Relations of Glacyer Brown of Ipswich do neglect to discharge y^e Disbursements on him in his sickness & when he wanted support . . . said relations are summoned to appear at Newbury Court.

In one case in 1721, the Court ordered a grandson to help support his grandmother. Abraham Jewett of Rowley had opened his house to his mother, and Dea. Nathaniel Knowlton of Ipswich, who had married his sister, Deborah, had made his offer to help in her support. As the grandson acknowledged no obligation, Abraham petitioned the Court,

in behalf of his aged mother, Ann Jewet, an ancient woman, who wants subsistence & is resident at his house, & whereas Deacon Knowlton of Ipswich, who married one of her daughters offered to pay £3 per annum towards her maintenance

Ordered y^t Francis Palmer Jun. Grandson to y^e sd Anne Jewet shall be assest & pay to y^e sd Jewet, his grandmother, £3 per annum, i. e. to say 15s. per mo. in bills of credit till further order.

In the year 1726, active measures were taken to relieve the Town of responsibility for undesirable residents. On Jan. 1, 1729, the Court approved the action of the Selectmen in "warning out" a half dozen families. On April 10, 1738, the Court allowed sixteen of the twenty cases presented by the Selectmen, and on March 31, 1767, the Court approved the warning out of 38 from Ipswich, including families with three and four children, some of them evi-

dently of foreign birth, but many bearing names of great respectability and honor. Some of these poor folk were cast upon a neighboring Town only to be hurled back, and this game of shuttlecock was played until appeal was made to the Court to fix the legal residence. It is certain that this was not equivalent to expulsion from the Town. Timothy Souther was warned out in 1763, and may have left the Town as he was warned out again in 1792, but he bought the old house known as the Souther house, recently torn down, in 1794. A little study of the circumstances attending this "warning out," as revealed by the Court and Town Records, reveals the reasonableness of the act in many cases, though instances remain which cannot be explained.

In some cases, the parties concerned had been married in Ipswich many years before but one or both of the couple were not legal residents. Zebulon Lane, his wife Hannah, and children, Zebulon, Hannah, Anne and Benjamin were warned out in March, 1767. Lane then of Gloucester, married Hannah Cogswell of Ipswich in 1749. There is no record of the birth of the children, and it is likely that they were born elsewhere, and that the family may have returned to Ipswich. The same was probably true in the case of Samuel Pickard, his wife Mary and four children, who were warned out at the same time. He was a Rowley man by birth and residence; his wife was the daughter of Daniel Dresser of the Village; they were married at Rowley in 1752, and their children may have been born there.

John Rogers of Reading married Abigail Lamson in 1762, and he, his wife and three children were warned out in March, 1767. Rice Knowlton of Wenham, but resident in Ipswich, married Elizabeth Smith of Marblehead in 1750. They were warned out in 1764. Peter Smith, then a resident of Ipswich, married Sarah Appleton, March 29, 1753. Sarah, wife of Peter Smith with her children, Anna, John, Daniel and William, were among those warned out in March,

1764. There is no record of the birth of the children in Ipswich. As he was not included in the vote of exclusion, he may not have been living, and the widow and her family may have returned to her old home. The case of John Bly, wife and child, warned out in 1767 is peculiar in that there is no record of his residence elsewhere, his wife, Sarah Day, was an Ipswich woman, and their daughter, Sarah, was baptized in 1750.

Retire Bacon, then a resident of Boxford, was warned out on Aug. 15, 1764, with his seven children. He was not of Ipswich birth apparently, and the Town may have had just fear of possible expense, but Margaret Burnham had courage and philanthropic devotion enough to marry him on August 27th, 1764. This auspicious change in his domestic affairs may have made it possible for him to delay his going, as he sold his land in 1767.

Provision for general relief of the poor under special exigencies was made from time to time. It was voted on Dec. 20, 1716

That six pounds in money be drawn out of y^e hundred pounds by y^e Overseers of y^e Poor for y^e procuring of Indian corn for sd Poor.

The Selectmen were impowered and directed by the vote of March 18, 1741-2,

to purchase 100 bushels of corn at the cheapest Rate for the use of the Town to be distributed to such persons in such Way and manner as they shall think prudent and most for the advantage of the Town.

In the following year, they were instructed to lay in a stock of corn and wood.

The Town voted on Feb. 3, 1717, that

an Alms House or convenient House for ye Poor be built.

To be a logg house of about 40 feet long, about 16 foot wide, about 6 foot high wth a Slatt roof as may be sutable.

It was voted in 1719 that it should be set "in y^e lane towards Pindars," i. e. Loney's Lane, and it was built there, adjoining the Town Pound. Apparently it was not an attractive place of residence for the poor, or there were few to be housed, and the spacious log house was available for other uses. So William Stone, who by reason of sickness was no longer able to support himself by fishing, asked leave to use a room there to teach reading and writing to the youth, and this was granted in the year 1722. Again in 1731, Henry Spillar, needing relief, received liberty to use a room at the southerly end for "his teaching and instructing youth in reading, writing and cyphering." The Town granted him a further favor of £12 for his school-keeping in 1733. He may have been obliged to remove from the alms-house, as William Robbins made his plea for help in March, 1731-2, having lost his finger and being unable to pay the Doctor and support his family. The Town instructed the Overseers of the Poor to assist him, and a week later gave further instructions that the alms-house be cleared as soon as possible for the reception of those who are supported at the Town's charge.

Evidently some poor families were maintained in their own homes, and when the Overseer of the Poor, Capt. Thomas Wade, reported his expenditures at the March meeting in 1734, opposition to a continuance of this policy was made. A Committee was appointed to consider the question of the best method of procedure, which reported on March 20th, recommending that the poor be provided for in a suitable and convenient home, that the Overseer be directed "to employ such as are capable of labor in such business as they are able to perform," and that inquiry be made into the circumstances of "such persons within the Town, who may

be thought and judged to misimprove their time and estate," and that the Overseer "take such care of them as the Law directs."

The old almshouse was reported to be rotten and unfit for occupancy in 1770, but no definite action seems to have been taken until 1784, when the Town voted to sell it. The Committee appointed to investigate the building or providing a new "work-house," reported that the lower pest house would answer for present needs provided it were moved and placed near the County House. They were instructed to remove it if practicable.

Whatever course was adopted proved to be but a temporary make-shift. The purchase of the John Harris house, still standing on the corner of High and Manning Streets, was soon proposed but the plan met with considerable opposition. The expense involved in the relief of the poor was felt to be a heavy burden. The final petition of the Hamlet Parish to be set off as a separate Town in 1792, was vigorously opposed because the decline of the fishing industry had deprived many families of their means of support, and had compelled an increasing number of the inhabitants to ask relief from the Town. The separation was accomplished and the Hamlet was incorporated as the Town of Hamilton on June 21, 1793. As the people of the Hamlet were all farmers and well-to-do, and the great bulk of the needy and helpless families were found in the old Town and at Chebacco, the burden of taxation for the support of the poor was greatly increased, though Hamilton paid \$950 into the Ipswich treasury, when it became a separate Town.

The exigency was so great that an appeal for relief was made to the General Court in May, 1794.

The Petition recited:

This place has for many years past been on the decline, arising partly from other Towns in the Vicinity being more

Commodious for Trade since the County has become settled and partly from the great Increase of paupers, which has become a Heavy burden to your Petitioner as the Town of Ipswich is an ancient Corporation. The present Inhabitants are obliged to support many Poor persons who have passed many of their Useful Days and expended all their Property in other Towns, but having gained no legal settlement elsewhere, return to us for Maintenance & support—which increase of expense has caused a Valuable part lately to Separate from us and thrown on us an additional burthen.

* * * * *

And as the Instruction of the rising Generation in a free Government is of Great importance burdens which we labour under are so great it is become almost beyond the ability of your Petitioners to support their Poor and give that aid and encouragement to the promotion of Learning which is Necessary.

We Therefore Humbly pray your Hon^{rs} to take our Case into your Consideration and to grant us a Township or such other Quantity of unlocated Lands in said Commonwealth as shall enable us to afford a Necessary & decent support to our Schools & which will be applied solely to that purpose.

This petition failed apparently to commend itself to the General Court.

Dr. John Manning now came forward in April 1795, with a proposition to undertake the maintenance of the poor under certain conditions for a fixed rate. If the Town would grant him the use of the pest house, Mr. John Harris's house and land, or any other equivalent, and pay him £400 per annum, he would provide the proper subjects of the Town's support, their food, clothing, "and every kind of attendance in sickness & in health." He believed that a saving of £100 a year might thus be accomplished.

After these proposals had been read, Mr. John Heard, Maj^r Joseph Swasey, Col. Jon^a Cogswell, Capt. Dan^l Rogers and Asa Andrews Esq. were chosen a Committee to treat with Dr. Manning. This Committee reported that Mr.

Harris would sell his house and land, and that Mr. Paltiah Kinsman would bind himself to purchase the property at the end of three years if the Town wished to dispose of it.

The Town voted to purchase the Harris house and an agreement was made with Dr. Manning to provide food, clothing, fuel, washing, medical attendance and nursing, and decent burial, and settle all claims against other Towns, for three years at the rate of £400. Upon the expiration of this contract, there seems to have been no renewal of this method, and in 1799, the Selectmen were instructed to provide for the poor in the ensuing year.

Coincidentally with the increase of pauperism and the enlarged burden imposed upon the tax-payers, vigorous resort was made to the "warning out" process of forestalling any prospective or possible expense for the relief of the families of recent arrivals.

A legal summons was served by the Constable upon designated persons,

who have lately come into this Town for the purpose of abiding therein not having obtained the Town's consent therefor that they depart the limits thereof with their Children and those under their care within fifteen days.

Though it was well understood that this was only a legal form to save the Town from expense in the case of future poverty, there must have been much grotesqueness, if not positive embarrassment, attaching to the visit by the Constable to Dr. Parker Clark, who had come to Ipswich from Newburyport to practise his profession, and Asa Andrews Esq., lawyer and leading citizen, and one of the committee to confer with Dr. Manning, both of whom were warned out in October, 1789, and Doctor Samuel Adams, in 1792, in company with Black Nell, the widow of Fortune Ellery of Gloucester, and Eunice Wood, Jonas Kenney, the tinker from Norwich, and a multitude of humble but thoroughly

respectable laborers, widows, house maids, families from Nova Scotia and Scotland, as well as from Rowley and Topsfield and all the neighboring Towns. Between Oct. 26, 1789 and Feb. 13, 1794, no less than 120 heads of families and unmarried men and women were thus warned.

By a legislative act of Feb. 11, 1793, all laws as to settlements were repealed, and new provision for securing settlement made, and with this went all provision for warning out of Towns.³ It lingered in Ipswich a year longer.

On Christmas day, 1817, a Committee reported, recommending the purchase of the farm of John Lummus, the erecting of necessary buildings for the accommodation of the Town wards, and an appropriation of not less than \$7500. On New Year's day, 1818, \$10,500 was appropriated for this purpose, and in April, the Committee was authorized to sell the "work-house" on High Street and use the proceeds to make additions to the buildings then on the farm. This was the last drop of bitterness in the cup of the people of Chebacco. Fifteen years before that Parish had recited its grievances and prayed for a separation from the Town without success. Now they were in grim earnest, and on April 6, 1818, two hundred and six men of Chebacco petitioned the Legislature for incorporation as a Town, declaring that they refused to be held for any part of the new and expensive establishment for the relief of the poor. This prayer was granted, and the Town was duly incorporated on Feb. 5, 1819, making a cheerful final payment to the mother Town of \$3000 on various accounts and \$2270 for their share in public property, remaining in its hands.

A new house was reported necessary in the fall of 1837, and the editor of the Ipswich Register opened its columns to the free discussion of the Town Farm, which was already a vexing problem. "H" began the battle with his communication on Dec. 8th, assailing the extravagance of the man-

³ Warning Out in New England. Benton, p. 52.

agement and advocating the sale of the farm and the purchase of a farm of 30 to 50 acres near the Town. "Agricola" replied in the next issue, upholding the present policy and stating the interesting fact that during the six years when a capable woman was on the farm, 300 yards of cloth were woven from the flax and wool raised on the place. "Agawam" supported "Agricola" and in January "Shylock" cried out against the expediency of maintaining at a loss a farm of 340 acres to support 35 to 40 poor. "Luke, the Laborer," "Jonathan" and "A Friend to the Poor," took up their cudgels. The value of the diked march was extolled, the economy of the peat fuel, long columns of figures were juggled with ingeniously to prove the wisdom or the foolishness of every measure. For three months the Poor Farm was in the lime light, then in March, 1838, the Town voted to build the brick house, which is still in use.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE NEW CENTURY. WARS AND RUMORS OF WARS.

The nineteenth century opened with clouds and gloom. Gen. George Washington died on Dec. 14th, 1799. The whole country was deeply grieved. Funeral solemnities were observed at Ipswich on January 7, 1800. The Salem Gazette of Jan. 21st described the service in the style which characterized the newspapers of the day.

The Rev. Mr. Frisbie at the request of the inhabitants pronounced a very elegant and pathetic eulogy on the character and virtues of the beloved Patriot and Statesman: in which he very judiciously and feelingly led the audience to a pleasing remembrance of the glorious military achievements and political wisdom of the illustrious deceased.

The several grades of citizens, being preceded by the military officers and followed by the Orator and Clergy, moved from the Court House at half past one o'clock, and proceeded to the meeting house of the First Parish, where the Rev. Mr. Dana in a very solemn manner, addressed the Throne of Grace and the Eulogy was pronounced. A plaintive and suitable Anthem was performed by the choir of singers. The desk and pillars of the house being dressed in mourning and the audience together with the honest tears of sorrow fully demonstrated the feelings of an affectionate and grateful people.

The officers and soldiers of the militia under General Orders wore their military uniforms every Sunday for six months, with a black crape band on the left forearm, just above the cuff, and the hilts of the officers' swords were covered with black.

The newspapers contained disquieting and threatening tidings of foreign complications. French privateers were preying on American commerce. The pirates of Algiers and Tripoli continued their depredations on the ships of all nations, and the United States and the European Powers were making the most humiliating concessions to secure exemption from attack. In December, 1800, the report was published that the U. S. Frigate, "George Washington," Capt. Bainbridge in command, had been compelled by the Dey of Algiers to take on board a cargo of black slaves, lions, tigers, leopards, ostriches, etc. and with the Algerine standard at the mast head instead of the American pennant, to sail for Constantinople, bearing this gift to the Grand Seigneur. Furthermore, this service was considered by the Algerines, a distinguished honor to our Country.¹

War between Great Britain and France was renewed in 1803. Each of these nations forbade the United States to trade with the other. British men-of-war were constantly impressing sailors from American vessels, claiming them as deserters from the British navy. The feeble navy of the United States brought the Mediterranean pirates to terms in 1805. The people of Ipswich were probably gratified with the travelling panorama, 60 feet long and 10 feet high, which was exhibited in Salem.

"The Bombardment of the City of Tripoli, by the American squadron under Commodore Preble, and a sublime description of the Burning of the Philadelphia frigate in the harbor of Tripoli by that gallant officer, Capt. S. Decatur."²

While national affairs were of pressing interest, Ipswich was engaged at this period in an important public enterprise. The Ipswich Turnpike was incorporated March 1, 1803. The corporate members were John Heard, Stephen Choate, Asa Andrews, Joseph Swasey, all of Ipswich; W^m

¹ The Salem Gazette, Dec. 12, 1800.

² The Salem Register, Jan. 19, 1800.

Gray, Jr., Jacob Ashton, Israel Thorndike, Nathan Dane, William Bartlett and James Prince. The road began at the blacksmith's shop of Nathaniel Batchelder in Beverly, ran by Nathan Brown's in Hamilton, over the old road to the Stone Bridge in Ipswich, through Rowley, over Parker River Bridge to Newburyport, four rods wide, with toll gates.^{1a} The Newburyport Turnpike was incorporated a week later.

War with England seemed unavoidable. The Jeffersonian party, known as Anti-Federalists, Democratic Republicans or simply Republicans, favored active measures of resistance or retaliation. Though Ipswich was strongly Federalist, the Jeffersonian minority was active and vigorous, and on the 4th of July, 1805, they celebrated the national anniversary in very amusing fashion.

A goodly number of unequivocal Democratic Republicans, consisting of Farmers, Mechanics, Sea Faring brethren, Fishermen etc. met at Mr. Nathaniel Treadwell's, formed a procession, proceeded to the Jeffersonian Academy, where they met with quite a number of others of both sexes, accompanied with citizen Pottle, who, by special request (after the Declaration of Independence was read) addressed the Supreme Being and then made a very ingenious, pertinent and solemn discourse from the words, "Happy art thou, O Israel, who is like unto thee, O People saved by the Lord."

After the sermon, they adjourned to the hotel for dinner and toasts. The usual patriotic sentiments were interspersed with some of local significance. The 13th toast was, "The Venerable Town of Ipswich. May it be purged of all old Toryism and mock Federalism"; the 16th, "May more Piety and less Politics adorn the American Clergy"; the 18th was "Citizen Pottle. May his Labours of Love abide on our minds." Notwithstanding the prolonged series of toasts,

^{1a} History of Essex County, Article Ipswich, by M. V. B. Perley. Vol. I: p. 574.

"Usual good order and decency being observed the day was closed agreeably."³

"Elder Pottle" was the newly arrived preacher of the little Baptist flock, which was worshipping in the second story of Dr. Manning's woolen factory, then unused. Evidently he was an ardent advocate of Jeffersonian simplicity, and aped the French democracy with his title of "citizen." As the other ministers in town were strong Federalists, the sharp rap on their knuckles in the 16th toast, and the loyal laudation of "Citizen Pottle" in the 18th, aroused the suspicion that the whole celebration was largely in the nature of a spirited demonstration of Baptist enthusiasm, availing itself of the great midsummer holiday.

In July, 1807, preparations for war actually began. The Salem Cadets and two Light Infantry companies volunteered their services.⁴ In December, President Jefferson proclaimed an Embargo, which had been voted by Congress, forbidding all American vessels to leave United States ports for foreign countries and prohibiting foreign vessels from sailing, except with the cargo actually on board.⁵ The great export trade of the neighboring towns, Newburyport and Salem, was instantly paralyzed. In the Newburyport district alone, there were registered in Sept., 1805, 41 ships, 62 brigs, 2 scows, 2 barks and 67 schooners⁶. When the Embargo was declared, there were lying in Salem harbor, 37 ships, 2 barks, 19 brigs, 59 sloops and schooners and a great fleet was abroad in every ocean.

Ipswich suffered largely in proportion to her means. The good ship "Eliza," Capt. Charles Smith, sailed for Leghorn in 1805, and in 1808, commanded by Capt. Treadwell, was reported at Lisbon, Cadiz, Isle of May and London. The brig "Mary," Capt. Glazier, carried her cargoes of fish and

³ The Salem Register, July 11, 1805.

⁴ The Salem Register, July 27, 1807.

⁵ Channing. Students' History of the United States, p. 348.

⁶ The Salem Register, Sept. 9, 1805.

commodities to Guadaloupe, St. Croix and wherever she could find a market. The brig "Parrot," Capt. Lord, was at Port Royal, Martinique, in 1805; Capt. Farley in the brig "Susannah" was at Leghorn and Galiopoli in 1806. The Ipswich schooners "Adventure," Capt. Treadwell; "Dolphin," Capt. Farley; "Friendship," Capt. Treadwell; "Hannah," Captain Goodhue and "William Henry," Capt. Daniel Lord, sailed from the wharves where they loaded to Trinidad, St. Lucie, Point Petre and other West India ports. All these vessels either lay idly in the home port, or were awaited anxiously from their foreign voyages by their owners. "No foreign entrances or clearances" said the Salem Gazette on Feb. 26, 1808. "Commerce is now (contrary to Mr. Jefferson's maxim) embarrassed with so much regulation that it cannot move."

At this juncture, the Republican Convention of Essex County met at Ipswich on February 24th, 1808, and adopted the platform:

We consider the Embargo at the present crisis as a measure best calculated to preserve our property from plunder, our seamen from impressment and our nation from the horrors of War.⁷

The Federalists of Ipswich met on Friday evening, March 25th, and adopted a lengthy Report of their Committee. Their forecaste was gloomy indeed.

National ruin not far distant, when our beloved country seems destined to be whirled into the all-devouring vortex of unbounded and lawless ambition and like every other republic to be blotted out from the already reduced and almost annihilated catalogue of free and independent nations.

They nominated Hon. John Heard for Senator. A Committee of eleven was then chosen to "prepare 100 lists each

⁷ The Salem Gazette, March 1, 1808.

of votes for their candidates and a Committee of 150 persons in the several districts (without including Chebacco) to distribute votes and engage the attention of the people to the great object of the meeting."⁸

This vigorous campaign was followed by a Federalist Fourth of July celebration. Upwards of a hundred citizens, including the Reverend Clergy of the Town and Hon. Judge Holten, met at Major Swasey's tavern, marched to the meeting house of the First Parish, where Dr. Dana read Washington's Farewell Address, and returned to banquet at Major Swasey's, Hon. Stephen Choate presiding, John Heard and Jonathan Cogswell Jun., acting as Vice-Presidents.

On hearing that the leader of the Democratic party in the Town, in order to make a *mockery* of federal principles and the arrangements of the Federalists of this occasion, had read (or attempted to read) the Farewell Address of Washington to the pupils of the "new school," the following toast was given by one of the Company.

"May the tomb of Washington never again be profaned by a hypocritical tear, nor his legacy by a jacobin reader." Harmony and good order prevailed through the day and the closing toast of Captain Lakeman, president pro-tem, added to the pleasantry of the occasion. "Happy to meet, sorry to part, Happy to meet again."⁹

The Clergy judiciously retired after twenty toasts had been drunk.

In consequence of a request from a number of the inhabitants of the Town and a communication from the Town of Boston, a Town meeting was called on the afternoon of Thursday, August 18th, 1808,

to see if the Town will prefer a petition to the President of the United States praying that he would suspend the Acts and Laws laying an embargo upon the ships and ves-

⁸ The Salem Gazette, April 1st, 1808.

⁹ The Salem Gazette, July 22, 1808.

sels of the United States, in as much as hostilities between Great Britain and Spain have ceased, and as there are no [imperial] decrees or British Orders of Council interdicting a free exercise of commerce between the United States of America & Spain and Portugal and their respective Colonies.

The Town voted to present a respectful petition of this nature, and Major Joseph Swasey, Honb^{le} Stephen Choate, Capt. Joseph Farley, Col^o. Jonathan Cogswell, Major Thomas Burnham, M^r. Nath^l. Lord, 3^d, and John Heard Esquire, the Moderator of the meeting, were chosen a Committee to draft the Petition. This Committee reported the following:

To the President of the United States.

The Petition of the Inhabitants of the Town of Ipswich legally assembled in Town Meeting this eighteenth day of August, Anno Domini, 1808.

Humbly Sheweth

That the Inhabitants of this Town have at all times from its earliest settlement manifested a respectful regard to the laws of this country and practised and inculcated obedience to the constituted authorities.

That under the greatest pressure of calamities, which the publick good has been thought to require, they have remained peaceful and submissive, and that no regulation of Government however burdensome, has ever on this account been violated or evaded by any inhabitant of the Town.

That the laws of the United States laying an embargo on all ships and vessels in the Country have operated in a very grievous manner on all classes of our citizens; that farmers, merchants, fishermen & Manufacturers have in their turns experienced and still experience their ill effects; and we cannot contemplate their further continuance without most disquieting apprehensions, nor will we believe that the regular expression of the wishes of a free people can be offensive to enlightened and patriotic rulers.

Therefore your petitioners beg leave to suggest whether the great events which have lately taken place in Europe will not afford your Excellency an opportunity for releas-

ing the people of this once prosperous country from their present embarrassed and distressed condition.

And your petitioners believe that a renewal of Commercial intercourse between the United States and the Kingdom of Spain and Portugal and their Colonies would be productive of great advantage, by affording to us an opportunity of disposing of great quantities of our surplus produce and more particularly the Article of fish, now perishing on our hands.

Wherefore your Petitioners, agreeably to the right which they enjoy by the Constitution, which they, at all times and on all occasions are ready and determined religiously to support, would respectfully pray that the evils, which they endure in consequence of the Embargo, may be removed by a suspension in whole or in part of the operation of the law laying the same, by virtue of the power of law vested in the supreme Executive; or that the power of convening Congress, given by the Constitution to your Excellency may be immediately exercised for the purpose of obtaining an object so important to the dearest interests of the people.

And as in Duty bound will ever pray.

In behalf of the Town of Ipswich.

The petition was twice read, and the Selectmen were instructed to sign it in behalf of the Town and transmit it forthwith.

The reply of the President was read at a Town meeting convened on November 7th.

To the inhabitants of the Town of Ipswich legally assembled in Town Meeting.

Your representation and request were received on the 1st instant and have been considered with the attention due to every expression of the sentiments and feelings of so respectable a body of citizens. No person has seen with more concern than myself the inconveniences brought on our country in general by the circumstances of the times in which we happen to live, times to which the history of nations present no parallel. For years we have been looking as spectators on our brethren of Europe, affected by all those evils

which necessarily follow an abandonment of the moral duty which bind men & nations together; connected with them in friendship and commerce we have happily so far kept aloof from their calamitous conflicts by a steady observance of justice toward all, by much forbearance, and multiplied sacrifices. At length, however, all regard to the rights of others having been thrown aside, the belligerent Powers have beset the highway of Commercial intercourse with edicts, which taken together expose our commerce and mariners under almost every destination a prey to their fleets and armies. Each party, indeed, would admit our Commerce with themselves with the view of associating us in their wars against the other, but we have wished war with neither. Under these circumstances were passed the laws of which you complain, by those delegated to exercise the powers of legislation for you, with every sympathy of a common interest in exercising them faithfully. In reviewing these measures, therefore, we should advert to the difficulties out of which a choice was of necessity to be made. To have submitted our rightful commerce to prohibitions and tributary exactions from others, would have been to surrender our independence. To resist by arms was War without consulting the state of things or the choice of the nation. The alternative proposed by the Legislature of suspending a commerce placed under such unexampled difficulties, besides saving to our citizens their property and our mariners to their country, has the peculiar advantage of giving time to the belligerent nations to revise a conduct as contrary to their interests as it is to our rights.

In the event of such peace or suspension of hostilities between the belligerent powers of Europe, or such change in their measures affecting neutral commerce, as may render that of the United States sufficiently safe in the judgment of the President, he is authorized to suspend the Embargo, but no peace or hostilities, no change of measures affecting neutral commerce is known to have taken place. The Orders of England and the Decrees of France and Spain, existing at the date of these laws, are still unrepealed as far as we know. In Spain, indeed, a contest for the Government appears to have arisen; but of its course or prospects we have no information on which Prudence would

undertake a hasty change in our policy, even were the authority of the Executive competent to such a decision.

You desire that in this defect of power Congress may be specially convened. It is impossible to examine the evidence or the character of the facts which are supposed to dictate such a call, because you will be sensible on attention to dates, that the legal period of their meeting is as early as, in this extensive country, they could be fully convened by a special call.

I should with great willingness have executed the wishes of the inhabitants of the Town of Ipswich, had peace or a repeal of the obnoxious edicts or other changes produced the case in which alone the laws have given me that authority, and so many motives of justice and interest lead to such changes that we ought continually to expect them. But while these edicts remain, the Legislature alone can prescribe the course to be pursued.

Th. Jefferson.

Sept. 2, 1808.

The Vote being put whether the Answer of the President of the United States to the petition of the inhabitants of this Town in August last be satisfactory to the Town, it passed in the Negative.

The President ordered the Commander-in-chief of the Massachusetts militia to detach 10,920 men, to be organized, armed, equipped and held in readiness for a march at a moment's notice. In December, 1808, a company of the standing army of the United States marched into Salem and took possession of Fort Pickering.¹⁰ The Salem Gazette of Dec. 23^d remarked, "Just one year ago yesterday, since President signed the Embargo." "At the close of the day, minute guns were discharged for half an hour at the North Bridge (that memorable spot where the march of a British regiment was once stopped by citizens) in sad memorial of the decease of Commerce." The Salem Register pertly declared that the salute was in honor of the Embargo, and that six hearty cheers were also given.

¹⁰ The Salem Gazette, Dec. 9, 1808.

Great destitution prevailed among the poor in Salem. A subscription paper was circulated in January, 1809, and a soup house was established. It was announced in February that 1200 persons, about one ninth of the whole population, were depending for their daily subsistence on this beneficent charity, and "if we add those who live upon other charities, not short of one fifth of the inhabitants of the industrious, enterprising and prudent town of Salem are supported by alms."¹¹ The pinch of poverty must have been no less acute in Ipswich, and all the other commercial towns. Party feeling ran high.

Another Town meeting was called,

for the purpose of taking into consideration the present calamitous state of the publick affairs of our country, and to adopt such measures and pass such Votes or Resolutions for obtaining redress of our Grievances as the Town may think proper.

The meeting convened on January 30th, 1809, and Major Thomas Burnham was chosen Moderator. Strong opposition to any action by the Town was evident in the motion that the meeting be dissolved. It failed to pass, but an adjournment was made to the 6th of February, without further action.

Reassembling, the Town was in very excited mood. A series of Resolves, very long and intensely partisan, and a Memorial were read by Major Swasey. Dr. John Manning's motion that a large committee be appointed to consider the Resolves and Memorial failed to carry.

The vote being put whether the Town would accept the Resolves and Memorial, it passed in the affirmative.

The Vote being put whether the Town should adjourn this meeting that those that were of a different opinion might have an opportunity to enter their protest against the proceedings, it passed in the Negative.

¹¹ The Salem Gazette, Feb. 7, 1809.

The first Resolution was as follows:

Resolved, as the sense of this Town, That we consider the Embargo system generally, and the Act empowering the Embargo in particular, as an outrage on the Constitution of our Country, and the habits, freedom and understandings of the citizens; and that it is the duty of all the good people of these United States to enter their solemn protest against measures so destructive to their liberty and happiness, so repugnant to the genius and spirit of their government, and so ruinous in their natural consequences.

At great length, it was charged that the motive underlying the Embargo was to co-operate with the tyrant of Europe in destroying American commerce, that even bay and river craft were subject to the arbitrary will of the President and Revenue officers "in fact it is hard to decide whether this Act was intended to be obeyed, or by provoking the citizens to a revolt to furnish a pretext for the erection of an absolute despotism in this once happy country."

A Memorial to the General Court of Massachusetts was appended, praying for "direction as to the line of conduct to be adopted by the citizens in this calamitous state of things."

And we, at the same time, pledge ourselves, our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honour to support to the utmost such constitutional measures for the common safety as your Honors in your wisdom shall adopt and recommend.

The Federalists of Ipswich were notified in very vigorous fashion on Friday, March 31st, 1809.

Your meeting stands adjourned to *this evening* at 7 o'clock at the Grammar School house to make arrangements to secure the whole federal strength of the Town in effecting the election of genuine Whigs, disciples of Washington, enemies of embargo, non-intercourse, foreign war and civil dissension, into the Councils of the Commonwealth. Your

enemies and the enemies of your country's freedom, independence and happiness, are alive and alert. Your diligence must be increased, your exertions doubled, your labors unwearied, . . . for your cause is good. It is the cause for which Washington fought, your heroes bled, your country suffered: it is the cause of freedom, of independence, of honor and happiness . . .¹²

Success crowned the efforts of the Federalists. They elected their candidate for Governor, Christopher Gore, and John Heard was chosen Senator. In November, James Madison was elected President of the United States. The innumerable appeals for the repeal of the Embargo moved him to favorable action and Congress repealed the law which was so obnoxious to New England. In its place was substituted a Non-Intercourse law, which still prohibited commerce with France and Great Britain, though it permitted it with other neutral nations. This went into operation on March 4, 1809, the day of Madison's inauguration.¹³ Trade instantly revived. From every port, the great merchant fleets sailed forth. Along the Ipswich waterfront, on wharves, in ware houses, aboard the long idle vessels, merchants, laborers, sailors were eagerly active in hurrying away their craft to reap their share of the advantages of trade with the long closed ports.

The brig "Fleetwood," Capt. Smith, must have made an early departure. She was reported in May, sailing from St. Michael's for Cadiz, and arrived at New York in August. In the following July, under command of Capt. Young, she was in the Mediterranean but her voyage resulted disastrously. Sailing from Cagliari, she was captured by a French ship and run ashore about five miles from Malaga, where she was boarded on the 30th of July by the British frigate "Resistance." Capt. Adams, finding the ship de-

¹² The Salem Gazette, March 31, 1809.

¹³ Channing. Student's History of the United States, p. 350.

serted, attempted to get her off, but the tide had fallen so that this was impossible and he burnt her where she lay.¹⁴ The ship "Eliza" of Ipswich, was at Torrington, Jan. 12th, 1810. The schooners were quickly at the West Indies.

The new prosperity was of short duration. Mr. Erskine, the British minister, had exceeded his instructions in assuring Mr. Madison that the British ports were open to American shipping, and the British government refused to sustain him. American seamen on the high seas were at the mercy of the British men-of-war, and thousands of them were taken from their ships and forced into the English navy. War was demanded by a strong public sentiment outside of New England, and on the 17th of June, 1812, War was declared, and the President was authorized to issue commissions or letters of marque to private armed vessels.

Ship-owners and sailors availed themselves eagerly of the privateering privilege. Joseph Challis, an Ipswich sailor, one of the crew of the private armed schooner "Regulator," Captain James Mansfield, sold to William M. Rogers on July 6th, 1812, for \$30 a quarter share of whatever prizes, assigned to him in the course of the cruise "on which she is now bound." On July 10th, the Gazette announced that six small armed vessels had already sailed from Salem, that two more were ready for sea that day, and that on the evening of the 9th, the schooner "Fame" of two guns and thirty men had returned, having taken an English ship of nearly 300 tons loaded with square timber, and a brig of 200 tons loaded with tar. A few days later, the British Government transport "No. 50" was brought into Gloucester, a prize to the one gun privateer, "Madison" of that port, with a valuable cargo of gunpowder, 830 suits of uniform, superfine cloth for officers' uniforms, drums, trumpets, camp equipage, officers' baggage, destined for the 104th Regiment of British Infantry, valued at \$50,000.¹⁵

¹⁴ The Salem Gazette, Aug. 21, 1810.

¹⁵ The Salem Gazette, July 14, 1812.

Notwithstanding the alluring prospect of golden harvests easily gained from the seizure of English merchantmen, New England was bitterly opposed to the War. Town meetings were called at once in Danvers, Beverly and Ipswich. The Ipswich people met on June 25th, and adopted a lengthy communication to the Town of Boston, reaffirming its unalterable opposition to the Embargo and to the War.

"Agreeably to the recommendations of the House of Representatives, in their address to the people of the State," a County Convention met at Ipswich on July 21st, 1812. Sixty-two delegates attended, including the Ipswich delegation, Jonathan Cogswell Esq, Capt. Joseph Farley, Hon. John Heard, and Capt. Ammi R. Smith. The Hon. Timothy Pickering of Salem was chosen President, and a long and spirited Address reported by a Committee, was adopted. The 15th article was as follows:

That the unequalled profligacy of the French government, its defiance and contempt of all the obligations of justice and truth, joined to the prevalent infidelity and general prostration of morals in the French nation, present France as an object of horror to the civilized and Christian world. In this view, therefore, we also express our detestation of the war declared by our rulers against Great Britain, as thereby we become associated with France, and because the war in its progress will naturally produce an alliance with her that will prove fatal to our religion, liberties and independence. This voluntary, this chosen connection with a government and people so perfidious, profligate and corrupt is of itself sufficient to draw down upon our Country the judgments of Heaven¹⁶

The Governor appointed July 23, 1812, as a Public Fast day, in consequence of the Declaration of War. The ministers spoke that day with no uncertain sound. Dr. Parish thundered his "Protest against the War" from his pulpit in

¹⁶ The Salem Gazette, July 23, 1812.

the Byfield parish, in a sermon which soon was published in a second edition.

Never was a crisis more serious in human affairs; never was a day so momentous to the happiness of individuals or the nation. The proclamation is published; the country, the world are in motion. Families are dividing and marshalling themselves on opposite sides.

* * * * *

If you commence the war, you understandingly abandon your independence and your freedom. If you commence the war, this tyrannical, cruel, miserable state of things becomes fixed and permanent, as the miseries of Holland and Prussia and Germany. Then no more petitions, no more assemblages of the people to manifest their patriotism. Already is it high time that petitions and remonstrances should be laid aside. You have thrown away enough by sending them to the Potomac to form carpets for her palaces. Go and petition the grave to close her gates, and to admit no more of your dear friends. Go and implore grim Death to cast away his quiver and his fatal arrows; if you succeed in moving the cold ear of Death, then, and not till then, renew your petitions to your Rulers, ply them with new prayers and supplications.

* * * * *

Long have you expected relief from their fatal measures, long have you submitted with the patience of Issachar, who like a stupid ass, bowed down between two burdens. And still do you hope, and hope, and hope for a change of measures, in the French citizens, the Gallatins, the Jeffersons, the Burrs, and Madisons of the country? You may as well expect that the freezing blasts of winter will cover your fields with corn, your gardens with blossoms. They will as soon give liberty to their African slaves, as unembarrassed commerce to their New England subjects.

* * * * *

This nefarious declaration of war is nothing more nor less than a licence given by a Virginian vassal of the French Emperor to the English nation authorizing them in legal form to destroy the prosperity of New England.

You will soon see, not a band of Britons, but a meager,

famished, hungry horde of savage Frenchmen, with the profession of friends, but the action of demons; with the voice of lambs, but the spirits of tygers. So they entered Holland and Naples and Switzerland and Germany and Prussia and Rome and Venice and Spain. They went to give them liberty; they stayed to make them slaves; they went in the garb of friends, they stayed to rob their fields, to plunder their houses, their banks, their churches, to ravish their women, to murder their men, to ruin their country. So will it be here, if you allow the wretches to tread on your ground or to breathe your air. They will then drive you from your houses; they will drag your sons in chains to their armies; universal plunder will desolate the country. Famine and death will close the scene.

Mr. Uriah Spofford of Appleton, Wisconsin, whose childhood and young manhood were spent in Ipswich, published some very interesting *Reminiscences*^{16a} of this period. He recalls that there were three companies of militia. The first company, commanded by Nathaniel Lord, Robert Kimball, Ensign, included all the men on the south side of High Street, and "around the corner, all on the right hand running south [i. e. North Main Street], all on Topsfield Road from the Stone Bridge, and the men at Turkey Hill, New Boston and Pine Swamp."

In the second company, of which Joseph Whittier was Captain, were enrolled all the men living on the hill side of High St. "and on the left hand running south from the corner [i. e. North Main St.], down opposite the Jail Lane [Green St.], and all east of that including Plum Island." The third company, Capt. Humphrey Lakeman, John Brown, Lieut., included all the men who lived south of the Stone Bridge, including Windmill Hill, Candlewood, and Argilla. John T. Spofford was fifer, Charles Kimball, drummer of one of the High Street companies. Soon after the Declaration of War, a company of Conditional Exempts was

^{16a} Published in the Ipswich Chronicle, 1882.

formed, which numbered about 75 men. Major Joseph Swasey was the Commander, Col. Jos. Hodgkins, 1st Lieut. Jabez Farley, 2nd Lieut., Col. Thomas Wade, Orderly Sergeant. They drilled at the Court House. There was another company of 30 men in Linebrook, two at Essex, one each in Hamilton, Topsfield and Rowley.

The winter of 1812 was uneventful but the spring of 1813 brought the war home to Ipswich. Young Richard Dummer Jewett, son of Richard Dummer Jewett, then in his twenty-first year, had shipped on a privateer brig which sailed from Boston. His letters to his parents brought the sad tidings of his capture and his detention in the prison at Bridgetown, Island of Barbadoes.

Barbadoes Prison, March 6, 1813.

Sir:

. . . We sailed from Boston 27th wind free steering East until we made the island of Maderia w[h]ere we Cruised a few days and captured a brig and schooner loaded with fish &c. of which we send to France . . . then sailed for the Coast of Africa we made the land of Senegall then stering for the Cape de Verd island we arrived at the island of St. Yago and watered then sailed for the West India Islands two days out January 9th Captured the British ship Neptune from London bound to Rio jenero with brandy wine, bale goods, silver plate etc. Capt. Lord went on board and sailed for America

Saturday evening, seven days, between seven and eight we saw a sail upon our lee bow we then kept away for her till perceived her to be a large ship then hauling our wind and making all sail she then giving chase after us, and come up with us fast, gave us a gun in one hour and a half she came along side of us (by this time we had taken in sail and saw all clear for action but to no use) then gave us a broadside and two volleys of musketry. Mr. John Foot of Newburyport had his leg shot off Mr Smith of Marblehead was wounded and died the day following . . . she proved to be his majesty's frigate surprize of 47 guns forty five days of her stocks one of the fastest sailors in the

navy. she then took our men on board and proceeded with the brig to barbadoes, January 26th committing us to Prison w[h]ere I now remain, March 6. the privateer Yankee of Newburyport is here ship John's crew of Salem is here about five hundred prisoners on board of the prison ship and here at the goal. Mr. Pulcifer¹⁷ is well and all our crew, no exchange here yet some prisoners have been here six months. Mr. Ebenezer Clinton is here and well was taken 15th of August please to remind Mr. Dodge if any prizes arrive shew him the same if you please. Give my love to all Enquiring friends.

I remain

Richard D. Jewett

We have heard of a Cardeel arriving at some of the leeward islands not known if it be true or not. if not we think the states must be damned slack in the stays it is poor encouragement for privateer's men.

Mr. Jewett wrote again from Bridgetown Prison on June 15th, 1813. He had then been in prison a hundred and forty days and had lost hopes of being exchanged. The crews of the privateers "Providence" of Providence; "Blockade" of New Haven; "Yankee" and "Decatur" of Newbury and "John" of Salem were all in the prison. A petition for relief had been sent to the President of the United States, but no reply had been received. It was signed,

So I remain and am like to remain. God knows when I shall return. I am

Yours

Richard Dummer Jewett.

Relief was nearer than he anticipated. He was in Boston on November 25th, wrote on Dec. 7th that he was about sailing for New Orleans and arrived in that port; but sailing again, no further tidings ever reached his home.

Major Robert Farley was appointed Colonel in the United

¹⁷ Probably Ebenezer Pulcifer, son of David.

States twelve months army in March,¹⁸ 1813, and a levy of troops was probably made in the local militia. On Thursday, May 13th, 1813, two British frigates chased a wood coaster into Sandy Bay, now called Rockport, and fired fifteen or twenty shots without effect. On the following Sunday morning, the French privateer corvette, "Invincible Napoleon," 270 tons, which had been captured by a British ship and taken from her by a Salem privateer, was chased by the English frigates "Shannon" and "Tenedos." She was run ashore on Norman's Woe and abandoned by her prize crew. The boats from the frigates hauled her off, but the Gloucester militia rallied and fired upon them. The heavy cannonade of the frigates must have caused general alarm.¹⁹ On Wednesday, May 26th, a letter of marque schooner was chased ashore a little south of Squam light by an English brig of war.

The schooner "Sally" of Barnstable arrived at Ipswich on Thursday, July 8th, 1813, having been boarded about 20 leagues from Cape Ann by H. M. Ship "La Hogue," which put on board several masters of vessels which had been captured. The Captain then released the "Sally" after having endorsed her register, to the effect that "in consequence of depredations by American privateers on fishing and coasting vessels of Nova Scotia, British cruisers will destroy every description of American vessels, flags of truce only excepted."²⁰ An Act to authorize a Corps of Sea Fencibles was passed on July 26th, which provided that the President might raise not exceeding ten companies of 90 men to be used on land or sea.

An English brig was on the coast again in late October and chased a dozen coasting vessels into Squam one Saturday afternoon, and captured and burned a sloop on Sunday morning.²¹ Young men were offered generous wages to enlist in

¹⁸ The Essex Register, March 24, 1813.

¹⁹ The Essex Register, May 19, 1813.

²⁰ The Essex Register, July 14, 1813.

²¹ The Essex Register, Nov. 8, 1812.

the 40th Regiment Regular Infantry, \$16 bounty, \$24 advance pay, \$8 a month regular wages, warm clothing, good rations, and at the end of the war, 160 acres of land.²² The year ended with a Proclamation of an Embargo on Dec. 17th, which forbade all vessels to sail except privateers.

One event of the closing months of the year 1813, in which Ipswich had only an incidental part, brought the name of the town into a very conspicuous place in the hot newspaper controversies which enlivened the winter months. In the Essex Register of Saturday, October 9, a significant item appeared, headed "Retaliation."

On Thursday last, ten English prisoners were selected from the Prison ship in the Town, and sent to Ipswich Stone Jail, to be kept in close confinement as hostages in part for the 16 unfortunate Americans confined in a dungeon at Halifax. We also learn that about 100 English soldiers and seamen are to be detained in retaliation for those so unaccountably selected from the American prisoners at Halifax and sent to England.

The Salem Gazette never lost an opportunity to besmirch the editor of its rival, the Essex Register, and it gladly made room in its columns on January 14th, 1814, for a spicy communication from its correspondent who signed himself "Essex."

In the Essex Register of the 1st inst. was the following notice

Retaliation

Ten of the petty officers of the Chesapeake frigate having been released from close confinement at Halifax, the ten British officers, who have been closely confined in Ipswich jail in retaliation have been likewise *released*.

This agreeable intelligence has been republished in most of our papers under the name of "Christian Retaliation," and no doubt was entertained of its truth. It is time that

²² Advertisement, Essex Register, Nov. 10, 1812.

the public should be correctly informed on the subject of the unfortunate prisoners at Ipswich. Seventeen of our fellow beings have been immured in dungeons in our own neighborhood three months, and the public attention has not been called to their sufferings. The following we believe to be a correct statement of this affair.

On the 7th of October, 1813, James Prince Esq. Marshal of this District, issued his mandate, directed

"To the under keeper of the gaol of the U. S. at Ipswich, within the District aforesaid." Greeting.

He was ordered "to receive into his custody and safely keep in DUNGEONS, in the gaol aforesaid, the bodies of Thomas Cooper, John Clark, Adam Kirby, Samuel Thorp, Thomas Hewes, John Benbow, James Onion, Richard How, Daniel Dowland and John Humphries, in retaliation for cruelties" said to be "exercised" on certain persons at Halifax, "and also as hostages to respond for any act of violence which may be inflicted on them."

By similar orders dated Oct. 11, 12, 13 and Nov. 2, he also directed the under keeper to confine in dungeons, the bodies of William Nickerson, Elkanah Clements, Robert Kirkland Black, William Owen, Benjamin Johnson and James Ross By another order, dated Oct. 12th, the Marshal directs the gaoler "to receive and detain in his custody the body of Peter Diedade, a maritime prisoner of war, without alledging any other cause, and he has been confined in a dungeon with the rest.

These men have ever since been kept in dungeons as dreary as Mr. Madison could desire. The goal is a gloomy stone building. The dungeons are 7 ft. by 10 on the ground floor, of rough stone at top, bottom and on all sides. There are loop holes or narrow openings of two or three inches wide, through the upper part of the stone walls, to admit the little light and air which these unfortunate victims are allowed to enjoy. In damp weather the water runs down the walls and drips from the stone ceiling over the floors. These dungeons were never intended for any other purpose than to punish the worst of convicts by a few days solitary imprisonment, and it is believed have never been used even for that purpose.

Yet in these places have 17 innocent men been languish-

ing for 3 months, 16 of them 4 in a dungeon, and the other, (Captain Ross) in a dungeon by himself. A few days since 10 of them were removed to the cells in the second story appropriated to criminals. These cells are larger than the dungeons but extremely cold and uncomfortable. So far have these unfortunate prisoners been "released" and no further. Seven, viz. Cpts. Ross and Clements, Lieuts. Owen, Black & Nickerson and two seamen, it is understood, are still confined in two dungeons; and on some of the late cold nights, several were chilled almost past recovery, notwithstanding they had received a supply of warm clothing from some charitable individuals, and medical aid was necessarily called in to restore the perishing, and it is only by the charitable relief and the attention of the gaoler's family not warranted by the orders of Government that these poor Prisoners are not dead.

* * * * *

The public are already informed from authentic sources, that the 16 Americans who were in prison in Halifax, were not shut up in dungeons. They were confined in apartments, with which they were so well satisfied, that they preferred remaining there to being removed to Melville Island. It appears moreover that some of those confined at Halifax have been twice found in arms before exchanged.

* * * * *

The Marshal recites that he has selected these victims by order of the President and commands "the under-keeper not to suffer them to go from without the dungeons without leave of the President or the Marshal of this district."

The Gazette of January 21st, 1814, contained a lively communication from "Howard" entitled "The Dungeons of the Inquisition" with a series of thrilling foot-notes. He had examined the records of the Inquisition in Portugal and elsewhere and found that the wretched prisoners were confined in dungeons 10 or 11 feet long, 8 or 9 ft. wide (foot-note, larger than Ipswich), so dark that they were anxious for night, that they may have a light (foot-note, We do not know whether the British prisoners at Ipswich have a light

in the night); out of their allowance is to come expense for washing, fuel &c. (foot-note, The dungeons at Ipswich we understand have no fires in them); allusion is made to the tiled flooring on which some unfortunates slept (footnote, The dungeons at Ipswich have stone flooring which is colder than tile or brick and in damp weather I have been told the prisoners lay a board or two upon the stones to keep themselves out of the wet); the filth, vermin, and stench in the Inquisition's dungeons were such that "the countenances of those who are brought out for an auto-da-fe show the treatment they have received, for they are so altered that nobody can recognize them." Fortunately, the parallel could not be drawn against the Ipswich prison in this dreadful climax. No British prisoners were removed from their loathsome dungeons to be burned at the stake, but to "Howard's" feverish imagination, the victims of the Inquisition seem to have enjoyed a privilege denied to the latter day prisoners albeit their deliverance was by fire.

The Worcester jail was assailed with similar bitterness. The Massachusetts Centinel, the Boston Patriot and other newspapers published accusations and indignant replies by the officials, who were taken to task. "Must we wait to hear from France" was the caption of an article signed by W^m. Gray.²⁸ Alluding to the account of the different prisons of the world, given by the philanthropist Howard in his published Works, he quotes his description of the dungeons of Paris and remarks, "The coincidence of the circumstances with those of the imprisonment of the Englishmen in the DUNGEONS at Ipswich are remarkable." "In this prison (the Grand Charlet at Paris) there are eight dungeons, which open into dark passages. In four of these dungeons (10 ft. 8 in. by 6 ft. 8 in.) I saw 16 prisoners, two in irons, all lying upon straw." His foot-note comment is, "These are a little bigger than the Ipswich dungeons."

²⁸ The Salem Gazette, January 25th, 1814.

There can be no doubt that the jails of a century ago were unfit for occupancy by human beings, judged by modern standards, but they were in keeping with the excessive severity of the penalties imposed by the Courts upon evil-doers.²⁴ Neither were these Ipswich cells any worse than those in other jails. The Ipswich jail had been built only about six years, and it is incredible that the enlightened and progressive County of Essex should have reverted to an out grown style of architecture. Indeed, they were no worse than the cells still in use in Sing Sing prison. Nor is it credible that the worthy keeper of the Ipswich jail should have been guilty of such brutal neglect and cruel inhumanity.

But making due allowance for the bitter Federalist opposition to the War and every issue involved in it, and the political venom that characterized the assaults of the political parties upon each other, it was rightfully abhorrent to the New England conscience that British military prisoners should be treated like felons. The Marshal of the District visited the Ipswich jail on the 23^d of January and removed all except one sick of a fever and a fellow prisoner to attend him, to "comfortable apartments"²⁵

This was not the end of the matter. Not only was "Retaliation" repugnant to the Federalists and to many good citizens regardless of political party affiliations, but the action of the Federal government in assuming authority to make use of a County institution to imprison military captives, was resented by the State Legislature. An Act was passed "declaratory of the true intent and meaning of an Act, entitled An Act to provide for the safe keeping all prisoners committed under the authority of the United States in the several gaols within the Commonwealth."

That nothing contained in an Act entitled . . . , shall be so construed as to authorize the keepers of the said gaols

²⁴ See Chapter V. Laws, Courts and Judges.

²⁵ The Salem Gazette, Feb. 1, 1814.

to take custody of and keep within said gaols, any prisoners committed by any other authority than the Judicial Authority of the United States.

And whereas several prisoners of war have been committed to gaols, within this Commonwealth, under the Executive Authority of the United States.

Sec. 2. Be it further enacted, That the keepers of the said gaols are hereby authorized and required to discharge from said gaols all such prisoners of war after the expiration of thirty days from the passing of this Act, unless they shall be sooner discharged by the authority of the United States.

Approved, Feb. 7, 1814.

Caleb Strong.²⁶

The prisoners were soon removed to Fort Sewall in Marblehead, and a number were sent to Halifax a little later.

Memorials from the towns, against the War, and particularly the Embargo, poured in to the Legislature of the Commonwealth. The Ipswich Town Meeting was convened on Feb. 9th, 1814, and an elaborate Memorial to the Legislature was adopted only five dissenting, according to the report sent the Salem Gazette.²⁷

It appears that even your Remonstrances to the General Government have proved unavailing, and because the fate of numerous petitions recently sent up by our suffering citizens is a persuasive admonition not to add to the number. To the hand which causelessly inflicts the evils we suffer, we are not disposed to look for relief; to those marble hearts, which, instead of sympathizing, rejoice in our sufferings, we disdain to appeal. We feel that our remedy must be with our own States, with those who will not fail to vindicate our rights or avenge our wrongs.

We are convinced that the time is arrived when Massachusetts must make a resolute stand The "sophisticated" Government, which these states have witnessed for the thirteen years past has almost completed their ruin, and every

²⁶ The Salem Gazette, Feb. 15, 1814.

²⁷ The Salem Gazette, Feb. 22, 1814.

day still adds to their distressed condition. The patience of the maritime states has been wonderful. And we fondly hoped it would be ascribed to its true cause. We now see it misconstrued, rewarded with accumulated wrongs, and with contempt both of our wishes and sufferings.

* * * * *

And shall it (our Commerce) now be annihilated even to the coasting trade, without a shadow of constitutional authority, and to the involvement of thousands in absolute poverty, of thousands more in distress for the want of essential supplies?

* * * * *

But who at last believes that free Trade and Seaman's rights ever were the true object of the War? Who is not convinced that enlarging the power of the authors and aiding the common enemy of free States was its prime object? And shall this once happy abode of Freedom, Honored Fathers, be rendered miserable to promote such nefarious purposes, and without any possible benefit to herself? And shall horrid *Retaliation* finish the climax of guilt, if any lawful expedients or exertions worthy of our Ancestors can contribute to bring these evils to an end?

Viewing these subjects as we view them, we dare not express in whole the indignation we feel.

But with respectful confidence, we commit ourselves under the Guardian Providence of the Great Supreme, to our honored Legislature, with a cheerful hope, that their Wisdom, Heaven directed, will adopt such measures for relief to their oppressed citizens, as will save them from the dire necessity of relieving themselves individually; such means as will procure effectual relief from our sufferings and maintain the sovereignty and independence of the Commonwealth.

Signed in behalf
of the Town

George Choate	} Selectmen of Ipswich
Eben ^r Caldwell	
Will ^m Conant J ^r	
Oliver Appleton	
Ammi R. Smith	

A Committee of the Legislature reported upon these Me-

morials which came from every part of the State, agreeing sympathetically with the complaints therein made, deploring that the voice of New England was lost in the General Councils, but finding no action advisable beyond the adoption of Resolutions, affirming that the Embargo Act was unconstitutional, and all attempts to prohibit their rights by military force were destructive of freedom and repugnant to the Constitution.²⁸

The State election occurred in April, resulting in the re-election of the Federal candidate for Governor, Caleb Strong. The vote of Ipswich was, Strong 412, Dexter 166. In 1811, 299 ballots had been cast for Christopher Gore, the Federalist, and 163 for Elbridge Gerry. Popular opposition to the War was evidently gaining strength in Ipswich, as in New England generally, and throughout the nation. The Gazette of April 7, 1814, announced that President Madison had been compelled by public opinion and the overthrow of Mr. Jefferson's "Tyrant" (Napoleon Bonaparte) to recommend to Congress the immediate repeal "of their foolish, baneful and unconstitutional Embargo and other Restrictive Laws." The Newburyport Herald called captures made by privateers, "Licensed Robbery." Mr. Dexter called the letter-of-marque vessels, "Algerines." The war was styled "Madison's War."

One Tuesday evening in early May, 1814, the British man-of-war "Nymphæ" dropped anchor near shore and sent a boat to land Capt Howe, late of the privateer brig "Argus."²⁹ June was a month of constant alarm. Nine armed vessels were in Ipswich bay on Wednesday, June 8th, and a coaster was burned that evening, and another near Cape Ann. On Monday, the 13th, two barges from an English frigate came into Squam Harbor and burnt a sloop, sunk another, and carried off two small schooners loaded with dry

²⁸ The Salem Gazette, March 1, 1814.

²⁹ The Salem Gazette, May 13, 1814.

fish.³⁰ Military guards were established along the coast. The Castle Hill farm, those on the lower Argilla road, and on the road to Jeffrey's Neck were exposed to attack and at any moment their houses might be looted and burned, and the sheep and cattle carried away.

An amusing episode is told by Mr. Spofford in his *Reminiscences*. Robert Pitman, a light-witted lad, lived with Capt. Eben Sutton on Plum Island. One day a boat from a British vessel, manned by five or six men, landed on the beach. They shot a cow in the pasture and proceeded to dress it, Bob, meanwhile, calling them all the vile names to which he could lay his tongue and threatening that Capt. Sutton "would bring down a parcel of trainers and kill em all." The officer in command at last ordered a man to fire at him, but Bob took to flight and escaped unhurt. Spying a gathering of men on Great Neck, the officer ordered a retreat, leaving the booty on the ground.

On June 24th, there was a sensation of a novel sort when Tyler P. Shaw of Northport was brought to town and locked up in the Ipswich jail, being committed on a charge of high treason, to be tried in the Circuit Court at Boston in October.³¹

In July the Governor issued a call for 200 artillerists and 900 infantry for three months' service. Voluntary enlistments were evidently inadequate and a draft was made in August and a camp established at Danvers. Two hundred of these were assigned for the defence of Salem, Marblehead and Gloucester. Ipswich men were among the drafted, as the Town voted in October, that those who had been drafted and had been in actual service should have their wages made up by the Town with the Government pay of \$15 a month, raised again to \$17.

The last alarm was occasioned by the attack on Sandy

³⁰ The Salem Gazette, June 10 and 14, 1814.

³¹ The Salem Gazette, June 28th, 1814.

Bay, now Rockport, by three barges from the "Nymph" with a carronade and 40 or 50 men, on Sept. 8, 1814. A landing was made before daylight, the fort surprised, the guard taken prisoners, and the guns spiked and thrown over the parapet. The church bell gave the alarm, the militia ran to arms, and the British withdrew. The discharge of their gun opened the seams of the barge; the crew swam ashore and were taken prisoners.³² Col. James Appleton of Gloucester, in later years a well-remembered resident of Ipswich on the Appleton Farm, and the Captains of the militia companies responded with alacrity to this and other alarms, but happily, no lives were lost.

Captain Moses Whittier's company, raised in Ipswich, was attached to Major R. Elwell's regiment. The company roll, from Sept. 14 to November, 1814, in the published Records of the Massachusetts Militia, is as follows:

Moses Whittier, Captain	Ilavilah Dodge, Sergeant
John Brown, Lieutenant	Moses Knowlton, Corporal
Robert Kimball, Ensign	Samuel Kinsman, Corporal
Ebenezer Harwood, Sergeant	Samuel Andrews, Corporal
Joseph Lord, Sergeant	Joseph Hodgkins, Corporal
Abel Andrews, Sergeant	Moses Perkins, Musician
	Moses Andrews, Musician

Privates

Andrews, Benjamin	Cheever, William
Andrews, Charles	Clark, Edward
Baker, Asa	Clark, William
Bickford, Silas	Clark, William 2 nd
Bowden, Thomas	Davison, Pliney
Burnham, Elisha	Dennis, Thomas
Burnham Ezra	Dickerson, Darius
Burnham, Isaac	Dodge, Israel
Burnham, Joshua	Dodge, John
Butman, John	Dodge, William
Champney, Joseph	Durong, John

³² The Salem Gazette, Sept. 13, 1814.

Ellery, William	Manning, Joseph B.
Elwell, Isaac	Ober, Daniel
Giddings, Henry	Pearson, Amos
Goldsborough, Asa	Perkins, Nathaniel
Greenleaf, Edmund	Perkins, Stephen
Grush, Philip	Pettingill, Moses
Gurley, William	Phillips, James
Hardy, Phineas	Pickard, Nathaniel
Hobson, Samuel	Pickard, Samuel
Hoyt, Daniel	Potter, Benjamin
Hull, William	Pulsifer, William
Jewett, Eliphalet	Ross, Frederick
Jewett, Thomas	Russell, William
Kimball, Nathaniel	Rust, Moses
Kimball, Stephen	Smith, Aaron 3 ^d .
Kneeland, Aaron	Smith, Thomas
Kneeland, John	Snelling, Moses
Lakeman, William	Stanwood, Robert
Lambert, Thomas	Thompson, John
Leatherland, William	Thompson, William
Lee, Andrew	Vincent, Matthew
Lee, Edward	Welling, Michell
Lord, Daniel	Wells, John
Lufkin, William	Wells, Joseph
Lull, John	Wells, Nathaniel B.
Lummus, John	Wise, John
Mace, John	Wyatt, Simon

This company rendezvoused at Essex, and marched to Cape Ann, where they were on duty three months.

Many Ipswich men served in the privateers. Mr. Spofford in his *Reminiscences* recalls Capt. Thomas Kimball, Isaac Kimball, Capt. John Lord, Capt. Joseph Dennis, Capt. Charles Treadwell, Capt. David Staniford, Daniel Ross and Samuel Hobson. John H. Hovey, who died on Aug. 1st, 1882, in his ninety-first year, was the last of the privateersmen of 1812. Mr. Spofford notes also that Josiah Symonds of Ipswich was enrolled in the detachment of 300 men

organized and drilled in Salem, which marched through Ipswich to the East. They were all captured at Eastport and taken to Halifax.

The Treaty of Peace was signed on Dec. 26, 1814, but it was not until Feb. 13, 1815, that the news reached Salem. A messenger galloped from Salem through Ipswich shouting "Peace, Peace," and scattering a broad-side by the way. All the bells were rung and the meeting house of the First Church was illuminated in the evening. On the following Sunday, an original hymn by Dr. Dana, the Pastor, was sung at the South Church.

Lord of the world! whose awful nod
Bids nations know that Thou art God,
In silence sink their hostile words
And into plough shares beat their swords.

Ipswich had good reason to be glad. Her sailors were languishing in Dartmoor Prison. Prices had risen to an almost prohibitive degree. One of our venerable citizens remembered that his father told the story of carrying a load of hay to Gloucester and returning with a barrel of flour as its equivalent, which was forthwith divided with a neighbor, as a luxury too expensive for a single family.

The war had cost the American people the lives of thirty thousand men, as many more were incapacitated from leading happy, vigorous lives, and \$200,000,000. But "indirectly and unconsciously there was a gain not to be measured in human lives or in dollars. The American people ceased to be provincial and began to appreciate its oneness, it began to feel and act as a nation."⁸³ Domestic manufactures had been stimulated by the shutting out of foreign goods. The great textile industries were already being developed, and with the resumption of the fisheries and commerce, a new and prosperous era for working man and capitalist was close at hand.

⁸³ Channing. *Student's History of United States*, p. 368.

The depression incident to the War soon disappeared with the return of Commerce and the resumption of the ordinary routine of business. The Fourth of July was celebrated with new zest, now that the War had revealed the strong and sure foundation of the national life. An old "broad-side" has preserved the record of the celebration of Independence Day in the year 1817. The great event of the day was the appearance of the Denison Light Infantry Company, recently organized, in full uniform, under the command of Capt. Robert Kimball. At ten o'clock the company marched to the house of Capt. John H. Harris, where a beautiful silk flag, which had been procured by the ladies of the Town, was presented to Mr. Andrew Russell, Ensign of the Company, by Caroline Goldsmith Harris, the young daughter of Captain Harris, with an appropriate address. Ensign Russell responded fitly. The company then returned to the Court House where a procession of citizens was formed which was escorted by the band and the military, through the Town to the training field on the South side and back to the meeting house of the First Parish. After prayer by Rev. Dr. Dana, Rev. David T. Kimball "delivered to a crowded audience an appropriate address." The procession then reformed, marched up High St. and back to the Treadwell tavern, where an elaborate dinner had been provided.

President Monroe spent the summer following his inauguration on March 4th, 1817, in travelling through New England and the Northern States. He was received with great enthusiasm, and his journey was a constant triumph. But the attitude of Ipswich was decidedly chilly. The warrant for a Town Meeting held on June 23^d, contained an Article:

To see what measures the Town will adopt on the intended visit of the President of the United States and to express their respect for him

The meeting voted to dismiss the article. Nevertheless

the Town awoke to the realization of the courtesy due the Chief Magistrate. He arrived in Ipswich on Saturday, July 13th. He was received by a procession which included undoubtedly the Denison Light Infantry. The new and showy uniforms, the waving flags, the stirring martial music, gave great *éclat* to the occasion.

The Stone Bridge was handsomely decorated and a band of music stationed near it performed several national marches as the procession passed. After breakfasting at Mr. Treadwell's, the President departed for Newburyport, escorted by a regiment of cavalry under Col. Colman and followed by a numerous cavalcade of officers and citizens, who had come on from Newburyport and the vicinity to meet him. The Field and Staff officers⁸⁴ of the Brigade came from Newburyport to meet him.

The Denison Light Infantry had a prominent part in the celebration of the Fourth of July, 1819. The correspondent of the Salem Gazette observed: "Under their present commander, Capt. Robert Kimball, their improvement in arms has exceeded our most sanguine expectations." The company flourished for many years. Their flag and some equipments are in the museum of the Ipswich Historical Society.

The reception to General LaFayette a few years later, was the most elaborate tribute the Town had ever paid to a national hero. No political animosities marred the unanimity of the welcome extended to him. Many of the soldiers of the Revolution still survived and their grateful appreciation of his great services lent a personal note to the public greeting. In Town meeting assembled, on August 24th, 1824, it was

Resolved, That the citizens of Ipswich have heard with unfeigned pleasure of the recent arrival in this vicinity of Gen. LaFayette, the undeviating defender of rational free-

⁸⁴ Salem Gazette, July 18, 1817.

dom and the rights of man, the illustrious friend of America, who came to our relief and Gallantly devoted his early life, his talents & his fortune to the cause of American liberty and independence, and that we view his Exalted character with profound respect and are desirous of manifesting our heartfelt gratitude and attachment to him and ardently hope he will honor this town with his presence during his visit in the U. S.

Voted, That a Committee of 3 be appointed to nominate a Committee of 13.

Voted. Geo. W. Heard, Esq. William Dodge and Michael Brown be the committee.

The Committee reported as the general Committee of arrangements, the three Selectmen, Ebenezer Lord, Jr., William Conant, Jr., and William Foster Wade, Nathaniel Wade, Esq., Col. Joseph Hodgkins, Hon. John Heard, Jabez Farley, Joseph Farley, Nath. Lord, Jr., Asa Andrews, John Choate, Esquires, Capt. Daniel Lord and Ebenezer Burnham. The Committee of three was added to the reception Committee.

A flag staff was erected on Windmill Hill and a flag was displayed. At the Stone Bridge, a decorated arch spanned the roadway. A cannon was provided for the salute. The Essex Guards and musicians were secured from Gloucester and Manchester. The Ipswich Horse Troop and the Denison Light Infantry were assigned as an escort. Decorations and illuminations were provided for and an elaborate banquet was spread by Landlord Treadwell.

The great day was rainy and the roads were muddy. The General's arrival was long delayed. Hour after hour passed, the military drawn up in line, the reception Committee at their post. It was after seven o'clock before he arrived, and the weather was then so bad that he suggested to the Captain of the Horse Company which met him probably near the Town line, that he dismiss his men at once.³⁵

³⁵ Remembered by Mr. Aaron Kinsman, one of the company.

Despite the unfavorable weather, he was received with great enthusiasm. The meeting house on the South side was thrown open and "Squire Lord"⁸⁶ delivered an address of welcome to which he responded briefly. When Col. Nathaniel Wade approached to be introduced, LaFayette recognized him immediately and grasping his hand said, "My Dear Sir, I am rejoiced to see you, it is just such a stormy night as we had when I met you in Rhode Island."⁸⁷

The General was then escorted to Treadwell's Tavern, where he and his suite were entertained until a late hour, when he continued his journey to Newburyport, attended by a company of horsemen.

⁸⁶ Nathaniel Lord, 3d.

⁸⁷ Felt. History of Ipswich, p. 190.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE FIRST CHURCH AFTER 1747.

There is a tradition, and a very credible one, that on the first Sunday after the organization of the South Church, Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, the Pastor of the First Church, looking down upon his sadly diminished congregation, comforted his people with the Scriptural promise, "Fear not little flock; for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom." It was not merely the number but the quality of those whose seats were vacant that caused sorrow and discouragement. For years prior to the division, the leaders of the new church had been the most prominent men in the old, the wealthiest, the most influential, the highest in social distinction. The loss of revenue was a serious matter, and the harder to face after the loss of membership, incident to the establishment of the Linebrook Church, and the setting off of the "Village" people to the Rowley Parish; but the breaking of old ties, the division of neighborhoods into disagreeing factions, the initiating of inevitable rivalries and jealousies were even more serious obstacles in the way of prosperous and happy church life.

But the people of the First Church rallied nobly to the help of the Pastor and to the advancement of the welfare of the old Parish. For years the meeting house had been falling into decay, though it was not fifty years old. The mending of the windows and putting in new glass was a surprisingly large item of annual expense. William Hunt, the glazier, put in his bill in 1740 for £10 5s. 6d.; in 1741, £15 16s. 11d. and in 1743 the account of Mr. Hunt and

his son Thomas, rose to £17 15s. 9d. John Safford did the mending in the following year for £16, and in 1746 for £15 3s. 3d. Whether the violence of wind and weather, or the stones thrown by mischievous boys was chiefly responsible for such excessive repairs, can never be known. It was decided that the old building should give place to a new one, and in April, 1749, less than two years after the meeting house on the South side had been erected, the frame of a new building was raised.

There had been a frequent cry of poverty when the First Church opposed the Memorials of the parishes which craved separation, but now, with numbers reduced and financial ability diminished in very marked degree, they planned the largest and finest house in all the region. The determination not to be out done is manifest in the very dimensions of the new sanctuary. The meeting house on the South side was 60 feet long, 40 wide and 25 feet stud. The new meeting house on the Hill was 63 feet long, 47 feet wide, 26 feet stud. The South meeting house was plain four square, with neither porch nor belfry, and the interior was bare and unadorned. The new meeting house had a tall and graceful steeple, surmounted with the great gilded weather cock which still holds its place of pride. The pulpit and sounding board were masterpieces of skill, though made by Abraham Knowlton, the Ipswich carpenter, and it is said that a Boston church erected a duplicate of it in their new house of worship.¹ Mr. Knowlton was paid for "painting the canopy" in 1767. In 1756, Richard Manning had his bill for gilding the basin and the hour glass. In 1762, a large clock was purchased by subscription, and the Parish voted Sept. 16th.

That the Parish will be at the charge of Putting up the Clock (Bought by Subscription) in the steeple of the 1st Parish, as also of the two Dial Plates and one hand for sd clock.

¹ Still preserved in part in the tower of the present meeting house.

Voted, that the subscribers for the Clock be recorded.

By some understanding with the Town, the bell was removed from the Town House and placed in the steeple in the same year, and in the following year, the four square of the steeple was covered with sheet lead and steeple and house painted with white lead and oil. John Pinder, the sexton, was instructed to ring the bell at one o'clock as well as nine, and enjoined to sweep the meeting house once a month at least. Mr. Isaac Dodge and Col. Rogers were appointed a Committee to act in conjunction with the Trustees of the South Parish in agreeing with Mr. Pinder about ringing the bell for the year ensuing. In 1769, the Parish voted that the bell be rung daily at half an hour after twelve.

The First and South Parishes united in purchasing a lot for a burying ground on the South side in August, 1773. The two Parishes acted conjointly also, in the management of a reading and writing school. In June, 1769, a Committee was appointed by the First Parish to act with a similar Committee of the South Parish "relating to the money voted by the Town for reading and writing schools & see if they both agree on a Plan Jointly for that purpose." John Dennis was appointed the reading and writing school master by the First Parish in Feb., 1771. The Parish had hired Nath. Smith's shop for the school in 1770. Joint action in choosing a school master is mentioned in 1765.

Rev. Timothy Symmes became a colleague with Mr. Rogers in 1752, and continued with him until his death in 1756. The health of the Pastor was seriously impaired, and he was unable to perform the duties of his office from the Spring of 1764 until the mid year of 1765, the pulpit supply being provided at the expense of the Parish. Again in March, 1773, the Parish instructed the Committee respecting the supply and preachers were provided for two years. Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, the Pastor, died on May 8th, 1775, in his seventy-fourth year, and in the forty-ninth year of his

pastorate. A large stone was erected by the Parish over his grave, bearing a bas-relief and an inscription:

A mind profoundly great, a heart that felt
 The ties of nature, friendship and humanity,
 Distinguish'd wisdom, dignity of manners;
 Those marked the man;—but with superior grace,
 The Christian shone in faith and heavenly zeal,
 Sweet peace, true greatness, and prevailing prayer.
 Dear man of God! with what strong agonies
 He wrestled for his flock and for the world;
 And like Apollos, mighty in the Scriptures,
 Opened the mysteries of love divine,
 And the great name of Jesus!
 Warm from his lips the heavenly doctrine fell,
 And numbers, rescued from the jaws of hell,
 Shall hail him blest in realms of light unknown,
 And add immortal lustre to his crown.

The death of Nathaniel Rogers brought to an end an unbroken service of four generations of that illustrious family, covering a period of one hundred and thirty seven years in the pastorate of the Ipswich Church. Before the Pastor's death, Rev. Levi Frisbie had been invited to preach three Sundays. His preaching gave such general satisfaction that he was called to the pastorate at the close of the year, 1775, and was installed on Feb. 7th, 1776. He was born at Branford, Conn., about 1748, studied at Yale and Dartmouth, and was ordained at Dartmouth in 1772, a missionary to the Indians at Muskingum. Sickness and the hostile attitude of the Indians obliged him to give up his original plan, but he spent several years in missionary labors at the South and in Maine and Canada.

The Revolutionary War was already begun when he commenced his ministry. The extreme depreciation of the currency compelled extraordinary appropriations for Parish expense. In 1780, £14,000 was raised and assessed, £10,000

of which were for the Pastor's salary, but in the following year, on a hard money basis, the salary was £130. The Town bell was hung in the "balcony" in 1794. The building of pews was continued. The early fashion was to locate the pews about the walls, leaving the center of the house filled with long benches on which seats were still assigned by a Committee of the Parish. The singers also occupied a portion of these seats, but in 1781, they were assigned a place in the gallery, and the floor space which they had formerly occupied was divided into pews.

Two thirds of the floor space on each side of the "broad alley" was thus used in 1798, and the remainder was utilized in the same way a few years later, the purchasers of the spaces having the right to raise the floor in the construction of the pews. The singers were provided with a room and fuel and £9 in money to promote the singing in 1796, and in 1801, they were located in the front gallery. On the first Sunday that the violin, flute and bass-viol appeared, it is said that Dr. John Manning manifested his displeasure at the worldly innovation by leaving his pew, while the orchestra played, and taking dancing steps up and down the broad aisle to the mortification of the elder worshipers but to the great delight of the youth and the lighter minded.

A lightning rod was fastened to the steeple in 1796 and as a scaffolding was erected, the weather cock received a coat of gold leaf and the steeple was freshly painted at the same time.

The records of the year 1795 contain a gruesome reminder of the great multitude, filled with morbid curiosity, which crowded into the meeting house when Pomp, the negro murderer, was brought there in his chains on the day of execution to hear Mr. Frisbie preach his funeral sermon, "Joseph Lord, shoring up the meeting house when Pomp was executed, 0-6-0."

A most irreverent and desecrating use of the ancient bury-

ing ground, where the dead had been laid from the beginning of the Town is revealed in the Parish vote of March, 1795.

Voted that the herbage of the Burying Ground be now lett to the Highest Bidder & that no Stock be pastured in sd. Ground but Calves and Sheep, & it was struck off to Capt. Eben Lord for 38/.

Chose a Committee of Three to take care of the fence around the burying ground.

This abuse of hallowed ground was continued until the year 1840. Land was purchased of Jeremiah Day on the north side of the burying ground for £70, and of John Manning for £32 6s. 8d. by joint action of the two Parishes in 1796. A fire engine having been bought by subscription, the two Parishes provided an engine house in 1803. The utilities of the Parish were further supplemented in 1814, by the purchase of a hearse and the erection of a hearse house.

Mr. Frisbie bought an old house on County Street in 1788, which he tore down and erected a new dwelling on the same site. It was owned later by Mr. Chas. Bamford. Soon after his installation, in the year 1780, the First and South Churches, with the Hamlet and Chebacco Churches, began the united "Quarterly Fast," the services being held in regular rotation in each Parish. It was continued with great interest for more than fifty years. Mr. Frisbie died on Feb. 25, 1806, at the age of fifty-eight years.

Rev. David Tenney Kimball, a graduate of Harvard in the class of 1803, was introduced to the people of the First Church by Mr. Frisbie at the last service he was able to conduct, the communion, on Sept. 21th, 1805. He supplied the pulpit during the Pastor's sickness, and after his death, was called to the pastorate and ordained on October 8th, 1806. He was the son of Daniel and Elizabeth Kimball, a native of Bradford, where he was born Nov. 23^d, 1782. Having spent a year as an assistant in Phillips Academy at Andover, he

studied divinity with Rev. Jonathan French until he began preaching.

The Parish offered him a salary of \$600, but it was subject to change in very singular fashion, according to the fluctuation of the prices of the necessaries of life. The Committee to which this delicate matter was assigned reported at length:

. . . . they have maturely considered the subject of salary and find that a fair and just calculation of the proper articles necessary for supporting a family will considerably exceed six hundred dollars p^r year according to the present prices.

We therefore recommend to the Parish to offer the said Mr. David T. Kimball the sum of six hundred dollars p^r year to be regulated according to the price of the necessaries of life and to rise and fall according to the Price of sd necessaries and to continue as long as he shall continue to perform the duties of a Gospel Minister, and in case of his being unable by the Providence of God to perform said duties & services that sum to be reduced to four hundred dollars

They have agreed with him on the following articles and prices.

Hard wood	\$5 per cord
Indian Corn	.90 per bushel
Rye	1.10 per bushel
Flour	7.50 per barrel
Pork	.07 per lb.
Beef	4.00 per hundred
English Hay	12.00 per ton
Salt Hay	6.00 per ton
Flax	.12½ per lb.
Cyder	1.50 per bbl.
Brown Sugar of first quality	11.00 per hundred
Coffee	.20 per lb.
Best West India Rum	.84 per gallon

And it is understood and agreed by the Parties that the said Salary is allways to be paid in Cash and to be regulated as aforesaid, etc.

It was a clumsy and unworkable scheme. It was soon found that sundry articles had been omitted in the schedule

and in 1810, the sum of \$70 was voted to make good the deficiency of the past three years. Serious difficulties were in store.

Mr. Kimball bought the lot occupied by the ancient prison on Jan 1st, 1808 and built the large and comfortable dwelling, owned and occupied until her death by his grand-daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth K. Spaulding. He married Dolly Varnum Coburn of Dracut on Oct. 20th, 1807. It is hardly probable that the house was finished before their first child, David Tenney was born on Sept. 7th, 1808, but all the rest of the children were born here, Daniel, on May 25th 1810, Peter Augustine, on Sept. 9, 1812, Elizabeth, on July 9, 1814, John Rogers on August 23^d, 1816, Levi Frisbie on April 25, 1818 and died May 9th, Mary Sophia on August 16, 1820. All, save the infant Levi Frisbie, grew to mature life.

Here the Pastor dwelt all the long years of his busy and useful life. His diary notes the frequent coming of brother ministers on their journeys hither and thither, who never failed to find food and shelter for themselves and their horses. Here too, came many of distinguished name, Lyman Beecher, Calvin Stowe, Leonard Woods, famous ministers in their day. Catherine Beecher, Ann Hazletine Judson, N. P. Willis, William Lloyd Garrison, Daniel Webster, Caleb Cushing and Rufus Choate were welcome guests. Zilpah Grant and Mary Lyon made their home here in the early days of their school.

In 1816, a Sunday School was organized. Stoves were set up in the meeting house in 1819. The young minister was destined to find many trying experiences. A considerable number had withdrawn at about the time of his coming to form the Baptist² society and in his letter of acceptance he lamented, "so few attend her solemn feasts." In 1829 and 1830, many families joined the new Methodist³ Church, and the newly organized Unitarian⁴ Church drew another

² See Chapter XXI, The Baptist Church.

³ See Chapter XXII, The Methodist Church.

⁴ See Chapter XXVIII, The Unitarian Church.

group from the parent Church in the latter year. The Pastor, greatly troubled by these withdrawals, addressed a letter to his Parish on June 3^d, 1830.

Brethren and Friends

The present is a time of great trial both to Ministers and Religious Societies. The past season, though in many respects exceedingly interesting, has been to me by far the most trying I have ever known. My trials none can know but those who possess a pastor's heart; you also as a Society, have had your trials; as a token of sympathy for them I virtually inclose you the sum of One Hundred Dollars in the receipt inseparably connected with this, by which I reduce my salary for the last year to \$457 41 cents. With the best wishes for your temporal and spiritual welfare,

Your affectionate Pastor,

David T. Kimball.

The finances of the Parish were not in prosperous condition. Despite the Pastor's too liberal reduction of his salary in 1830, a subscription was ordered in 1836, "to meet so much of the debt of the parish to Mr. Kimball for the year 1833, as is not otherwise provided for, the deficiency being about two hundred dollars." Denominational rivalry grew more acute with the growth of the Methodist Society, and in 1838 Mr. Kimball betrayed his pique by his sermon "On the Utility of a Permanent Ministry," in which his animus against the Methodists was too thinly veiled. A sharp repartee from Rev. Daniel Wise followed and the pews were not slow to array themselves under their respective champions. Denominational tailors and barbers had their exclusive patrons and the anti-slavery bickerings added further bitterness to the sharp variances of the time.

Notwithstanding these adverse currents, a chapel was built by subscription on the site of the old Town Pound in 1832 and conveyed to the Parish. The fine new meeting house of the South Parish was built in 1837 and only five years

elapsed before the men of the First Parish began to consider the same step. The report of the Committee appointed to examine the old house, that it was not worth repairing, was accepted unanimously on Feb. 22nd, 1842; and it was also voted unanimously, that "the Parish grant authority to the subscribers for a stock for a new meeting house, to build said meeting house on the same land where the old house now stands, when said old house shall have been taken down."

The salary contract with Mr. Kimball had brought forth fruits of bitterness in these latter years. There was much feeling between Pastor and people, which was manifest in the frequent overtures looking toward the breaking of the old agreement. The salary was always in arrears. But in April, 1845, the Treasurer reported that \$993.15 had been paid to Mr. Kimball, in full of all demands prior to April 1844, and that the Parish was free from debt for the first time in more than twenty years.

The new enthusiasm was evident again in the report of the Committee in July, 1845, that fifty-one pews were engaged certainly and nine others provisionally. George W. Heard, Abraham Hammatt, Nathan Brown, William T. Averill and Jacob Brown were appointed a Building Committee in August. There was one sincere regret, in which all shared, the loss of the fine old pulpit and sounding board, and the Parish voted that if it be deemed practicable, they should be put in place in the new sanctuary. The old bell was given to the Linebrook Parish, provided the South Parish and the Town convey their interests. The services of worship were held in the Town House, although the South Parish had invited them to join in union services during the building of the new house. The farewell services in the old meeting house were held on February 22nd, 1846.

The corner stone of the new building was laid on July 14th. Although the Parish had suffered from the rise of new Parishes since 1749, when the old meeting house was built, the

THE FIRST PARISH MEETING HOUSE

new one was 75½ feet long against the 63 feet of the earlier building, but the width and height were nearly identical, 48 feet in place of 47, 25 in place of 26. The new steeple, 135 feet high, was surmounted by the old weathercock, a little enlarged and regilded. The old clock was replaced with its four new dials, and a new bell hung.

Services of dedication were held on February 4th, 1847, the sermon being preached by the Pastor. He alluded with feeling to the generous gifts by friends, the two pulpit Psalm books by Mrs. John W. Treadwell of Salem, the pulpit Bible by Mrs. John Baker, the marble baptismal font by Robert Farley Esq., of Boston, the clock by Gen. William Sutton of Danvers, the bell by John Heard Esq. of Canton, China, and the organ by Augustine Heard Esq. and \$400 provided by the ladies of the Parish for carpets and lamps. The great bass viol was put at the disposal of the Committee on music. The sale of pews netted more than \$10,000, and as the contractor had suffered loss, a thousand dollars was granted him as a gratuity.

The general rejoicing was saddened by the common feeling that the ministry of the Pastor, which had already covered more than forty years, was coming to its close. He could not believe however, that his usefulness or acceptableness were any wise impaired, and he refused to listen to any suggestions of a colleague or of his withdrawal. Eventually, an agreement was made regarding the original salary contract, and the life use of the parish land, and he agreed to cease from any ministerial or pastoral labor, retaining only the title of Pastor. He died on February 3^d, 1860, at the age of seventy-seven.

Mr. Augustine Heard, always the generous friend of the Society, conveyed to the Parish on June 11, 1858, the family mansion of the late Dr. Thomas Manning, which he had recently purchased from Joseph E. Manning, son of the deceased. He prescribed in the deed of conveyance that it

should be used only as a Parsonage, and that there should never be any other building erected "between the dwelling now standing thereon and the said land of said Cowles and within seventy-five feet of said Maine Street."

Rev. Robert Southgate, a graduate of Bowdoin in the class of 1826, of Andover Seminary and Yale Divinity School, was installed on July 24, 1851 and remained the Pastor until his dismissal, Feb. 5, 1868. He died at Woodstock, Vt., Feb. 5, 1873. He was succeeded by Rev. Thomas Morong, who was installed as Pastor, Feb. 5, 1868, and the same Council which advised his dismissal, on Jan. 12, 1876, installed Rev. Edwin Beaman Palmer. He was graduated from Bowdoin in 1856, and from Bangor Seminary, 1859. His pastorate was terminated by his resignation and advice of Council on May 3, 1885. Rev. George Hale Scott, a graduate from Williams College in 1865 and Andover Seminary in 1873, was installed Dec. 20, 1885 and dismissed July 13, 1891. Mr. Scott had practised law prior to his entrance on the ministerial profession. He resumed the law for a time after his pastorate in Ipswich, but turned again to the ministry and was settled in Atkinson, N. H.

Rev. Edward Constant, Pastor of the Congregational Church in Gorham, N. H., educated for the ministry in Nottingham, England, was invited to become the Pastor on November 24, 1891, and began his service January 1, 1892. The call was for a single year, but Mr. Constant so endeared himself to all by his service in the pulpit, his pastoral labors and his enthusiastic interest as a citizen in all public affairs, that his ministry was prolonged for eighteen years. His resignation took effect at the end of April, 1910.

By invitation of the Parish, Rev. Frank H. Baker, Pastor of the Congregational Church in Bridgton, Maine, a graduate of Boston University 1893, Bangor Seminary 1897, began his ministry on July 1, 1910. His very acceptable and useful

pastorate was terminated by his resignation on Dec. 14, 1913, and his final sermon on Jan. 25, 1914.

Rev. Paul G. Macy, a graduate of Yale, Class of 1911, and Hartford Seminary in the class of 1914, was ordained and installed June 23, 1914. His pastorate continues happily and prosperously.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE LINEBROOK CHURCH,¹ 1746.

Confident of ultimate success, apparently, in their long difference with the First Parish, the men who had their homes in the extreme west portion of the Town, and over the Rowley line, had begun building a meeting house as early as 1744, but it remained unfinished during the struggle for corporate existence. The Act of Incorporation was secured June 4, 1746. The first meeting of the Parish was held on July 7th and on January 27th, 1746-7, as the precinct was bounded on the south by Howlett's Brook and Ipswich River, on the east by Gravelly, Bull and Batchelder's Brooks, and on the west by Strait Brook, the Parish voted that its name should be very appropriately, Linebrook Parish.

A few months later, on June 27, 1747, the Parish voted to complete the meeting house, building first the pulpit and deacons' seat; second, the body seats below; third, three fore seats in each gallery; fourth, the gallery stairs, and plaster under the gallery; fifth, a pew for the Parish. In accordance with the custom of the time, it had windows in the gallery, a door in front, and one on each side. It stood on the road leading toward Rowley, a spot now called "up in the woods."

In the summer of 1748, a young Harvard graduate of the class of that year, George Lesslie, son of James Lesslie of

¹ The material for this chapter has been found in the main in the Records of the Linebrook Church and Parish, but great help has been derived from the history of the Church by Mr. Martin V. B. Perley, a native of the Parish, in his narrative of Ipswich history in the *History of Essex County, Philadelphia*, 1888, Vol. II: pp. 591-597.

**THE MEETING HOUSE OF THE LINDBROOK CHURCH
1848**

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Topsfield, began preaching to the new Parish. He continued this service through the winter, and is said to have studied divinity meanwhile with his own pastor, Rev. John Emerson of the Topsfield Church. Notwithstanding he was just attaining legal age, his preaching proved acceptable, and he was called to the pastorate, with a settlement of £700 and an annual salary of £100 lawful money and twelve cords of wood. He was ordained on November 15th, 1749, and on the same day, the Covenant was signed and the church was formally organized.

November 15: 1749 being y^e day [] Covenant Acknowledged publicly y^e Subscription of it [] thereupon Embodied into a Distinct Chh Society.

The Chh Covenant.

copied off fr y^e original

We whose Names are hereto Subscribed apprehending ourselves called of God (for y^e advancing his Sons Kingdom & Edifying ourselves & posterity) to combine & Embody Ourselves into a Distinct Chh Society & being for that end orderly dismissed from y^e Chhs to w^c we heretofore belonged; do (as we hope) w^t some Measure of Seriousness & Sincerity take Upon us y^e following profession & Covenant viz.

As to Matters of Faith we cordially adhere to y^e Shorter Catechism of y^e Assembly of Divines Where w^t Also y^e New England Confession harmonizeth: Not as Supposing there is Any Authority much less Infallibility in these Humane Creeds or formr [] yet verily believing that these Principles are drawn from & agreeable to y^e Scriptures w^c is y^e Fountain & Standard of truth & we moreover adhere to these principles in y^e calvinistical w^c we take to be y^e Genuine or Natural Sense hereby declaring our utter Dislike of y^e Pelagian Arminian Principles vulgarly so call'd.

In firm belief of y^e Above Mentioned Doctrines from an Earnest Desire that what we are now doing May be a Means of so Great an [] ness we do now (under a Sense of Our utter unworthiness of y^e Ho[] & Priviledges of Gods Covenant people) in most solemn yet []

cheerful Manner give Up ourselves & Offspring to God y^e Father [] son y^e Mediator & y^e Holy Ghost y^e Instructor Sanctifier & Comforter [] henceforth y^e People & Servants of this God to Believe in All his [] lations to accept of his Method of Reconciliation to Obey all His [] mands & to keep all His Ordinances: to look to & Depend upon him [] all for & work all in us especially relating to Our Eternal Salvation being sensible that of our selves we can do nothing.

And it is also our purpose & Resolution (by y^e Divine As [] discharge y^e Duties of Christian Love & brotherly Watchfulness tow[] other to train up our children in y^e Nurture & Admonition of y^e [] manding them & our households to keep y^e Way of y^e Lord; to Joyn in setting up & Maintaining y^e publick Worship of God Among []ly & joyfully to attend upon Christs sacraments & Institutions [] all proper Obedience & Submission to him or them that shall from [] to time in an Orderly Manner be Made overseers of y^e Flock [] submit to all y^e Regular Administrations & Censures of y^e Ch[] contribute all in our power to y^e Regularity & peaceableness of the [] nistrations.

And Respecting Chh Discipline it is our purpose to [] Methods contain'd in our Excellent Platform so called for y^e Substance as thinking it a Rule y^e Nearest y^e Scripture & most probable to p[] maintain Purty order & peace of Any, & we Earnestly pray y^t God [] be pleased to Smile upon this Undertaking for his Glory y^t whilst [] subscribe w^t our Hand to y^e Lord & Sir-name our Selves by y^e Name [] we may thro Grace Given us become Israelites indeed in whom there [] Guile y^t our Hearts may be right w^t God & we be Steadfast in his [] That we who are now Combining in a new Chh of Jesus [] by y^e purity of Our faith & Morals become One of those Golden [] sticks Among whom y^e Son of God in way of Favour & protect[] condescend to walk & y^t Every Member of it May thro Imputed []ness & inherent Grace be hereafter found among y^e Happy Multi[] y^e glorious Head of y^e Chh y^e Heavenly Bridegroom shall present

[] a glorious Chh not having spot or wrinkle or any such Thing.

George Lesslie ^{pastor}

Jos. Metcalf

James Davis

George Hibbert

Tho^s Potter

Jonathan Burpe

John Abbot

Ebenezer Tenney

David Perley

Jeremiah Smith

? Foster

John Chaplin

[]

A few months later, the wife of Ebenezer Tenney was received by a letter of dismissal from the First Church, Newbury; Amos Jewett's wife from the Byfield Church; Hannah Smith, the wife of John, the widow Mary Fowler, the widow Ruth Kimball, and the wives of Joseph Metcalf, James Davis and Mark Fiske, from the First Church, Ipswich; the wives of Thomas and Ezekiel Potter from the Church in Topsfield; Elizabeth, wife of David Perley and Susanna Hibbert, wife of George, from the Rowley Church. With no small satisfaction, these families who lived for the most part in the same neighborhood, who had many interests in common, but whose church connections were so diverse, at last attained the privilege of worship in their own meeting house, and a common interest and responsibility in maintaining a Church and Parish in their midst.

The organization was completed by the choice in December, 1749 of John Abbott and Jonathan Burpe as Deacons, James Davis and George Hibbert as Ruling Elders. The Deacons elect accepted their office in January, 1750, but the Ruling Elders found decision as to their acceptance difficult. That ancient office was now falling into disfavor. Evidently

there was a strong difference of opinion in the Linebrook Church. George Hibbert, Elder-elect, died on April 29th, 1750, but no action was taken to elect a successor. Mr. Davis gave no intimation of his acceptance of the office and on Dec. 26th, 1751, Thomas Potter and Jeremiah Smith were appointed a Committee to wait on Mr. James Davis and see whether he accepted his call. He announced his acceptance on Jan. 7th, 1752, and on the same day, Dea. John Abbott was chosen Ruling Elder to succeed Mr. Hibbert. James Davis died on March 11, 1753, and David Perley was chosen to fill the vacancy on Nov. 30th, 1756.

The custom of the time required that the Ruling Elders should be formally ordained to their office by a Council of the neighboring churches, in the same manner as the Pastor. No such service had ever been held and it is not probable that the Ruling Elders elect were competent to discharge the functions of their office. Finally in February, 1757, at a Church meeting,

Deacon John Abbott and David Perley being present Refused to Accept of y^e Office of Ruling Elders in this Chh. . . . y^e Chief Reasons for their Refusing said Office Alledged by them were in y^e first place y^e apprehensions they had of their Own Unfitness for so Important a Trust; & in y^e Next place their Not being fully satisfied that there is any such Officer in y^e Chh. appoint by X as a Ruling Elder Distinct from y^e Pastor.

Two weeks later, the Church elected Amos Jewett and Jeremiah Burpe, but a year elapsed before any move was made toward the ordination ceremony. The 19th of April was then selected and a Committee was appointed to sign the Letters-Missive for the ordaining council. No record remains of the service. Deacon Jonathan Burpe, Jeremiah Burpe and wife and Hannah Burpe, were dismissed from the church on May 6th, 1764, as they were then removing "to y^e New Settlement upon St. John's River." No fur-

ther election as Ruling Elder was made, and the office ceased to be in due time.

This mild friction regarding the Eldership was a trifling affair compared with the intensely personal difficulties that soon beset the youthful Pastor. He fell in love with Mary Hibbert, but the engagement was broken. Whereupon John Chaplin Jr. and Amos Jewett preferred formal charges of unbecoming conduct against him. Happily the Church stood by the Pastor loyally as they did again, when John Chaplin brought an accusing charge, "respecting a Certain paragraf in his Sermon from these words, 'Whom God hath Set forth to be a propitiation'."

Despite the stormy atmosphere of these opening years, Mr. Lesslie proceeded placidly with his good work. To his pastoral duties, he added the work of a school-master, and very happily for our information, he jotted down most interesting memoranda on the last leaf of his Church Record.

April y^e 8, 1752.

Symonds Baker & Asa Bradstreet Came to Live w^t me at My House.

July 11, 1753. Asa left me.

August 4, 1753. Symonds left me.

Capt. Baker Dr. for Symonds's Board }
& Learning. }

£90-O. T.

Aug. 17, 1756.

Sam^l Bradstreet D^r. for Asa's board }
& Learning }

£77-10^s O. T.

Jan. 27, 1756.

Timothy and Andrew Fuller came to school first to me.

An^o 1756, about y^e Beginning of December Thos. Stickney came to school.

No. Be. he came before & continued about a week & then Tarried away for some Time.

Ano 1757, March 31.

Sam^l Perley came to school.

- 1757, March 9. Asa Bradstreet came to school.
 June 5. Andrew Fuller came to school.
 Sept. 6. Asa Bradstreet left me.
 Nov. 23. Tho. Stickney left me.
 Nov. 28. Tho. Gowing & Moses Nichols came to school.
 1758, March 13. Moses Nichols left me.
 March 14. Thos. Stickney returned to school to me.
 June 6. Daniel & Andrew Fuller came to school.
 July 10. Thos. Gowing left me.
 July 27. Sam^l Perley to be allowed a fortnight for a ?
 I Bought of him.
 Nov. 11. Daniel & Andrew Fuller left me.
 1759, April 19. Sam^l Porter came to school.
 June 15. Sam^l Porter went home.
 June 29. Sam^l Porter returned.

Asa Bradstreet, son of Samuel Bradstreet of Topsfield, after fifteen months study with him in 1752 and 1753, returned in 1756, and in 1757, was his pupil from March until September, when he was fitted for Harvard. Mr. Lesslie notes "September, 1757. Sam^l Bradstreet of Topsfield D^r. For a journey to Cambridge with Asa."

He probably entered but did not graduate. Timothy and Andrew Fuller came to him in January, 1756. Daniel and Andrew in June, 1758. Timothy was graduated from Harvard in 1760, Daniel in 1764, Andrew in 1765. Daniel Fuller taught school in Hampton and Haverhill two years, then studied divinity and began to preach in the Second Parish in Gloucester, (now West Gloucester) in July, 1769, where he spent fifty years in the pastorate. He was the grand-father of the late Daniel Fuller Appleton.

Samuel Perley, son of Samuel and Ruth, began to study with his pastor in 1757, when a lad of fifteen. Two years afterward he went up to the University and was graduated in 1763. After two years of further study, Mr. Perley was ordained as the Pastor of the church at North Hampton, N. H., Jan. 13, 1765, and Mr. Lesslie preached the ser-

mon on that occasion. The young minister came back for his bride, Hephzibah Fowler, and the Pastor married them, on May 21st.

Some of these years, when the minister was busy with his school and parish, were fraught with events of special interest. In July, 1753, he exchanged land with the Parish for "land to set a house on," and forthwith he built a two-story house and a barn on the lot thus acquired, a few rods west of the meeting house. John Chaplin, Jr., one of his accusers, a few years before, became a storm center again in 1764. Charges were brought against him in December for

forsaking y^e Comunion of this Chh. not only in Regard of y^r Non Attendance Upon y^e Sacrament of y^e Lord's Supper for w^e you have offered a Reason But also in Respect of y^r w^t Draw from y^e Fellowship of y^e Chh in Publick Prayer Singing of Psalms & hearing y^e Word preached

We moreover Charge you w^t following & Consequently Encouraging Ignorant & Illiterate Persons namely Crosswell Hovey &c in Taking upon em To perform Ministerial Acts: this we look upon As Exceeding Hazzardous To y^e Souls of Men By Reason of y^e Ignorance of these Teachers of y^e Terms of Salvation & their Liableness to Erroneous Notions about Fundamental Truths.

The second charge, undoubtedly, was related to the appearance in the churches of ignorant ranters ten years before, during the "Great Awakening." One Richard Woodbury of Rowley caused great disturbance in Ipswich at that time by his fanatical deliverances and insane claims of supernatural power. Crosswell Hovey was a man of the same ilk, no doubt, a later fruit of the same spiritual upheaval.

On Tuesday, Nov. 18, 1755, an earthquake caused great alarm. Mr. Lesslie relates the tale:

Between y^e hours of four & five in y^e morning there Hap-pened a Most Surprising Shock of y^e Earthquake w^e was

afterwards succeeded by several Others tho None Equal to y^e first —.

in y^e Town of Ipswich much Damage was Done to Many Houses; yet thro y^e Goodness of God, No Hurt was Done Either to y^e Lives or y^e Limbs of any persons.

Nov. 19. Several Shocks were Heard tho But small Compared to y^e first.

May God of his Infinite Mercy sanctify it for Saving Benefit To All Persons in y^e Land & make it an Effectual Means of arou[. . .] Carnaly Secure Sinners to a Seasonable []ation of their Danger.

The older people remembered vividly the severe shock, which occurred on a Sabbath night, between ten and eleven o'clock on the 29th of October, 1727, which was also followed by others. Mr. Felt records² that at that time, the minds of the people were so affected that a very powerful revival of religion followed in the Ipswich parishes, and generally throughout New England. Only eleven years before, on the Sabbath again, in the forenoon, on June 3^d, 1744, the services of worship at the Hamlet had been greatly disturbed by an earthquake shock. Mr. Wigglesworth calmed his people as best he could, reminding them, "There can be no better place for us to die in than the house of God." The frequent recurrence of these shocks may have robbed them of their terrors in some degree. At least, no such spiritual awakening followed in the Linebrook Church as in the earlier days.

The year 1756 witnessed his marriage. He made full entry in the Records of the Church and appended to it, an impressive Covenant with God.

October 26. A. Dom. 1756 I George Lesslie, Pastor of this Chh. of Christ in Linebrook Was Married to her who was formerly Hephzibah Burpe, youngest Daughter of Deacon Jonathan Burpe of this Parish.

y^e Form of a Solemn Covenant with God. I take God y^e Father to be My Chiefest Good & Highest End; I take

² History of Ipswich, p. 206.

God y^e Son, to be My Only Lord & Saviour; I take God y^e Holy Spirit, to be My Sanctifier, Teacher, Guide & Comforter; I Take y^e Word of God, to be My Rule, in all My Actions; I take y^e ppl of God, to be my ppl, in all Conditions I do likewise Devote & Dedicate Unto ye Lord, My Whole Self, All I Am, & all I have & all I can do this I Do Deliberately, Sincerely, freely & forever.

This good man toiled on patiently and uncomplainingly for many years. He ministered to his people in joy and in sorrow. He drew up their deeds and wrote their wills. He kept the records of the Church with the fine hand of a school master. Some items are suggestive of the happenings of the times.

April 29, 1773.

Nath. How, Joseph Chapman & Jn^o Chapman were unanimously chosen by y^e Chh. to tune y^e Psalm in publick worship.

1778, July 2nd, Ezra Ross was executed at Worcester for ye murder of Mr. Spooner.

He had grown up in the Parish, and his parents were members of the Church. The Pastor attended the young man on the gallows, while the Church observed the day with fasting and prayer.

The Revolutionary War brought great hardship to the little Parish and to the Pastor. The currency was greatly depreciated and the salary upon which he was settled was so diminished that it afforded him a living only by pinching economy. There is no record of his school in these later years. His family had grown apace until there were eight sons and daughters, George, David, James, Jonathan, William, Hephzibah, Joseph and Mehitable. Again and again he appealed to his Parish to increase his salary, and his requests were just and reasonable. But the Parish did not or could not afford him relief, and he asked release from his

pastorate in a long and earnest letter, dated Oct. 22, 1779, more than thirty years after he began his ministry.

Mr. Martin V. B. Perley, a native of the Parish and its historian, tells the story of Mr. Lesslie's after life. He was called to a professorship in Dartmouth and also to the pastorate of the church in Washington, N. H. He chose the latter, and on March 6, 1780, the minister and his family, George, the eldest, a young man of twenty-one, the baby Meritable, in her mother's arms, set forth on their journey of eighty miles into the northern wilderness. They were nine days on the way. He was installed in a barn on July 12th, the meeting house not being completed until 1789. His salary was fifty-five pounds payable in food supplies and wearing apparel. They suffered great privations the first year. Provisions were attainable only at a distance of thirty or forty miles. Snow lay on the ground from October till the next Spring. Twenty-seven of his people's cattle died of starvation. They lost their only cow, and were without salt, a bushel of which cost five dollars in the Spring. No wonder the Church observed a day of fasting and prayer. In this lonely, humble field, this scholarly and devoted man was content to labor until his death in September, 1800, at the age of seventy-two years.

The Linebrook Parish found it a difficult matter to secure a successor to Mr. Lesslie. Mr. Joseph Motley was invited to settle by vote of Dec. 7, 1780; Mr. Joshua Spalding, on April 10, 1783, and Mr. Ebenezer Cleves on August 11, 1785, but they each declined. Rev. Gilbert Tennant Williams, a Dartmouth graduate in the class of 1784, accepted their call and was ordained on the first Wednesday of August, 1789. The Church then numbered nine men and fifteen women. Few annals of his pastorate remain. An interesting glimpse of the social life of the scattered neighborhood and of the Sabbath worship is afforded by the record of April 10, 1791.

Unanimously voted that the Singers belonging to the Singing School of Linebrook Parish should join Mr. Joseph Chapman & Nathaniel How in tuning the Psalm in the Meeting House & that said School should tune the Psalm when Mr. Chapman & Mr. How were not in the singing seat.

A salary of £100 was voted him but it proved wholly insufficient for his support. In 1802, the Parish voted to raise \$260 for the ministerial salary and other necessary charges. In 1804, it voted to add \$46.66 to the salary for that year. In April, 1805, Mr. Williams was driven to tender his resignation but a temporary addition of \$50 averted the rupture. Slight relief was afforded him in 1808, by giving the pastor "two dollars for his son's keeping the key, sweeping the meeting-house & bringing water for baptism." With no fires to build nor carpets to sweep, the sexton's work was a slight task. In 1812, the financial weakness of the Parish began to be increased by the withdrawal of some to attend the Baptist worship, and in the following year, Mr. Williams was dismissed by a Council, convened on April 19, 1813.

The Parish was now in a very weak condition. In 1814, the Church membership was reduced to one man and three women. It was voted by the Parish, however, on May 26, 1813, to raise \$150 and hire some person to preach the Gospel. The Committee was further instructed on July 5th, to "git the Minister Boarded as cheap as they can." The collection of the Parish taxes was let out to the lowest bidder, Capt. W^m. Conant Jr., bidding it off for 5 per cent. Petitions to be set off to other Parishes poured in upon the bewildered Society. A Committee was chosen on May 2, 1814, to remonstrate with those who pressed for dismissal, but without success, and on Dec. 19th the Parish voted to remonstrate against the petition of Caleb Critchet and others to be set off to other societies, a similar petition of Isaac Smith and others, and the petition of Nathaniel Potter and

others to be annexed to Topsfield. Furthermore a Committee was chosen to send a remonstrance to the General Court, if it seemed advisable and go to the General Court in person, if necessary. Capt. Joseph Chaplin petitioned the General Court that he might be set off to the Rowley Parish.

Preaching was maintained, Rev. Mr. Washburn supplying the pulpit in 1815, but it was a stormy time for preacher and people. The Committee journeyed to Boston to press its case before the Great and General Court, at whatever cost. Capt. Chaplin eventually agreed not to press his petition, on condition of being set off to Rowley First Parish, in consideration of his payment of \$30 in 90 days and relinquishing all rights in pews or other parish property. The petitions of Critchet and others were still unsettled in May, 1816.

Thirty dollars in cash was quite a windfall to the struggling Parish, and it was voted on April 15, 1816, to use part of this sum in repairing the meeting house, to let out half the pew by the pulpit stairs for 27½ cents, the other half for the same, and the land by the meeting house for 87 cents. A committee was chosen "to see every man in the parish and see whether he is in favor of Rev. Azel Washman or Rev. Ebenezer Hubbert."

The Baptist controversy reached a threatening stage in 1817. A considerable portion of the Parish, while still retaining membership in the Parish, formed a society for maintaining Baptist worship. It was voted by the Parish in November, 1817, "to compromise with the Baptists and see if they are willing to join with the Parish in having Preachers." Thomas Foster and others, the Baptist party, petitioned the Parish on Feb. 26, 1818, for the privilege of the meeting house half the time for their worship, and it was agreed that the Baptists should have two Sundays out of four.

On May 1, 1818, the Committee appointed to confer with those "who have signed to the Society that have agreed with

William Tayler to preach for them," recommended the Parish "to indulge the said Tayler party" with the use of the meeting house two Sundays alternately with the Parish. It was voted also, to lay out the balance of the money, \$30, paid by Capt. Chaplin

to some suitable Congregational minister to preach for said parish and the glass in hand, if those that have signed to hear William Tayler will find putty to set the glass in the meeting house at their own expence that they may have it, otherwise to have the glass remain on hand.

This chaotic condition continued for several years, the Baptist faction pressing evidently for the ultimate possession of the meeting house. In April, 1820, the Committee of conference reported an agreement with the Baptists to allow them the use of the house six Sabbaths consecutively beginning with the third Sabbath in May, and half the time until April, 1821.

No further compromise seems to have been made, and the Parish resumed complete possession of the meeting house in 1822. Rev. Joseph Emerson, Principal of the Byfield Female Seminary, a man of noblest spirit and devotion to the highest ideals, preached frequently during this distracting time, and was the chief factor, it may be believed, in saving the Church from dissolution. Deacon Foster had died in 1818, at the age of eighty-two. Mrs. Martha Perley died on Sept. 3, 1819, at the age of eighty years and ten months. Mrs. Mehitable Chapman, and Mrs. Ruth Conant, wife of William Conant Esq. were the only surviving members. Mrs. Chapman was advanced in years and disabled by lameness and from 1819 to 1826 when three men and two women joined the Church, Mrs. Conant was the sole active member.

It was a singular thing that in this critical emergency, it fell to an old man to save the Linebrook Church from ex-

tinction. Rev. David Tullar, a Yale graduate of 1774, Pastor at Rowley from 1803 to 1810, then a laborer in mission fields, had returned to Rowley for his closing years. He began to preach in Linebrook in the summer of 1824, in his seventy-sixth year. The first accessions to the Church were welcomed in 1826, William Dickinson and his wife, Lydia, Lucy, the wife of Mark Howe, Nathan Dane Dodge and Charles Miller. New pride in the sanctuary is evinced in the choice of a Committee in April, 1827, "to prevent the boys and all others on Sabbath days from injuring and dirtying the meeting house" and ten men of substantial character, headed by William Conant Esq. were assigned the task of staying by the meeting house, two at a time.

In January, 1828, the Parish had regained such vigor and hopefulness that the great project of taking down the old meeting house and rebuilding in a better locality was entered upon with enthusiasm. A new lot was secured, still occupied by the present meeting house. Daniel Searle and Mark R. Jewett contracted to do the work in April, and on November 4, 1828, the Parish voted to accept the rebuilt house on condition that the builders "paint the pulpit & elders pew and bannisters by the pulpit stairs, some devout? color" and "make all necessary repairs in the pews which is wanted to make them good and decent." It voted also to "have the Communion table in the pew," and "to paint the breast-work of the galleries, posts, pulpit stairs, doors, window frames and weather boards."

The pews apparently remained unpainted and the contrast between the freshly painted pulpit and gallery, doors and window frames, and the sombre hue, age and service had imparted to the pews, must have been striking. But stoves were installed. Joseph Conant, Jun., was chosen Chorister, John Tenney, Assistant Chorister, and the rejuvenated sanctuary was rededicated with great dignity on January 1, 1829. Fifty-three men in the Parish subscribed \$374 and forty-six

women contributed \$82.83. Neighboring churches sent their offerings, amounting to about a hundred dollars. Some six hundred dollars was thus secured. Six years had wrought wonders for Church and Parish and in 1830, Mr. Tullar, then eighty-two, closed his ministry.

Rev. Moses Welch began his ministry on January 1, 1831, and preached several years with acceptance. Rev. J. P. Tyler was the supply during the winter of 1834-5, but proved so ill fitted for his work, that a "schism" in the Church resulted. Rev. James W. Shephard followed in May, 1835, and by his wise methods stilled the troubled waters. By a unanimous vote in both Church and Parish meetings, the people of Linebrook turned again to Rev. Moses Welch in May, 1836, offering him a salary of \$350, but he did not accept the call. Rev. Samuel Harris supplied the pulpit in 1836, Rev. Moses Dow preached for a time. Rev. Francis Welch was the stated supply from 1838 to 1842. During his brief pastorate he married Harriet Atwood Conant, daughter of William Conant Esq. and Ruth, on April 4, 1839. Rev. Moses Welch again served as pulpit supply in 1842, and was followed by Rev. Jacob Coggin, who continued preaching until 1848.

A new house of worship on the same site was built in 1848, and dedicated on November 22. The building committee contracted with Charles C. Bracket for \$1850 and the old meeting house, the Parish furnishing the pews used in the Unitarian meeting house in Ipswich, which had been sold to the Town for a Town House. The total expense was \$2197.55, the furniture being provided for the most part by the ladies of the Parish. Rev. Eliphalet Burchard supplied the pulpit in the new meeting house for a few years, and was followed by Rev. William Holbrook, who had been Pastor of the Rowley Church. His ministry of about four years was followed by that of Rev. Joseph Warren Healy, who had a prosperous pastorate of three years.

Rev. Ezekiel Dow was installed over the Church, December 25, 1860 and dismissed in 1866. Rev. Alvah Mills Richardson was ordained and installed November 14, 1866. He was dismissed by Council on May 3^d, 1871, and the same Council installed as his successor, Rev. Benjamin Howe, a native of the parish, then in his sixty-fourth year. Mr. Howe died on Oct. 18th, 1883, the only one of the long list of pastors and preachers whose pastorate was terminated by death. Rev. Edward H. Briggs was installed December 6th, 1883, and dismissed May 4, 1887, when Rev. William Penn Alcott, a graduate of Williams College in 1861 and Andover Theological Seminary in 1865, was installed. His happy and successful ministry still continues.

John Perley, Esq., a native of the Parish, died on May 11, 1860, bequeathing to the Parish seven thousand dollars, to be held in trust as a perpetual fund, "the income of which shall be paid to the Orthodox Congregational Society, Linebrook Parish, in the towns of Ipswich and Rowley, for the support of preaching and a Sabbath School in said society annually, while said society has a settled minister." The income from this fund has enabled this ancient Church to maintain its worship, notwithstanding the loss in population of the neighborhood, and the decline of the church going habit.

THE MEETING HOUSE OF THE SOUTH CHURCH
1837

See page 182

CHAPTER XX.

THE SOUTH CHURCH, 1747.

The South Church, as has been noted,¹ was organized in August, 1747, when the Covenant was signed by twenty-two men.

The Church Covenant.

We, whose Names are hereto subscribed, apprehending ourselves called of God (for the advancing his Son's Kingdom & edifying ourselves & Posterity) to combine & embody ourselves into a distinct Church & Society & being for that End orderly dismissed from the Church, to which we heretofore belong'd do (as we hope) with some Measure of Seriousness & Sincerity, take upon us the following Profession & Covenant, Viz.

As to Matters of Faith we cordially adhere to the Principles of Religion (at least the Substance of them) contained in the shorter Catechism of the Assembly of Divines, where-with also the New England Confession harmonizeth; not as supposing that there is any Authority, much less Infallibility, in these human Creeds or Forms; but yet verily believing that these Principles are drawn from & agreeable to the Scripture, which is the Fountain & Standard of Truth. And we moreover adhere to these in the Calvinistical, which we take to be the genuine or natural Sense, hereby declaring our utter Dislike of the Pelagian, Arminian Principles, vulgarly so called.

In firm Belief of these Doctrines above mentioned, from an earnest Desire that we and ours may receive the Love of

¹ See Chapter VI for an account of the events leading up to the formation of the South Church.

them & with Hopes that what we are doing may be a Means of this Love of the Truth, We do now (under a Sense as we hope of our Unworthiness of the Honour & Priviledges of God's Covenant People) in most solemn & yet free & chearfull Manner give up ourselves & offspring to God the Father, to the Son the Mediatour, & the Holy Ghost, the Instructor, Sanctifier & Comforter, to be henceforth the People & Servants of this God, to believe in all his Revelations, to accept of his Method of Reconciliation, to obey all his Commands, to walk in all his Precepts & Ordinances, & to depend upon and look to him to do all for & work all in us relating to our Salvation, being sensible that of ourselves we can do Nothing. And it is also our Purpose and Resolution (by Divine Assistance) to discharge the Duties of Christian Love & Brotherly Watchfullness towards each other, to join together in setting up & supporting the publick Worship of God among us, carefully & joyfully to attend upon Christ's Sacraments & Institutions, to yield all proper Obedience to him or them, that shall from Time to Time in an orderly Manner be made Overseers of the Flock, to submit to all the regular Administrations & Censures of the Church & to contribute all that shall be in our Power to the Regularity & Peaceableness of those Administrations.

As respecting Church Discipline, it is our Purpose to adhere to the Methods contained in our excellent Platform, so called, as thinking it a Rule the nearest to the Scripture & most probable to promote & maintain Purity, Order & Peace of any. And we earnestly pray that God would be pleased to smile upon this our Undertaking for his Glory, that whilst we thus subscribe with our Hand to the Lord & surname ourselves by the Name of Israel, we may thro' Grace given us be Israelites indeed, in whom there is no Guile, that our Hearts may be right with God & we be steadfast in his Covenant, that we, who now are combining in a new Church of Christ, may by the Purity of our Faith & Morals become one of those Golden Candlesticks, among whom the Son of God in Way of Favour & Protection will condescend to walk, & that every Member of it, thro' imputed Righteousness & imparted Grace, may be found hereafter among that happy Multitude, whom the glorious Head of the Church, the heavenly Bridegroom, shall present to

himself a glorious Church, not having Spot or Wrinkle or any such thing.

Subscribed July the 21st, 1747.

Thomas Berry
Daniel Appleton
Jonathan Wade
John Choate
Edward Eveleth
Andrew Burley
Benjamin Crocker
Oliver Appleton
Daniel Smith
Thomas Norton
Joseph Foster
Philemon Dane
John Appleton
James Foster
Abraham Knowlton Jun^r.
Joseph Appleton
John Hart
Thomas Pearse
Daniel Wood
Nathan Foster

Isaac Smith
Nathaniel Appleton

The following seven Members subscribed the foregoing Covenant the 23^d of November, A. D. 1747.

Aaron Potter
Arthur Abbott
Samuel Ross
John Manning
John Kimball 3^d
Moses Smith
Daniel Rindge

Afterwards

Thomas Kinsman
Samuel Howard
Jacob Perkins
Nathaniel Hovey
Robert Holmes

At a meeting at the dwelling house of Thomas Norton, on July 24th, Col. Berry was chosen Moderator, Thomas Norton, Clerk, and Col. Berry, Major Appleton and Col. Choate were appointed a Committee "to wait on Mr. John Walley and inform him that the Church Meeting is adjourned to Tuesday next at 6 o the Clock afternoon & that the Church desire he would be present, that they may treat with him with Relation either to his Preaching or Settlement with them." Meeting again at the dwelling of Mr. Benjamin Crocker, on August 7th it was voted, unanimously that Mr. Walley be chosen the Pastor of the Church.

Mr. Walley delayed his reply until October 17th, 1747, finally accepting the call, but stating frankly that he could

not find in the Scriptures that Ruling Elders were "Officers of Divine Institution," and that in case the Church chose to elect such, and saw fit to have them set apart for this work, he must be excused from assisting in such a solemnity, though he was willing that the officers thus chosen and set apart should exercise all the power, that the Platform gave them.

The Church took no exceptions to his dissent, and proceeded to set the day for his ordination, November fourth. The ordination service was held on that day in the meeting house of the First Parish, Rev. Nathaniel Appleton, Pastor of the Church at Cambridge, brother of Major Daniel Appleton, preaching the sermon. The Council was entertained by Col. Berry and sixty of the persons attending the ordination ("including y^e Gentlemen and Schollars") were entertained by Col. Choate at his own cost.

Mr. Aaron Potter and Mr. Joseph Appleton were chosen Deacons. Mr. Potter and Mr. Thomas Norton were chosen Ruling Elders, but the attitude of the Pastor, though never hostile, was so conscientiously unfavorable to their formal consecration, that they never exercised the duties pertaining to their office.

The salary offered Mr. Walley was £150 payable in cash and in kind, on a sliding scale according to the prices current.

£100 in Proportion to ye Rise of ye Articles in ye following list, taken with ye respective Prizes affixed to them for 1727 (when Mr. Nathaniel Rogers was settled).

Oak Wood, twenty cords, at sixteen shillings.

Syder, fifteen barrels, at eight shillings.

Candles, one hundred and ten pounds, at one shilling and two pence.

Wheat, ten bushels, at nine shillings.

Butter, one hundred and seventy pounds, at one shilling and six pence.

English Hay, three load, at sixty shillings.

Salt Hay, two loads, at thirty shillings.
 Indian Corn, thirty bushels, at five shillings.
 Malt, ten bushels, at six shillings.
 Pork, five hundred and ninety-eight pounds, at six pence.
 Beef, six hundred pounds, at four pence.
 Cheese, one hundred and twenty pounds, at seven and one half pence.
 Sugar, one hundred pounds, at seventy shillings.
 Madeira Wine, eight gallons, at six shillings.
 Salt, one bushel and a half, at six shillings.
 Molasses, six gallons, at three shillings and six pence.
 The other part of his salary being £50 is in proportion to the rise of English goods.

The Parish voted £1200 Old Tenor to assist him in making the settlement.

Meanwhile work on the new meeting house was progressing. It stood exactly in front of the present edifice. Its dimensions were sixty feet in length, forty feet in width, and twenty-four feet stud. The frame had been raised at the time of the ordination and the house was occupied May 22nd, 1748, services of worship being held in the meantime in the Court House.

Another interesting event occurred in the Fall of the same year, the marriage of the Pastor and Elizabeth Appleton, daughter of Major Daniel, who had succeeded his father, Col. John Appleton, in the ownership of the family mansion. Their intention was published Sept. 16, 1748. On Feb. 6, 1750, Dr. Samuel Rogers sold to Mr. Walley, his house and land, near the meeting house, now owned by Mr. Frank T. Goodhue, who enlarged the ancient dwelling considerably. Here they made their home until their removal to another parish.

The new meeting house was severely plain, with large windows without blinds, destitute of steeple or belfry. Doors opened on three sides, east, south and west, directly into the audience room. The "great alley," as the middle

aisle was called, led from the south door to the unpretentious pine pulpit, painted white, at the north end, and a cross aisle extended from the east to the west door. The deacons' seat was just below the pulpit. The center of the house, now regarded the most desirable location, was occupied with long benches, where seats were assigned to the poorer and humbler folk; the pews were built against the walls, under the gallery. The original plan of the floor has been preserved in the Parish record and shows the ownership of each pew.

Col. Berry, the most conspicuous citizen of the Town, and the leader in the movement to form the new church, sat on the left side of the south door. Born in Boston in 1695, graduated at Harvard in 1712, he studied medicine with Dr. Thomas Greaves of Charlestown. He practised as a physician and was also Colonel of a regiment, Representative to General Court, 1727-1730, Justice of the Sessions and Common Pleas Courts and afterward Chief Justice, Judge of Probate, member of the Governor's Council from 1735 to 1751, and Feoffee of the Grammar School. He owned what is now the Town farm and the tradition survives of his brisk canter up High Street, his scarlet cloak making him "the observed of all observers." It is said that he rode in a "chariot," the only one in town, with liveried driver and footman, and the sight of such grandeur filled the humbler folk with awe, standing with bared head as he passed. He bequeathed £50, Old Tenor, to the Church for plate for the communion table.

Major Daniel Appleton sat in the pew at the left of Col. Berry. He was the son of Col. and Judge John Appleton and his wife Elizabeth, daughter of President John Rogers of Harvard, and grand-daughter of General Denison. He was Register of Probate, Justice of the Sessions Court and Representative from 1743 to 1746 and in 1749. Clad in his blue coat and breeches, velvet jacket trimmed with gold

and ruffled shirt,² he was a commanding figure in the sombre meeting house.

Col. John Choate's pew was on the right side of the south door, a notable man, Colonel of a regiment at Louisbourg, a prominent promoter of the Land Bank, a Representative many years and member of the Council from 1761 to 1765, Justice of the Sessions and Common Pleas Courts and Judge of the Probate Court. The Court named Choate Bridge in his honor. His house, with overhanging front, directly opposite the John Heard mansion, was remembered by the older people a generation since. His wealth was large for his day, £2890 12s. 3d. He bequeathed £12 to the church for plate.

Andrew Burley, a wealthy merchant, Justice of the Sessions Court and a Representative, had the pew on the right of Col. Choate, and on his right sat Thomas Norton, Clerk of Church and Parish, a Harvard graduate in 1725 and teacher of the Grammar School from 1729 to 1739. At the right side of the pulpit steps was Benjamin Crocker's pew, a Harvard graduate of 1713, Representative, teacher of the Grammar School, a preacher and chaplain at Louisbourg. He occupied the pulpit frequently during Mr. Walley's long illnesses, but never was settled over a church.

Daniel Staniford sat on the north side as well, a Harvard graduate of 1738, teacher of the Grammar School and then a prosperous merchant. His widow became the second wife of Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, and their daughter Mary, married Rev. Joseph Dana, the second Pastor of the South Church. Henry Wise and his brother, Major Ammi Ruhmah Wise, occupied adjoining pews on the west aisle, sons of Rev. John Wise of the Chebacco Parish. Col. Edward Eveleth, Dr. Joseph Manning, Increase How of the neighboring tavern, Jonathan Wade and a great company of worthy farmers, with their families, sat in dignity.

² Inventory, Probate Records.

Boys and girls occupied the back seats, under the eyes of the tithingman, but a venerable lady, who died many years ago, remembered that little children sat with their parents, and had the privilege, during the sermon time of playing in the sand on the floor, screened from sight by the high box sides of the pew. In the gallery, the slaves had seats assigned them, and their menial condition did not debar them from membership and partaking of the communion.

There was singing of the Psalms from the old Bay Psalm Book, revised by Dr. Prince. At the beginning of the long prayer all arose, and the seats in the pews were turned back on their hinges with a crash, which was followed by a yet louder crash, when the prayer was finished and the weary worshipers could be seated. An hour glass timed the length of the sermon. Almost every Sunday saw some child or children baptized, often infants of a day or two old, for these were the days of the "Half-Way Covenant," and any who were not church members might present their children for baptism after "owning the Covenant." Services were held at ten and two o'clock, without Sunday School or evening meeting.

Mr. Walley continued in the pastorate for seventeen years, living peacefully with his people despite the turbulent quarrels in which the Church was born, and from his knowledge of the French language, being able to perform many kind offices for the poor French neutrals. He suffered from several long periods of sickness, and was dismissed February 22nd, 1764. He was installed at Bolton, in May 1773, where he remained eleven years. He died at Roxbury on March 2nd, 1784, remembering his Ipswich church in a clause of his will.

I give as a token of my love to the South Parish in Ipswich £13 6s. the yearly income to be by them given to such

persons in the parish, as they shall judge to be the fittest objects of such a charity.

The second minister of the South Church, Rev. Joseph Dana, began preaching soon after Mr. Walley's dismissal, but was not ordained until November 5th, 1765. He was born at Pomfret, Conn, Nov. 13th, 1742, and was graduated at Yale in 1760. Miss Abby P. Wade, writing in 1834³ her recollections of her old Aunt Polly, mentions that her aunt heard Dr. Dana say that his father kept a tavern in Pomfret, and when Putnam killed the wolf he was brought in and laid down in the entry. He was then a little boy and looking over the banisters at the top of the stairs he saw the dead wolf lying there. Aunt Polly used to say that Dr. Dana preached for the Old South in Boston before he came to Ipswich, and was so highly esteemed that some of the people frequently came to Ipswich to hear him.

He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Harvard in 1801. His brilliant son, Daniel, began the study of Latin under his direction at the age of eight, Greek the next year, and at the age of twelve was reading Seneca's *Morals* as a pastime.⁴ Graduated at Dartmouth in 1788, he was a tutor at Phillips Academy at Exeter, then taught the Grammar School in Ipswich in 1792-3, while studying divinity with his father. He preached his first sermon in his father's pulpit on May 14th, 1793, and was soon called to the pastorate at Hampton. He was elected President of Dartmouth College in 1820. His health failing, he was obliged to resign after a brief incumbency. After his health was restored he came to Newburyport, where he became Pastor of the "Old South" Presbyterian Church. Joseph Dana was graduated from Dartmouth in the same class with his brother and became a college professor at Athens, Ohio. Samuel chose Harvard for his college, the

³ In Felt's Letters, Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.

⁴ Life of Daniel Dana.

ministry for his profession and preached many years in Marblehead.

Sarah Dana was no less richly endowed by Nature than her brothers. She is reported to have been as brilliant in conversation as Margaret Fuller. She married Colonel Israel Thorndike of Beverly, a merchant of large wealth. Josiah Quincy, in his "Figures of the Past" in the chapter, "Daniel Webster at home," speaks of Mrs. Thorndike, as "a lady whom my father considered one of the finest women he had ever met. I well remember the words in which he congratulated Colonel Thorndike upon his engagement. "Let me tell you, sir, that you have made the very best bargain you have touched yet."

Colonel Thorndike and Daniel Webster occupied adjoining residences in Boston and the walls were cut through to afford room for the brilliant reception to Lafayette, June seventeenth, 1825, at which Mrs. Thorndike was a central figure.

In the family pew of Dr. Joseph Manning, sat the boy John, and the daughters, Sarah and Anstice. John became a famous physician. Arriving home from study abroad, where he learned the value of inoculation as an antidote to the dreaded small-pox, he introduced it into Ipswich, notwithstanding the determined opposition of the Town. He was foremost in many enterprizes of the highest value. Sarah Manning married William McKean, and their son, Joseph, was baptized on June 2nd, 1776. He was graduated at Harvard in 1794, taught the Grammar School from 1794 to 1796, while studying with Dr. Dana for the ministry, married his playmate, Amy Swasey, daughter of Major Swasey of the neighboring tavern, and became Pastor of the Milton Church in 1797. He became Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory in Harvard College, but died at the early age of forty-two. While a student, he founded the famous Porcellian Club in 1791. His portrait, a duplicate of the

one painted for that Club, hangs in the house of the Ipswich Historical Society, and his name is borne by the gate to the Harvard yard, built at the expense of the Porcellian Club.

Anstice Manning, sister of Sarah, married Francis Cogswell, and their son, Joseph Green Cogswell, was born Sept. 27, 1786. He was graduated from Harvard in 1806, and returned in 1821 to become Professor of Mineralogy and Librarian. He established the Round Hill School in Northampton, with George Bancroft, the celebrated historian. He gave his later years to planning and building the Astor Library of which he was the first Librarian.⁵

Not a few of the Revolutionary soldiers were steadfast supporters of the Church, Col. Nathaniel Wade, who was entrusted by Washington, with the command at West Point when Arnold went over to the British and was a friend of LaFayette; Major Joseph Swasey, the Town Clerk, whose end came suddenly in the Town House, on April 1st, 1816, as he was about to perform the duties of his office; Col. John Baker, who added to his military functions, civil duties as Justice of the Sessions Court, Feoffee of the Grammar School and was moreover the father of twelve children; and Major Thomas Burnham, a Harvard graduate in the class of 1772, and a famous school master.

The Deacons were men of fine quality. Deacon James Foster, who died Oct. 10, 1807, in his ninety-second year, was the first Post-master of Ipswich. Dea. Francis Merrifield sat Sunday by Sunday in the midst of his family, which included thirteen children, though a number died in early years. Dea. Stephen Choate removed from the Chebacco Parish in 1783 and became a conspicuous citizen. He was a Feoffee, a member of the Committee of Correspondence and Inspection in the Revolution, Justice of the Sessions Court, Representative during the Revolution and

⁵ For full sketch of his life, see "Augustine Heard and his Friends," Ipswich Histor. Soc. Pub. XXI.

State Senator from 1781 to 1803. He died in 1815, and we may imagine that his grandson, Rufus Choate the future advocate and statesman, then a lad of sixteen, whose home was on Hog Island, now and then, sat beside his grandfather on the Sabbath day.

Mr. John Patch of the Castle Hill farm sat in patriarchal dignity with Abigail, his worthy wife and a goodly portion of his twelve sons and daughters, his seventy-eight grand-children and twenty-four great grand-children, who were living in 1799, the year of his death. Capt. Jeremiah Kimball and his wife, Lois, niece of Dea. Stephen Choate, came with their twelve children, all of whom sat in the choir, and Cata, who married William Heard and lived to the great age of ninety-seven, was the leading soprano. The boy, Charles, attained honor and usefulness as Colonel of the Militia, a distinguished Probate lawyer, and Deacon of the Church. Eunice became the wife of Nathaniel Lord 3^d, Squire Lord, as he was familiarly known, in 1804, a graduate of Harvard and Register of the Probate Court. Her son, Otis P. Lord, baptized by Dr. Dana on September 6, 1812, was graduated at Amherst in 1832 and gained a foremost place in the legal profession as Justice of the Superior and then of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. His brothers, Nathaniel and George Robert, also had successful and noteworthy careers.

In the year 1825, the Parish proposed that a colleague pastor should relieve Dr. Dana of the active duties of his pastorate, and the choice fell upon Rev. Daniel Fitz. The venerable Pastor retained his vigor and preached on the last Sabbath but one in his life, and on the last Sabbath, attended public worship three times. He died on November 16, 1827, in his eighty-fifth year and the sixty-third of his pastorate.⁶

⁶ Dr. Dana married, first, Mary Stanford, daughter of the late Daniel Stanford, and step-daughter of Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, int. June 20, 1766. She died May fourteenth, 1772, aged twenty-seven years and four months, "lovely and beloved."

During this long period many changes had occurred in the meeting house and more in the worshippers. Between the years 1775 and 1793 the men's and women's seats were gradually removed and pews built in their places. In 1783 the singers left their seats on the floor and found place in the gallery, but let it not be thought that their services were lightly regarded, for in 1798 it was voted, "that the parish will give some encouragement to the singing company of this church by giving them a certain sum;" \$20 was specified for this purpose. The singing at this time was of no mean order for Daniel and Joseph Dana had taught a very successful singing school some years before. In 1785 Watts's Hymns were substituted for Dr. Prince's version of the Psalms.

Perhaps no greater innovation occurred during that long pastorate, than the introduction of "two iron stoves with their funnels and appurtenances" at the expense of a number of petitioners. The Parish consented by a formal vote, January ninth, 1819, and referred the location of these strange visitors to the standing committee, assisted in their deliberations by Major Joshua Giddings and Capt. Oliver Appleton.

For many years Dr. Dana met the boys and girls in the meeting house on Saturday afternoon and heard them recite the Catechism. The Sunday School was organized in 1816, and in due time the Catechism class ceased.

Rev. Daniel Fitz,⁷ the third Pastor, was the son of Cur-

Second, Mary Turner, daughter of Samuel Turner of Boston. She died April 13, 1803, in her fifty-third year.

Third, Elizabeth, widow of Rev. Ebenezer Bradford, int. Nov. 12, 1803.

His children by his first marriage were Mary, Joseph and Daniel. By his second, Elizabeth, Samuel, Sarah, Abigail and Anna.

⁷ Dr. Fitz married Caroline Sawyer of Henniker, N. H., daughter of Rev. Moses Sawyer, intention August 11, 1826. Their children were Sarah Adams, George Currier, Louisa Adams and the twins, Caroline Frances and Daniel Francis.

Mrs. Fitz died Jan. 10, 1862, aged 57 yrs. Dr. Fitz married Mrs. Hannah Bardwell Demond Bowman, at Westborough, Mass., April 14, 1863. He died Sept. 2, 1869.

rier and Sarah Fitz, born at Sandown, N. H., May 28, 1795, graduated at Dartmouth in the class of 1818, and at Andover Seminary in 1825. He was ordained to the ministry on June 28, 1826, and on the death of Dr. Dana, succeeded him in the pastoral office. A long and happy pastorate of forty-one years followed, and the Church had the rare and almost unparalleled experience of two overlapping pastorates, which covered a period of one hundred and two years. He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Dartmouth College in 1862.

As the old meeting-house, built in 1747, had become antiquated and inadequate, land was acquired in the rear, in 1837. The dwellings, which occupied the spot, were removed, and a new house of worship was erected. It was dedicated on January 1st, 1838. The old meeting house was then torn down. Happily the old pulpit, hallowed with the associations of ninety years, was preserved and when the basement was finished in 1839, as a vestry, it found an honored place there.

A period of great prosperity followed. A large number of the pupils of the Academy, who lived in the old Swasey Tavern, had seats in the gallery. The spacious center gallery was filled with the great choir, which sang with the accompaniment of violin, flute, clarionet and bass-viol until 1847, when the more modern fashion prevailed and a church organ was purchased. In 1853, the basement vestry was abandoned because of dampness, and a new building was erected on a lot west of the Heard mansion and now included in that estate.

Rev. William H. Pierson, a graduate from Bowdoin College, 1864, and Princeton Seminary, 1867, was ordained and installed January 1, 1868, and assumed at once the work of the pastorate, though Dr. Fitz remained Pastor Emeritus until his death. He was dismissed July 15, 1872. Rev. Marshall B. Angier, Yale, 1844, Union Theological

Seminary, 1847, was installed February 4, 1874 and dismissed on July 8, 1878. Rev. Thomas Franklin Waters, a graduate of Harvard College in the class of 1872, Andover Seminary, 1875, was installed Pastor on January 1, 1879.

In the summer of 1885, the meeting house was remodelled. The galleries were removed, a partition erected, and by a judicious re-arrangement, rooms were provided for the Sunday school and the mid-week service. The Vestry building was sold, and its new owner removed it to Ham-matt St. and utilized it as a dwelling for two families. A new organ was purchased in 1887.

In June, 1899, the steeple was struck by lightning and burned to the bell deck, causing the destruction of the bell. A few years before, the steeple had been repaired and the original architecture greatly modified. The graceful lines of the original were now reproduced perfectly in the new steeple. A new bell was contributed by Mrs. Elizabeth M. Brown, in memory of her husband, the late William G. Brown.

Mr. Waters closed his pastorate in October, 1909, and became Pastor Emeritus. Rev. Edgar Fletcher Allen, who had been educated for the ministry at McGill University, Chicago and Andover Seminaries, was the Pastor for a few years. He was ordained June 10, 1912 and closed his ministry in the summer of 1914. The pulpit has since been supplied by students in the Seminary, Rev. Harry Cartledge being the present preacher.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE BAPTIST CHURCH, 1806.

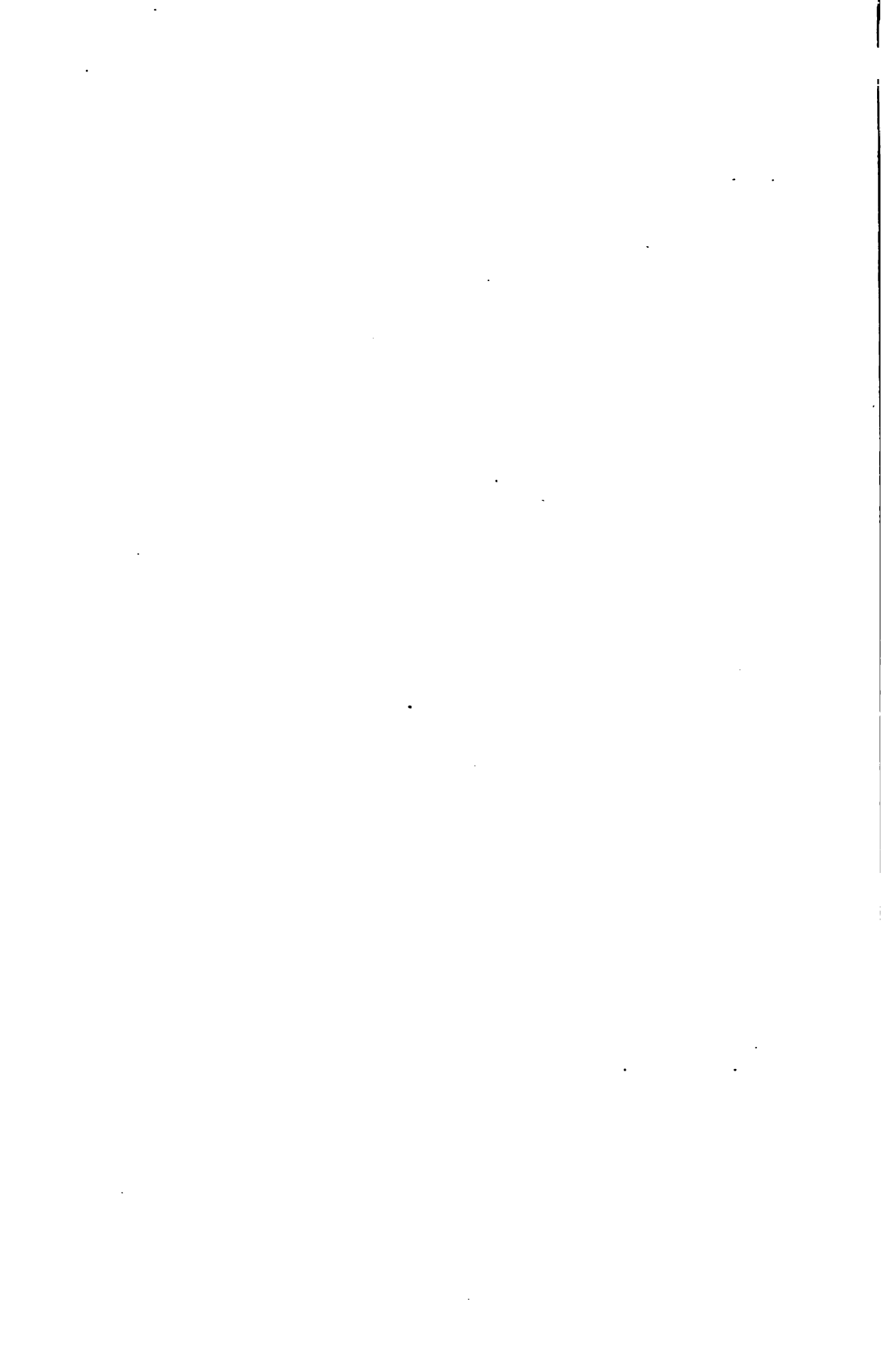
The Congregational Church, founded by the first settlers, maintained the old order for many generations in undisputed supremacy. From time to time, as the population increased, as has been noted, new Parishes within the Town limits had been established, in Chebacco, now Essex, in the Hamlet, now Hamilton, in Linebrook, and finally the South Parish in the center of the Town, but these were all Congregational, holding firmly to the Puritan order.

Shortly after the middle of the 18th century, in the year 1754, a group of people in the West or Second Parish of Rowley, now Georgetown, withdrew from the Congregational Church and organized a Society for independent worship. They were known as "Separatists," but in due time they were recognized as "Baptists." This seems to have been the first church holding the Baptist faith in this vicinity. Another Baptist Church was organized in Danversport in 1781. The Beverly Baptists established themselves in 1801, and the First Baptist Church in Salem was gathered in 1804. The Ipswich Baptists were the next to withdraw from the old Congregational Parishes and organize independently. The original Parish Record book has been preserved,¹ unfortunately mutilated by the removal of the later entries, but still containing the narrative of the forming of the Society and the Covenant, to which the members subscribed.

¹ Now owned by Mr. Francis R. Appleton.

**THE MEETING HOUSE OF THE BAPTIST CHURCH
1898**

See page 495



Ipswich, March, A. D., 1806.

A number of friends and Neighbors having met together at the mutual desire of each other for the purpose of forming a Society to Unite in Religious worship of the Supreme Being Doct^r W. Sawyer, M^r Charles Lord and John Manning Esq. Were desired to draw up Articles of agreement to form ourselves into a Religious Society and to Report the same at an adjournment to be on the 5th April, 1806.

They having attended to our Desire and formed Articles for that Purpose and Reported the same which being Read Several times were Unanimously Accepted and Subscribed to and Mr Dan^l B. Lord, M^r Francis Hovey and John Manning Esq. were Appointed a Committee to treat with Elder Pottle and know on what terms he would be willing to undertake to Preach the Gospel to s^d Society thus formed and lead and Instruct them in their Religious Exercises, said Committee made report to the Society at a meeting being at a further adjournment on the 29th of sd April as followeth viz. That Elder Pottle condescended to attend one half of the Sabbaths in the insuing year beginning on the first of May Next, for the regards he has for the Society and on Condition that they give him 6 Dollars p^r Week for one half the time for the support of his animal Nature. Which report was then accepted.

Notwithstanding the great and oppulent Men of the world have arrogantly Claimed to themselves all Wisdom, Power and Religion, with the right to govern themselves and all others both in civil and Ecclesiastical Matters,

We the undersigners take leave to decent therefrom and utterly deny that they have any such Right, neither was there any such ever Ordained from Above—Therefore we make our appeal to the Supreme Ruler of Heaven and earth Who has endowed us with more understanding than the fowls of the air or beasts of the field, and we trust in his Great mercy and goodness has been pleased to bless us with a Constitution or frame of government which declares that all Men are born free and equal and have among many other valuable rights and Priviledges that of Worshipping the Supreme Being, according to the dictates of their own Consciences and the same being Garentied and confirmed by & in the Constitution of the United States, all which it rightly

becomes us to Preserve and hand down to our posterity unimpar'd, Heaven send that we may not neglect as we humbly conceive the same consistant with and agreeable to the Glorious gospel of peace as recorded in the same scriptures of the Old & New tistiment which we desire to take as the Rule and gide of our life in all our Concerns, both Spiritual & temporal—And having for a number of Months past been favored with the labour of love in the Ministry of the Word of God, by his servant Elder Pottle, whose instruction and wholesome Advice has been very entertaining and we humbly trust much edifying, being as we humbly conceive consistant with the Divine Oracles—that we may be further Edified & edify each other and exercise and improve our inestimable privileges both civil & religious, agreeable to the liberty where with the Almighty hath made us free.

We do hereby form ourselves into an Independant Society for the Purpose of meeting together statedly on the Holy Sabbath, and such other occasions as conveniency shall permit for the purpose of uniting in the Solemn and Religious Public Worship of Almighty God.

That we may thereby Promote our own best interests, and the Cause of our Redeemer and saviour Jesus Christ who said to his imbasadors, As my Father sent me so send I you, and again my Kingdom is not of this world, and that I go to the Father to prepare a place for you, and will send the Comforter who shall lead you in all truth, that we may imbrace the Comforter and not grieve the Holy Spirit of God, we further more agree to impart with our temporal Good things that God in his all wise providence may see fit to bless us with, to enable us to Support such further helps and instruction as He may send unto us from time to time who may Minister unto us in Holy things and thereby lead and guide our minds into the paths of Peace and safty may we minister unto them such comfort and support as their Animal nature require, and in all things may we be guided by the unering Wisdom of Almighty God—

We furthermore agree to Observe and adhear to all such Rules and regulations as may be determined upon from time to time by a Majority of the subscribers at any meeting regularly call'd for the Purpose thereof and to govern ourselves thereby Provided Nevertheless that no rule or regulation agreed upon by any majority what ever, that in any re-

spect interferes with the rights of Conscience shall be Obligatory, as we hereby utterly disdain all and every interference or attempt to bind any one or abridge him of the unalienable liberty thereof.

Witnest our hands.

Ipswich, 5 April, 1806.

Sam^l Appleton²
 Samuel G. Appleton
 Timothy Appleton
 Charles Boyles
 Benjamin Brown
 David Brown
 Nath^l. Brown
 William Clark
 John Day
 W^m. Dennis
 Sam^l Eveleth
 Isaac Fellows
 Elisha Gould
 Charles Hall
 David Harris
 Sam^l Harris
 Francis Hovey
 John Hovey
 Joseph Hunt
 Amos Jones
 Isaac Kilborn
 Richard Lakeman 3^d.
 Sam^l. Lakeman Jr.
 William Lakeman Jr.
 Will. Leatherland
 Daniel B. Lord
 Ebenezer Lord 3^d
 John Manning

John Manning Jr.
 Thomas Meady
 Nath^l. Pirkins
 Daniel Potter
 Joseph L. Row
 Daniel Russell
 Henry Russell Jr.
 Nath^l. Rust
 Nath^l. Rust Jr.
 Simeon Safford
 George W. Sawyer
 Isaac Smith
 Isaac Soward
 John Soward
 Nath^l Stanwood
 Samuel Stone
 Richard Sutton
 Aaron Treadwell
 Aaron Treadwell Jr.
 Aaron Wallis
 John Wise

Later signatures

George Brown
 Luke Dodge
 David Dow
 Charles Lord
 John Manning 3^d

Isaac Smith was chosen Clerk in June, 1806. About

² The names have been rearranged alphabetically, for convenience of reference.

that time, two women, members of the South Church, requested letters of dismission from that Church that they might join the Baptists, "both offering this as their reason, that they found themselves not baptized by any act of their own and quoting several texts of holy scripture, as supporting their present persuasion."⁸ "The church took the subject into serious consideration and appointed a committee to enquire and deliberate thereon and report at a future meeting. The committee met once and again and on Lord's day, June 15," presented their report.

Hon. Stephen Choate, Barnabas Dodge and Daniel Thurston were the Committee, and they reported that they were agreed that the Church "cannot consistently with the covenant engagements on their part, dismiss them to the Baptist church." They assigned two reasons for this adverse judgment.

First, Because the Baptist churches generally are understood to refuse all acts of communion with us, as christian churches

Secondly, Because we are persuaded that the Baptist churches, in making baptism by immersion so capital an article in their system and a term of communion among Christian churches, are maintaining and propagating a grievous error.

The report was read "in church meeting," Lord's Day, June 15, 1806, and was unanimously accepted. At the same time, the Pastor, Rev. Dr. Dana, "communicated some observations which he had made upon those texts of scripture above mentioned, and upon the subject at large." The brethren heartily approved of the Pastor's communication, and voted that a special lecture be appointed on the next Lord's Day, at half past four P. M. "after the usual public exercises of the Sabbath and after a short intermission," that these "Observations" might be presented to the congre-

⁸ South Church Records.

gation. They were afterwards published in a pamphlet under the title, "Observations upon Baptism . . . with a view of Introductory Circumstances and Proceedings in the said Church."

It was a candid and scholarly discussion of the true meaning of the Greek words for baptize and baptism, and the significance of the rite, and is a suggestive reminder of the unpopularity of the new sect, and the sharp division in the community on denominational lines. In Edgartown, the tradition still remains that the Town was rent in twain when the Baptist Church was formed, and the two factions were nicknamed by the Greek words, which were in everybody's mouth and paraded with a great show of learning by those who had great zeal but little knowledge. Very likely the peace of quiet Ipswich was equally disturbed and much bitterness was interjected into the religious life.

But the Baptist people proceeded steadily to establish their Church. Dr. John Manning, one of the most prominent citizens, Dr. George W. Sawyer and others of excellent standing were actively interested and gave tone and character to the new enterprise. "Elder" Pottle, as he is always called, was the first minister. He had a conspicuous part in the Democratic celebration of the Fourth of July, 1805,⁴ and the toasts on that occasion indicate that he had already established himself in the affections of his flock. A Committee of three, Dr. John Manning, Aaron Treadwell and Aaron Wallis, was chosen on June 24th, 1806, to treat with the Elder respecting his moving into the Town. Their negotiations seem to have failed, as a meeting was held at the house of Dr. George W. Sawyer on Sept. 15th, when it was

Voted, to choose a committee to see that no stranger be introduced into their Desk that does not come well Recommended. Likewise to make inquiry to know if Mr. Josiah Convers may be hired to Preach a few Sabbaths.

⁴ Pages 405, 406.

Daniel B. Lord, Isaac Smith and Samuel Appleton composed this Committee. Before they had time to discharge the duty devolved upon them, Elder Pottle evidently came to an agreement, as just a week later a Committee was chosen to provide a dwelling, into which he might move his family. Mr. Richard D. Jewett was chosen to take care of the meeting house and the Standing Committee was instructed to "inform whoever take the lead in Public Worship to read a Chapter at beginning Service."

Early in May, 1807, the Society

. Voted—To give Elder Pottle two hundred and eighty-five dollars for the ensuing year Providing he will supply the desk three quarters of the year, that is to preach three Sabbaths and miss one regularly.

With commendable care, the Standing Committee was instructed not to introduce any person into the desk to preach, who was not well recommended, and "likewise that they regulate the performances on these Sabbaths that Elder Pottle will be absent." In the course of the year, the Elder accepted a call to preach in Malden, but in January, 1808, he was again invited to Ipswich, and the project of building a meeting house gained favor. The lot on East Street, which was purchased afterward as a site for the Methodist meeting-house, was selected, though no purchase was made. A subscription paper was circulated and the result was so encouraging that the Society voted on February 22nd, "to build a house for publick worship fifty by forty." It was also voted that the building be divided into forty shares of a hundred dollars each.

The services of worship were held in the second story of the building, which Dr. Manning had built for a woollen mill, on the corner now occupied by Caldwell's Block. The business proved unsuccessful and the looms were removed. There is a lingering tradition that the shafting remained

suspended from the ceiling and that venturesome Baptist boys amused themselves by climbing over it. Some alterations to secure more convenience for this new use were proposed in December. The vote to repair a window and the later vote, on December 1st, to choose a Committee of three "to prosecute any Person or Persons that have or may damage the house of Worship," suggest that some ill disposed persons, or perhaps mischievous boys, were causing them annoyance.

An important step was taken on Feb. 11, 1807, when the Society voted to choose a Committee to join with Elder Pottle in giving certificates to those that paid their ministerial rates to and constantly attended the meetings of the Baptist Society. This certificate was necessary under the Law of the Commonwealth to secure exemption from the Parish tax, imposed by the Parish, with which they were formerly connected.

The withdrawal of parishioners from the First and South Parishes caused a considerable loss of revenue, and the abatement of taxes levied upon those who had joined the Baptists was a matter of debate at the annual Parish meetings for several years. In April, 1809, the First Parish voted to refund the taxes paid by any one who could produce a certificate that he constantly attended public worship in the Baptist Society, and similar action was taken every year until the incorporation of the new Society was secured.⁵

Similar action was taken by the South Parish. In June, 1811, the petition of Simeon Safford and others for incorporation as a Baptist Society was before the Legislature, and Major Joseph Swasey and "Esquire" Nathaniel Lord, were chosen a Committee to represent the Parish. This petition failed of approval. In April, 1812, a Committee, of which Major Swasey was Chairman, reported "that the whole Capital of said Parish on which the Taxes of said

⁵ Records of First Parish.

Parish are assessed is \$176,092, and that the Capital arising on the Estates and Polles of those Persons who profess to be of a different Religious Denomination amounts to \$15,102.70, which is about one-twelfth of the whole Capital." They reported that the total taxes, assessed on Baptists from the year 1806, amounted to \$300.97, and "feeling a strong Desire that everything might be done to harmonize every Society both in Religious and Political Sentiments," they recommended that this sum be abated on the lists of the several collectors, and it was so voted.⁶

In May, 1808, the plans for building were so well matured, that the purchase of lumber for the proposed edifice was considered. Dr. John Manning, Samuel Appleton and Aaron Treadwell were chosen a Committee in May, 1809, to petition the General Court for incorporation. Elder Pottle was the preacher, but there were intervals between his various periods of service when Elder Converse occupied the pulpit, and in June, 1810, a minority voted to hire him for the stated preacher. The Church voted in August, 1810, to engage Mr. Butler "for the present," and in November, to complete their agreement with Elder Lewis. In January, 1811, the project of building was again renewed, and as the petition for incorporation in 1809 was not granted, another request was made in June, 1811. The Warrant for the meeting on July 1, 1811 has the significant article.

To take into consideration the law which has lately been enacted in answer to their earnest Petition for that Purpose & to express their gratitude to the Supreme governor of the univers, who has in all wise Providence inclined the Harts of our Rulers to confirm unto us the rites & privileges garentied to us in the Constitution of this Commonwealth, notwithstanding the Extrordinary attempts of his & our enemies to Rest same from Us.

One list of pew-owners has been preserved and is of in-

⁶ Records of South Parish.

terest still, as showing the principal supporters of the Church in 1811.

No.	1.	Sam ^l Appleton	6.80
	2.	Elisha Gould	4.00
	3.	Jos. Hunt	3.06
	4.	Oatis Pickard	2.75
	5.	Livermore Dodge	2.50
	6.	David Brown	3.00
	7.	Aaron Treadwell	6.00
	8.	Francis Hovey	2.50
	9.	David Dew	3.00
	10.	Nath ^l Brown	4.50
	11.	Allen Foster	
	12.	Daniel B. Lord	2.50
	13.	Francis Hovey	2.50
	14.	Jn ^o Manning Esq.	2.50
	15.	Daniel Smith	2.25
	16.	Deacon Treadwell	6.75
	17.	Deacon B. Lord	4.00
	18.	Richard Sutton	3.00
	19.	Sqr. J. Manning	2.25
	20.	Ric ^d Sutton	2.25
	21.	Amos Jones	1.75
	22.	Sqr. J. Manning	2.25
	23.	W ^m . Dennis	2.50
	24.	Nath. Brown	1.25
	25.	Francis Hovey	1.20
	26.	Seth Butler	1.00
	27.	Ben Brown	4.00
	28.	James Caldwell	1.75
	29.	Sqr. J. Manning	1.00

Notwithstanding the jubilant rejoicing at the favorable action of the Legislature in 1811, incorporation was not secured apparently as in 1817, Samuel Appleton and others again petitioned to be set off as an "Incorporated Society of

Baptists," and the final item entered in the old book of records in Dec. 1817, by Timothy Appleton, Clerk, alludes to the Charter of Incorporation. Stable prosperity however was never secured. The plans for building did not materialize. Many pages torn from the Record, by a friendly hand, perchance, are suggestive of entries, which were well forgotten. Dissensions arose. Mr. Felt, in his History of Ipswich,⁷ records the closing chapters of their annals:

A secession took place from the Church, because discipline was not exercised, June 4th, 1816.⁸ This secession was justified by a Council the 16th of July. The seceders formed themselves into a new church, Aug. 27th and met in the building now used by the Bank.⁹ William Taylor was their first minister. He continued with them until August, 1818, and took his dismission, because the people were few and unable to support him. When he left the church, it contained thirty members. Thus destitute of one to guide them, they continued to hold meetings and have the sacrament administered occasionally till August, 1820. From this time they omitted assembling till 1823. In the course of this year they dissolved. The original Society of Baptists continued after the secession from them only one year.

In 1892, through the efforts of Dr. William H. Clark, who had established himself in Ipswich as a physician, Mr. J. Choate Underhill and others, the Baptist people again began to worship together in the hall of the Seminary building. Rev. D. B. Gunn was engaged as acting Pastor. A Council of Baptist Churches from the Salem Baptist Association met on November 18th and voted to recognize the new Church, known as the First Baptist Church, by their vote of November 6th. Mr. Underhill and Dr. Clark were chosen Deacons. The recognition services were held on Sunday, December 7, 1892. The Pastor resigned on March 15,

⁷ Page 255.

⁸ Presumably in connection with Mr. Pottle's alleged misconduct.

⁹ On South Main St.

1895, and Rev. E. Edgar Harris of Hinsdale began his pastoral service on May 1st.

The erection of a meeting house now began to be considered. A Committee to report on a building lot was appointed on July 19th. In January, 1896, \$125 was raised as the beginning of a building fund. Financial difficulties arose and the Pastor resigned on August 13th.

Rev. W. J. Thompson was invited to become the minister of the Church and began his work on January 1st, 1897. Fresh interest in the scheme of building was aroused. The name, Immanuel Baptist Church, was adopted and the work of construction was pressed so vigorously that the new house of worship was dedicated on April 3^d, 1898. Hardly had services begun to be held in the meeting house, when the Pastor sent his letter of resignation, on July 10th, to take effect at once, "owing to certain rumors which before God have no foundation," which made it wise in his judgment so to do. Unfortunately, a Committee of investigation found that the rumors were too well founded.

Notwithstanding the burden of debt and the feeling of discouragement which prevailed at this critical juncture, in September, Rev. Arthur K. Gordon, son of Rev. A. J. Gordon, the well known minister of Clarendon St. Baptist Church, Boston, was called to the pastorate. Though the salary offered was meagre and the outlook was far from inviting, the young minister accepted in a letter of singular modesty and devotion: "I only ask the hearty co-operation of each member of the church in all the work we may undertake for the extension of God's kingdom."

Two years of prosperous and happy church life followed under his inspiring and winning leadership. Mr. Gordon was called to the pastorate of the Immanuel Baptist Church, Cambridge, and closed his work in Ipswich on July 1, 1901, despite the earnest endeavor of his people to persuade him to remain.

Rev. William C. Cook was called on July 29th. His health was so much impaired that he was obliged to resign in the summer of 1902. Rev. W. H. Rogers succeeded him in September, 1902, and closed his labors on June 19th, 1904. Mr. Hsley Boone acted as Pastor from October, 1904, to August, 1907. Rev. Mr. Reynolds was called to the pastorate on March 1st, 1908. Mr. Howard B. Smith was the preacher from March, 1909 to October, 1911. Mr. Wallace C. Sampson, a student at the Newton Theological Seminary was the acting Pastor from October, 1911, to June, 1912, being succeeded by Mr. Robert M. De Vault, also a student at Newton, who closed his ministry in June, 1913. A third student, Ernest R. Corum, filled the pulpit until May 23^d, 1915. Rev. James Watson began his ministry on Dec. 19th, 1915. Rev. Harry Chamberlin is the present preacher.

THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

1839

See page 510

CHAPTER XXII.

THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

Tradition has it that Rev. Jesse Lee, the itinerant apostle of Methodism, came to Ipswich in 1790 and preached wherever opportunity offered, but no effort to gather a church seems to have been made at that time. When the Baptist Church was virtually extinct, some of the leading members of that body turned to the Methodist order, which was then becoming prominent in Essex County. Mr. Aaron Waitt, a Local Preacher, was invited to come to Ipswich and hold services. In his own narrative¹ of the rise and progress of Methodism in Ipswich, he tells the story of the beginnings in a simple and earnest way:

In March of 1821, I received an invitation from Mr. A. Treadwell Jr. (a man whom I had not seen) by a friend of his, to visit them in their then destitute state. Unavoidable circumstances prevented my compliance until October of the same year, when, feeling much concerned for the health of our little daughter, who had been declining for several months, and providentially hearing of Doct. Spofford of New Rowley,² Mrs. Waitt with myself proposed to go to N. R. by the way of Ipswich, accordingly on Saturday we set on our way for Ips. and arrived to Bro. T's at 1 o'clock P. M. where we received every attention. On Sunday I preached three times to an attentive congregation on Monday morn we rode to Doct. Spofford's and returned to Ips. and in the afternoon to Saugus where I then lived.

In Nov. I made a second visit to Ips. & preached three times & returned on Monday making an appointment for

¹ Recorded in the Trustees' Book, 1827.

² Now Georgetown.

Ips.—in four weeks I preached 3 times had a prayer meeting on monday eve, at this meeting I received more encouragement than on any former occasion five came forward deeply concerned for the salvation of their souls.

on tuesday (being Christmas) I preached twice, on Wednesday we had an inquirering which was well attended & solem I took my leave of their mourning souls and returned home giving praise to God for what I had witnessed of his power in the conversion of sinners. In two weeks I made a 4 visit to Ipswich found the work of conviction & conversion going on in many precious souls.

this work was deep and solem & has given good evidence of being the work of God which I doubt not will be had in joyful remembrance by many when this happiness shall be consumated in the full vision of bright glory.

Like Peter and John, Mr. Waitt was an "unlearned and ignorant" man. He worked at his trade as a shoe maker during the week, and declared the message, that he felt God had given him, with great earnestness on the Sabbath day. Services were held in the second story of the disused woolen factory, where the Baptist Society had worshipped many years, and many of the Baptist folk identified themselves at once with the new movement. Twenty-five of the Baptists were enrolled as Methodists in 1822. A Methodist Society was organized in the Spring of 1822, and Mr. Waitt removed to Ipswich, and took charge of the services. A Sunday School, consisting of three classes and twenty scholars, began its sessions, Mr. Charles Dodge acting as Superintendent. He was the first man who began the Christian life under Mr. Waitt's teaching.

The first class meeting was held in the house of Mr. Aaron Wallis.⁸ Daniel B. Lord was the class leader and the members were:

⁸ Owned afterward by Amos Jones. It was torn down many years ago, and its site is included in the lot on which the Town Hall stands. See Ipswich in Mass. Bay, Vol. 1: p. 451.

Aaron Treadwell Jr.	Susan S. Lord (m. Abram D. Wait)
Hannah T. Lord	Elizabeth Grow (Eliz. Caldwell m. John Grow of Boston, 1798)
Elizabeth Treadwell	Amy Gould (widow Capt. William, who died in 1836, m. David Berry, 1839)
Mary G. Harris	Lucretia Perkins (w. John Perkins, 1819)
Charlotte Smith	Harriet Lord
Hannah Meady	Susan Underhill
Mary Martin	Mary A. Jewett (m. Perkins Potter of Gloucester, 1830)
Abigail Lord	Eliza Dodge (wife Charles K. Jewett)
Joanna Ross (w. Timothy)	
Dorcas Fowler	
Martha Herrick (m. William Russell)	
Maria Lord (m. William Lampson of Salem)	
Lucy A. Treadwell (m. Israel K. Jewett)	

Both the men and six of the women were from the Baptists. Prayer meetings were held in the homes of the people. Mr. Uriah Spofford's interesting Reminiscences include the prayer meetings and singing meetings, which he attended in his boyhood and young manhood. He remarks that the "Amen" and "Glory to God" that were interjected with great unction "would shock the too sensitive nerves of modern Methodists."

We may well believe that the enthusiastic hymns, the loud voiced testimonies, the frequent sighs and lamentations and the resounding Hallelujahs were a rasping experience to those accustomed to the frigid proprieties of the old way, and some charity is due the owner, who may have been tenant as well, of the old house on the corner of Summer and County Streets, for his brusque behavior. Capt. William Gould hired a tenement here and his wife, a fresh convert, rejoiced in the assembly of the saints in her home. The unsympathetic proprietor served notice either to stop the meetings or leave the house. The doughty Captain stood by

his wife manfully, and they found a new home on High Street, in the dwelling known then as the Robbins House.⁴ Here their prayer meetings were held with all the fervor and at whatever length they desired. Here too, the first "love feast" was held.

High Street was a congenial home of Methodism. Daniel Bolles Lord, the first class leader, owned and occupied the house, afterward the Asher Blake dwelling. Capt. Daniel B. Smith, a near neighbor, was the second class leader, when the first grew so large that division was necessary. Charles Dodge made his home in the Caldwell house. When the vigorous Society built a meeting house, they chose a lot on East Street, where the house lately occupied by Mr. Harry B. Brown now stands. This had previously been selected by the Baptist people for the sanctuary they were planning to build.

The meeting house was begun in September, 1824, it was completed and the sale of the pews was held on Christmas day. The building was forty by fifty feet with full galleries, and cost, including the price of the land, (\$250), five dollars less than \$2000.

The Trustees, Daniel B. Lord, Daniel Lord, Aaron Treadwell Jr., Charles Dodge and Aaron Wait met at the meeting house and commenced the sale of the pews at ten o'clock. The total number of pews was sixty-eight. A large portion of the most valuable ones was sold at once, a small premium being paid for choice.

No.		Price
2	Susannah Sawyer	\$50
3	Josiah Lord Jr.	55
4	Mary Martin	55
7	Hannah Leatherland	55
10	John Day	40
11	Joseph Wait	35
12	Thomas Smith	32

⁴ The second house east of the burying ground.

14	Joseph Wait	33
16	Charles Dodge	40
21	Daniel Lord	63
22	Daniel B. Lord	64
23	Aaron Treadwell	62
24	Aaron Treadwell Jr.	68
25	Nath ^l Treadwell	57
28	William Treadwell	56
29	J. C. Underhill	60
30	Andrew Russell	60
31	Richard Sutton	60
42	William Russell	25
45	Aaron Sweet Jr.	
46	Thomas Dennis to Joseph Hovey	12½
50	Asa Lord	12½
51	Manning Dodge & others	25
53	Israel Jewett	25
56	Benjamin Fewkes	12½
68	Elizabeth Fuller	25
20	Daniel Lord Jr.	

Mr. Spofford recalls that the pulpit was raised on pillars high above the people and was reached by a flight of stairs. The pews were plain and unpainted. The gallery was occupied at first by the singers alone, who took their pitch from Thomas Greenwood's tuning fork, or from the key notes sounded by David Dow on his bass-viol.

The original members of the Church, received at its organization in 1822 were:

Daniel B. Lord	Charlotte Smith
Aaron Treadwell	Widow Hannah Meady
Charles Dodge	Mary Martin
Hannah T. Lord	Dorcas Fowler
Abigail Lord	Mrs. Martha Russell
Joannah Ross	Mrs. Maria Lamson
Elizabeth Treadwell	Mrs. Lucy A. Jewett
Mary G. Harris	Mrs. Susan Wait

Elizabeth Grow
 Emme (Amy) Gould
 Mary Warner
 Lucretia Perkins

Harriet Lord
 Susan Underhill
 Mrs. Mary Ann Potter
 Mrs. Eliza Dodge

Rev. Aaron Waitt, the first preacher, joined the New England Conference in June, 1825. Ipswich and Gloucester were then made one circuit, and Mr. Waitt and Rev. Aaron Josselyn were appointed Circuit Preachers. Mr. Waitt removed to Gloucester and Mr. Josselyn came to Ipswich, occupying two chambers, very scantily furnished, in the house on the corner of Middle Lane, as it was then called. Rev. Nathan Paine followed in 1827, a quiet man, who wore the regulation Quaker cut coat and low crowned broad brimmed hat. Rev. John T. Burrill was the Circuit Preacher in 1828. In 1829, Rev. John J. Bliss was appointed the Stationed Preacher.

During his pastorate, the famous revivalist, Rev. John N. Maffit, held a "protracted meeting" as it was called, which was undoubtedly the most extraordinary episode in the history of the churches of Ipswich, since the days of Whitefield and Tennent. He preached sixty nights to congregations which occupied every inch of the meeting house. It is said that during an entire week, business was at a stand still, most of the stores were closed, the cotton mill was shut down for want of help, and every one seemed to be seeking the kingdom of God and His righteousness.

Mr. Spofford's Reminiscences are of extreme interest. He recalls that Mr. Maffit spoke with "soft, persuasive eloquence." During his sermons, he relates, the audience seemed spell-bound, and when, after the sermon, he descended from the pulpit and went up and down the aisles, singing as no other man could, some familiar hymn, the people seemed to have no power to resist his invitation to go forward to the altar. The closing meeting was of great solemnity. The house was packed to the doors, floor and

gallery, even the aisles. During his address, he asked all to join with him in repeating, "I feel to bless the Lord for what he has done for my soul." After an hour or more, all were requested to kneel. Mr. Maffit offered prayer, and then a hymn was sung, containing the verse,

Now here's my heart and here's my hand
To meet you in that heavenly land
Where we shall part no more.

The congregation here joined hands, forming a complete chain with the preacher.

The novel methods and great excitement, incident to these meetings, roused great opposition among those unfriendly to Methodism. It is said that the other churches were so alarmed by the inroads upon their own congregations that the celebrated Dr. Lyman Beecher was invited to hold a series of meetings for a week to stem the tide, but to no purpose. It has been said that some two hundred members were gathered into the Methodist Church as the result of these meetings. That number may have been admitted on probation, but the records of the church for 1829 and 1830, show that 15 were admitted to full membership in 1829, and 79 in 1830. These included Daniel Clark, John Perkins, Robert Kimball, Ezekiel Peabody, Joseph Wait and a multitude of other worthy men and excellent women, who added great strength to the struggling church.

Rev. Jacob Sanborn was the Preacher in charge in 1830, and the increased vigor of the Church was further manifest in the erection of a parsonage on the lot adjoining the meeting house. Joseph Wait bought the lot, June 16, 1830, and after the parsonage was built, conveyed it to the Trustees "with the buildings, the same having been built by subscription, and by said Trustees, their Committee." May, 6, 1831.

Rev. Enoch Mudge was assigned to the Church in 1831,

but was removed in the course of the year to take charge of the Mariners' Church in New Bedford, the pulpit being supplied by Local Preachers until the Conference. Rev. Epaphras Kibby was then appointed Preacher and after a year, Rev. John T. Burrill returned for a two-year pastorate, 1833 and 1834. He was succeeded by Rev. Newell S. Spaulding in 1835. The reaction from the tense times of the Maffit revival was now being felt. The item appears in the record under Dec. 3, 1835. "It was found the classes were not well attended." Under June 9, 1836, it was reported: that the weekly prayer meetings were generally well attended but there was no special revival. The Class Leaders reported a total membership of 216, 122 constant in attendance and 7 wilfully neglectful.

Rev. Edmund Beebe was Stationed Preacher in 1836 and 1837. The Record of the Quarterly meetings, Sept. 17, 1836 is interesting:

It was found that the church was a little more engaged in love and unity than they were the last meeting.

The examination of the stewards and leaders took place and it was found by those that were present that they continued to believe in the doctrines, usages and discipline of the Church, that they enjoyed a good witness of their acceptance with God, And were trying to go forward in every good word and work.

An addition was made to the meeting house this year. It was voted in April, to enlarge the house, to move it back, raise it up and finish a vestry on the ground floor. The new pews were sold to Josiah Caldwell, James L. Wells, Daniel Clark, George Warner, Manning Dodge, Ebenezer Russell and Daniel L. Hodgkins, the appraised value being \$60.50 each. The total expenditure for the enlargement was \$1038.72. A bell was also purchased at a cost of \$300, probably by subscription.

Rev. Joel Knight occupied the pulpit in 1838 and 1839.

He had a wife and three children under fourteen years. His allowance for 1838 was: Salary \$248, House rent \$40, Table expenses \$75, Fuel \$37, Traveling expense \$14.40, a total of \$414.40.

Bro. John A. Newman was appointed "door-keeper for the love feast tomorrow morning." The Presiding Elder had recommended earnestly in the previous year that the practise of Love Feast tickets be adopted and that hereafter none be admitted without them, or notes of admission by those who were not members of the Church, and that the doors should be closed at the precise hour and not be opened until the close of the exercise. The Stewards declined however to use the tickets, as the practise was not introduced at the beginning, and they had never found it convenient to use them.

Sanctification was a theme of frequent remark at this time. The Presiding Elder recommended in November, 1837, that a prayer meeting be devoted to the consideration of it, and also that Wesley's sermon on Dress be read to the congregation. The Stewards reported in April, 1839, that two openly profess sanctification. The total membership in full communion then numbered 154, the class membership 125, and the average class attendance 92. It was also reported that there had been 60 conversions during the year and that 45 were on probation.

Singularly enough at this very time, when some were professing sanctification and many had manifested unusual interest in the higher life, there were unusual trials and difficulties. The Society voted on April 5, 1838.

That there be a tything man appointed whose duty it shall be [] attend to the faithful discharge of his duties and that the Society [. . .] any member or members that shall prosecute for noise or disturbance, within the bounds of prudence.

Again in April, 1843, a Committee was appointed to keep order in and around the meeting house in time of service and it was voted that this notice should be read from the desk at some favorable opportunity.

There is no intimation regarding the source of this disorder, whether it was due to troublesome boys, who attended prayer meetings as a place of amusement and conducted themselves accordingly, or whether there was strife and bitterness within the church itself. The anti-slavery question had now become acute, and the line of division between the ardent abolitionists and the moderate anti-slavery people and those who deprecated any discussion, was sharply marked. No doubt there was much disagreement on this burning topic in the other churches of the Town, but in the Methodist, sympathy with the slave, found its fullest expression, and the most uncompromising attitude toward slavery was resolutely maintained. Mutterings of the coming storm were heard in July, 1839, when James Caldwell presented a series of Resolutions with a Preamble, regarding slavery which were amended, unanimously adopted, and then ordered printed in *Zion's Herald* and *Zion's Watchman*.⁵

Rev. Daniel Wise came to the Church in 1840, an able preacher and keen controversialist. One of the prominent members had said that he believed it was right for men and women to be held in bondage under some circumstances. He assailed this position unsparingly from his pulpit. When the Rev. David Tenney Kimball preached his well remembered sermon from the text, "I dwell among mine own people," which was undoubtedly an attack upon Methodism and the itineracy, Mr. Wise replied very vigorously. He was succeeded in April, 1842 by Rev. W. Ramsdell, owing to the failure of his health, and Dan. Weed, the teacher of the Latin Grammar School, supplied the pulpit a portion of the time.

⁵ The editor acknowledged their receipt but found no room in his crowded pages.

Rev. Daniel Webb was assigned as the Preacher in charge in August, 1842. He remained but a year, but events moved so rapidly during that period, and the dissatisfaction of a large minority became so pronounced that twenty-five members, led by Rev. Orrin Scott, seceded, declaring that they could no longer hold fellowship with slave holders or their defenders. They joined what was then called "The Methodist Wesleyan Church in the United States," called Rev. Mr. Minor to be their minister and met for worship in the small hall owned by Mr. Hammatt, which then stood on the northeast corner of his lot. They maintained their independence for several years, despite the opposition of the old Church, but returned when, as they believed, the righteousness of their contention was recognized. Mr. Spofford remarks in his *Reminiscences* of this period "No one at this day, unless he be old enough to remember can have any idea of the bitterness of the contentions which took place with regard to the abolition of slavery."

In August, 1843, Rev. John S. Springer was assigned to the Ipswich Church and remained two years. Though the dissatisfied portion had withdrawn, the Church was not perfectly harmonious. The vestry was frequently used for anti-slavery meetings and the "diversity of feelings regarding letting the House for any but strictly religious meetings, as the Town had lately purchased a house every way adapted to such other purposes etc.," which is mentioned in the record of the April meeting, may refer to this use. However that may be, the Church was gaining courage. Blinds for the vestry were secured. In Sept., 1843, the pew owners took action and rearranged the audience room, erecting a new pulpit at the other end of the building. In February, 1844, Mr. Springer ventured to believe that better times were at hand, as his personal note in the *Record* suggests:

It was the general opinion of the brethren that things

were getting no worse among us at least, thank God, but they confidently believed that there had been some improvement.

Samuel Hunt, John A. Newman and N. R. Wait were appointed a Committee to consider the purchase of a double bass-viol, and if it seemed expedient to proceed to secure the funds and make the purchase.

Rev. Joseph Dennison succeeded Mr. Springer in 1845, and Rev. Lorenzo R. Thayer was the Preacher in charge in 1846 and 1847. The purchase of a lot for a burying ground and of a hearse was considered and several Committees were appointed, but neither project materialized.

The more expensive undertaking of building a vestry in the rear of the meeting house was carried through successfully by subscription, and a building, 40 by 50 feet was erected in 1847, at the cost of \$400. Unusual appreciation of the choir was evinced in the vote of thanks to Samuel Hunt, the chorister, and the choir for "their well timed efforts in maintaining their part of religious worship." The ponderous double bass viol evidently secured an agreeable improvement in the music of the sanctuary.

Rev. Stephen Cushing was assigned to the church in 1848, Rev. Charles Baker in 1849, and Rev. James Shepard in 1850. In September of that year the Society voted to enlarge the meeting house by adding five pews in depth at the rear;

that the pews that may be added to the house shall be the fourth, fifth and sixth from the pulpit, with the two back, making in all 20 floor pews or twenty upon the lower floor.

That the owners of four pews in the Galerie nearest the Singers have the privilege of taking the new ones and leave theirs for the Society.

That the moving of the vestry be left to the Trustees.

In April, 1851, a Committee was appointed to improve the front of the meeting house and vestry and another to finish off a part of the old vestry into two rooms. It was reported in April, 1852, that \$667 had been spent in these improvements.

Rev. Moses A. Howe was the Preacher in charge in 1852, and during his ministry the New England Conference met with the Church, an event of notable interest to the Town. Rev. John W. Dadmun succeeded in 1853, and was followed by Rev. Jeremiah L. Hanaford in 1855. A new outbreak of disorder occasioned the appointment of a Committee in April, 1855, to see "that our meetings be not disturbed by persons disposed so to do," and in the following April, the Selectmen were requested to appoint John A. Newman a special police officer "to see that order be restored in our evening meetings."

Despite the occasional disorders, the Church enjoyed an even going prosperity. Rev. William C. High came to the pulpit in 1857 and his return was desired by unanimous vote in 1858. In September, 1858, a Committee of seven, A. D. Wait, W. H. Graves, John Perkins, C. W. Chapman, J. M. Wellington, W^m. Stone and D. L. Willcomb was appointed to estimate the expense of a new edifice. There was a more conservative party, which felt that the old meeting house had not yet outlived its usefulness, and a Committee made some canvass for funds, until it was evident that the popular sentiment was in favor of a new house.

During the ministry of Rev. Cyrus L. Eastman, in 1859 and 1860, the question of building was pressed vigorously. The seating accommodations were evidently insufficient and a Committee was appointed in 1859 "to find seats for the people and keep order in the meeting house during service." But the lingering fondness of many for the old house and their unwillingness to abandon it found expression in the vote to appoint another Committee to report on the expense

of repairing it. The perennial disorder of the mischievous boys in the gallery may have been one of the constraining causes that encouraged a new departure. As late as March 26, 1860 it was voted: "That Br. Hodgkins be a Committee to keep the Galleries clear of Boys on Sacrament Day."

On July 16, 1859, N. R. Wait, W. H. Graves and J. M. Wellington, Trustees, purchased the lot on which the present house of worship stands, from the County of Essex. They proceeded to build the new meeting house without a dollar being pledged,⁶ being personally responsible to the contractor. It was erected at a cost, including the site, of \$12,000. Rev. George Bowler was the architect, William H. Smith of Ipswich, contractor and builder. The dimensions are 62 feet by 84 feet, with a chancel, 11 by 29 feet, a vestibule 8½ feet wide, and a tower 18 feet square, with 700 sittings in the pews.

Rev. Austin F. Herrick was assigned to the Church as Preacher in charge in 1861. The Civil War had just begun. Mr. Herrick wrote regarding his pastorate:

The first company from Ipswich in full military dress. on a beautiful Sabbath in June, entered the church in a body and reverently listened to words of counsel, and united in prayer and then went forth to the terrible strife, some never more to return. Soon young Potter, the only son of his mother, and she a widow, laid his life upon his country's altar, and his embalmed body was borne back by comrades to church and cemetery for funeral rites and military burial.

John J. Jewett Jr. died from wounds received at Gettysburg and was brought home for burial on July 25, 1863.

Rev. Joseph C. Cromack followed in 1863, Rev. Isaac J. P. Collyer in 1864 and 1865, Rev. Jesse Wagner in 1866, 1867 and 1868. Through the earnest personal effort of Mr. Wagner, the organ was purchased at a cost of \$2121.25.

⁶ From "Methodism in Ipswich," Pamphlet published at the Semi-Centennial Celebration, May 1, 1872.

Rev. Charles A. Merrill was the pastor in 1869 and 1870, and Rev. Charles H. Hanaford in 1871 and 1872.

The fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Church was celebrated on May 1st, 1872 with great enthusiasm. Twenty-nine ministers came to honor the occasion, including the venerable Rev. Aaron Josselyn, who knew the Church in the days of its feeble beginnings. His address was of peculiar interest, with its personal reminiscence: "I was but twenty-one years of age when I was first stationed here, and they called me the "Little Preacher" for Bro. Waitt was large and robust, while "I was small and pale." Rev. A. D. Sargent recalled that in 1831, he came to Ipswich and found Rev. Enoch Mudge, Pastor, "the first man ever licensed to preach in New England in the Methodist Episcopal Church." Rev. C. A. Merrill, in his address, alluded to the fact that during his stay in Ipswich, the Society and Parsonage Tents were erected on the Hamilton Camp Ground.

The Pastor, Rev. Mr. Hanaford, taking advantage of the anniversary, announced that a debt of \$800 on the building remained unpaid, that it needed paint and other repairs, and that it was felt by the people that the time was ripe for paying all arrears and providing for a new parsonage. He stated that if \$2000 could be raised during the day and evening, it would be sufficient, together with what would be realized from the sale of the old parsonage and with gifts expected from friends of the society, to carry through this great enterprise. Subscriptions were pledged by those present, the Soliciting Committee, which had been engaged in correspondence, announced the result of its work, and it was found that \$3200 was pledged, with the prospect of material increase from friends who had not been heard from, ensuring the complete success of the plan. The new parsonage was built forthwith.

The more recent pastorates include

Rev. Ebenezer A. Smith	1873-1875
Rev. Frederick Woods	1876-1877
Rev. George Whitaker	1878
Rev. Porter M. Vinton	1879-1880
Rev. Chas. N. Smith	1881-1882
Rev. Chas. T. Johnson	1883-1884
Rev. John Galbraith	1885-1887
Rev. Austin H. Herrick	1888-1889
Rev. James F. Allen	1890-1892
Rev. George M. Smiley	1893-1895
Rev. George F. Durgin	1896-1898
Rev. Francis J. McConnell ⁷	1899-1901
Rev. Arthur Bonner	1902-1904
Rev. Frederick Woods	1905-1907
Rev. Alliston B. Gifford	1908-1911
Rev. Arthur D. Stroud	1912-1915
Rev. William J. Kelley	1916

⁷ Later President of De Pauw University and now a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

CHAPTER XXIII.

SCHOOLS AND SCHOOL TEACHERS IN THE 19TH CENTURY.

Amos Choate, son of Hon. Stephen Choate, Harvard, 1795, succeeded Mr. Dana as teacher of the Grammar School and was in charge until 1807. That his administration was vigorous and enterprising is evident from the advertisement that appeared in the Salem Gazette of June 15, 1802, the first of its kind to find place in the columns of that venerable paper.

EDUCATION

The Public are respectfully informed that the Donation Grammar School in Ipswich, long known as one of the first incorporated Schools in the Commonwealth, is now open by the direction of the Feoffees and under the instruction of the Subscriber, for the admission of children from other Towns.

The design of this School is the instruction of youth in the English, Greek & Latin Languages, together with Writing, Cyphering, English, Grammar and Composition, Oratory, Geography, History, Surveying, etc. etc. The Instructor's intention is to practise the most concise, accurate and expedient mode of preparing children for admission into any UNIVERSITY and to extend as far as may be, the advantages of a common education. In accomplishing the latter, he will adopt and pursue as thorough a process as possible, in any or all of the above branches of learning, especially in English, Grammar and Composition.

A variety of circumstances render the above School favorable for the education of children. Its local situation is in a town remarkably pleasant & healthy, distinguished for

family order and purity of morals. It is at a very suitable and equal distance from too much urbanity, as well as too much rusticity. It is sufficiently and agreeably retired but not without enough of Society, to preserve and refine the manners of youth. The communication with the School is made very easy and convenient by Stages which are daily passing to and from Boston and Portsmouth, directly through the town.

The terms are 9s per week for Board and the price of instruction, which will be moderate and reasonable, proportioned to the studies in which the pupil may be instructed.— And every attention shall be devoted both in and out of School, to the improvement and behavior of the children by
Amos Choate, Preceptor.

Ipswich, June 15, 1802.

N. B. The above School is to Consist of males and females.

Mr. Choate inserted a similar notice the next year, with his thanks for the patronage granted him:

IPSWICH ACADEMY.

To those whose children the Instructor has been favored with, he tenders his most grateful acknowledgments, and from the distinguished approbation he has received the year past, he is encouraged to believe that the young Masters and Misses, who may in future come here for instruction, will not disappoint the expectation of their parents.

Board 9/ per week and tuition about the same as at other Academies.

Ipswich, April 12, 1803.

Mr. Choate was the Register of Deeds for Essex County many years. The veteran Major Burnham succeeded him for his third term as teacher and taught eleven consecutive years until 1817, rounding out a total service of twenty-three years. He retired at the age of sixty-six, but attained the venerable age of eighty-two.

Another youth fresh from College, George Choate of the

Chebacco Parish, Harvard, 1818, came to the school and taught until 1822, when he became a student of medicine and in due time a practising physician in Salem. Richard Kimball kept the school nine weeks in 1822 "for the income of the school lands." Charles Choate, son of Mr. John Choate, kept the school on the same terms in 1823 and 1824. Stephen Coburn of Andover taught in 1825. In the following year, he married Miss Lucy B. Smith and became a permanent citizen, serving as Post master for many years. Richard Kimball returned to the school in 1826. James W. Ward was master in 1827, Nathan Brown in 1828, Daniel Perley in 1829, David Tenney Kimball Jr., son of the Pastor of the First Church, in 1830. Joseph Hale, son of Joseph Hale, who was graduated at Harvard in 1828, taught three years, 1831, 1832 and 1833. Tolman Willey was at the head of the school in 1834. Dan Weed, Jr. followed with a six year term, 1835-40.

Mr. Felt remarks¹ that

owing to the increased salary of teachers, the Grammar school has not been kept since 1818, so steadily and of course has not been so useful of late years, as it was formerly. It would be matter of high satisfaction, if a school so ancient, which received the prayers, charities and exertions of some, who were among the best of our fathers, could in some proper way be kept open constantly, and thereby add to the number of our publicly educated men.

The Feoffees were keenly aware of the decline of the school, and in the year 1835, an earnest effort was made to adjust it to the changed conditions of the time. It has been stated² that they had built a new school building about 1794, but that, because of their lack of funds, only the upper room was finished, and the lower room remained unfinished until the South district secured it for their use. Their most

¹ History of Ipswich, p. 35.

² Page 291.

available asset was the old "School Orchard," two acres or more, bounded by the County Road, Poplar Street and the Argilla Road, which Robert Paine had given to the Town, with the school house and dwelling, built for the use of Ezekiel Cheever in 1650.

This had been leased at a low figure, but it was now proposed that it be divided into lots and sold. An enabling Act was secured from the Legislature and in 1835, the present Payne Street was laid out, forty-five feet wide, across the lot and the land was sold. Mr. Augustine Heard bought the lot recently occupied by the Lathrop brothers with their new residences, Mr. Asa Wade, the lot now occupied by the grocery and the adjoining dwelling, and Mr. Otis Holmes, the lot on the corner of "School Lane."

To guard against any unseemly use of this spot, hallowed with its memories of nearly two centuries of noble association with the Grammar School, an Indenture was drawn, by which these purchasers of the front lots bound themselves not to erect or permit to be erected, any shop or building for a black-smith, tin-worker, cooper, tanner and currier, wheel wright, soap-boiler, tallow-chandler, butcher, livery or stabling.

A strip on the west side of Payne Street was sold to members of the South Parish, on which they erected a row of horse sheds for their convenience on the Sabbath day. A lot in the extreme south-east corner of the orchard was reserved, to which the school-house was removed from its original location on the corner of Argilla Road and County Road. The Feoffees reported to the Town in March, 1836, that they had received \$3764.50 from the sale, and \$40 from the sale of the school-marsh, had expended \$627.80 in the removal and repair of the school-house, and that their estimated income from the school-lands and invested funds would be about \$300.

Evidently the establishment of an English High School was now a theme of popular interest, and overtures were made

by the Feoffees to the Town to this end. They offered the use of the chamber of their school-house and \$300 annually from their funds on certain conditions, the principal of which were:

1. That the School shall combine the advantages both of a high English School & of a Latin Grammar School by furnishing young men of the Town, who may wish to qualify themselves for active life, with the means of completing a good English education; and by furnishing those who may wish to acquire a collegiate education, with the means of qualifying themselves for admission into our University or Colleges.

2. That the Master of the School shall be selected by a Committee of the Town and approved by the Feoffees.

3. That all the youths belonging to Town who shall be pursuing a course of study preparatory to College may enjoy the advantages of the school. The Feoffees shall decide what youths are pursuing such a course of study and will take diligent care that none shall enjoy the advantages of the school under pretense of being Grammar scholars who are not.

The Committee appointed by the Town to consider the proposition, recommended its acceptance, and recommended further that the Town raise \$400 in addition to the \$300 offered by the Feoffees. This report was accepted and the Committee was authorized to proceed. The merging of the Latin Grammar School with the new English High School involved such radical changes in its original scope and purpose, its course of study and its administration that it may be regarded as the passing of the famous old school.

The "High School" as it was now frequently called, was taught by Dan Weed, Jr., until 1840. Ebenezer S. Stevens had charge in 1841, Dan Weed Jr. taught again, 1842 to 1845, George W. Tewksbury in 1846, Ezra W. Gale in 1847, Caleb Lamson in 1848, 1849 and 1850. In 1850 Rev. John P. Cowles, Principal of the Ipswich Seminary, instructed

the grammar scholars at forty cents a week per capita. Benjamin P. Chute taught the school in 1851 and 1852, Joseph A. Shores, 1853 to 1856. Issachar Lefavour of Beverly began his long and successful career as Principal in 1856 and remained until 1874, when the Manning fund was available and the Town entered into an agreement with the Manning Trustees, by which the Manning High School was established.

Dr. Thomas Manning, the well remembered old time physician, had built and operated the mill at Willowdale, had established the Lace Factory on High St. and taken a prominent part for many years in everything that advanced the welfare of the Town. He died on February 3, 1854, at the age of eighty, bequeathing the greater part of his estate to the Town for the purpose of establishing "a High School in the town of Ipswich, which should be free to the youth of the town of both sexes." He gave the property in trust to Richard H. Manning of Brooklyn, Francis C. Manning of Boston, brothers and his nephews, and Francis H. Blanchard of Waltham, and provided that the school house should be built and the school opened in the year 1874, the one hundredth anniversary of his birth, the cost not to exceed one third of the devise.

This generous and far-seeing purpose failed in large degree of accomplishment. The Doctor was always eccentric and his peculiarities were no doubt accentuated by the natural infirmities of age and his long sickness. His son, Joseph E. Manning, contested the will on the ground that his father was incompetent to make such an instrument, in which he failed to receive his proper share, and the will was disallowed. But in order to fulfil his father's wishes in part, he conveyed to the Trustees in 1857, securities of an estimated value of \$10,000, about a third of the remainder after the minor bequests had been paid.

There was a public demand however for better accommo-

dation for the High School at once. In 1859, a Committee was appointed to see if the Court House could be secured for the use of the High School, and to find the expense of a new building, a scheme which was much in favor for several years. In 1864, a Committee was chosen to confer with the Trustees as to erecting a building prior to 1874, the year specified by the donor, and another attempt to anticipate the date was made in 1871. But the Trustees held to the letter of their trust.

Under the skilful handling of Richard H. Manning, Chairman and Treasurer of the Trustees, the fund had increased to \$42,346.05 in 1872 and a lot was purchased on Central Street. As the fund was still inadequate to provide the building and a proper endowment, Mr. Manning made a generous contribution of \$15,000, and \$4,000 was provided by the legacy of Joseph Green Cogswell. The building was then erected, and the dedicatory exercises were held in the afternoon of Wednesday, August 26, 1874. The Manning building accommodated the High School and two of the Grammar School grades, the Town having contracted with the Trustees, who had joint supervision of the school, to pay \$2,000 annually for ten years. Mr. Martin H. Fiske served as Principal from the opening of the school until 1880, Mr. George N. Cross, 1881-1882, Mr. A. M. Osgood, 1883-1884, Mr. George M. Smith, 1884-1887, Mr. Charles A. Strout, 1888-1889, Mr. George Rugg, 1890, Mr. Sharrington H. Baker, 1891-1894. Mr. John P. Marston was elected Principal in 1895 and is still at the head of the school.

The lower rooms of the new Manning School building were assigned to the upper grades of the Grammar School. Mr. Joseph Increase Horton, a native of the Town, had taught the Linebrook school during the school year, beginning in October, 1876. In March, 1877, he was elected Principal of the Grammar School, and continued to hold the position until June, 1898, when ill health obliged him to

resign. In the fall of 1916, he was elected Superintendent of Schools.

Capt. William Burley, a native of Ipswich, died in Beverly, Dec. 22, 1822, bequeathing \$50 to be paid annually for ten years, "for the sole purpose of teaching poor children to read and instructing them in the principles of the Christian religion." An Act of Incorporation was granted on June 18, 1825, and "Nathaniel Lord, Jr. and William Conant, Jr., Esquires, Josiah Brown and John Kimball, gentlemen, and Daniel Cogswell, merchant," became the Trustees of the Burley Educational Fund. The executors agreed to waive the terms of the bequest and conveyed the total sum, \$500 to the Trustees. As there was little opportunity of expending the fund for the designated uses, the interest accumulated steadily, and a considerable portion was applied a few years since toward the expense of building the school-house, which has been named the Burley School.

Resuming the study of the district schools, it has already been mentioned that the men of the North district were the first apparently to move for a school in their midst. Dr. John Manning, whose residence on High St. made him a proprietor in this district, a man always in advance of his time, amazed the Town in the latter years of the 18th century by proposing that an Academy be established at the public expense. He recognized more clearly than any other citizen the shortcomings of the school system and set himself vigorously to bettering the situation.

A lengthy Indenture, written evidently by him, recites the story of the earnest efforts to this end. After an unsuccessful petition to the Town in 1797 to be set off as a separate district and have a share of the school money, "in A. D. 1800 they hired a room in a private house and a master to instruct their youth, and paid their full proportion to the support of the other schools in the Town." Their school proved so satisfactory that they erected a school house by voluntary

contributions in 1802. The Town then agreed to establish a school district. His own subscription was more than half of the whole sum raised. The school building, a small, one story affair, was located on a spot, now included in the highway near the present Hose house.

The story is told that one day in the year 1831, William Oakes, "lawyer Oakes" as he was familiarly called, though his fame as a botanist far eclipsed his legal reputation, strolled in to the school. The teacher passed him the writing books for inspection, a miscellaneous assortment of home made, hand ruled books, covered with wall paper or with no covers at all, of all sizes and shapes. The writing itself may have been neatly done, but Mr. Oakes took inward exception, and a week later he sent a complete set of writing books, several dozen inkstands of uniform size to take the place of the nondescript lead, soapstone, or pottery ware ink holders, which had been brought from their homes, and a gross of imported quills, the best in the market to supplant the quills plucked from the barnyard fowls.

The next Spring he was chosen Prudential Committee of the district. As the building was sadly out of repair, he called a meeting of the district, and it was voted "to repair the roof, clapboard the house, fix the underpinning, rearrange the windows, make new seats, . . . and all other repairs thought necessary." He was Chairman of the Committee, saw that the work was accomplished to his own satisfaction and paid the bills.

In the following Spring, he received a vote of thanks, was reelected Prudential Committee, and proceeded to paint the house, and gave the district beside, the sum of \$41. Alas for the depravity of human nature! The High Street folks sharing the weakness of the race, began to growl that Mr. Oakes was "running things" with rather a high hand, and at the next annual meeting, they proceeded to rid themselves of their over-officious Committee.

Mr. Oakes's good work on the school-house was in evidence for many years, but no attempt was made to preserve its good looks and general condition, and in 1851, it was again in a run down and decrepit state. There was now pressing need for more room, as the large girls were crowded out of the school in winter by the incoming of the big boys, so that they had little chance of schooling until the boys thinned out to begin the Spring work, about the first of March. A Committee was appointed to examine the school house, now half a century old, and see if it would admit of a second story. Their report was favorable and the building was duly enlarged at an expense of \$730, which was assessed upon the district. In 1872, the Town made an appropriation of \$1000. Gardner Hill, a humble eminence in the rear of the building was bought and levelled, the building removed to the location where it still stands, and thoroughly repaired and refurnished at an outlay of about \$4000.

Though a reading and writing school on the South side of the river for those that lived within a mile and a half of the body of the Town was provided for in June, 1802, there was no school house. It may have been kept in a room in Doctor Dana's parsonage now the residence of Mr. Frank T. Goodhue, as Miss Nabby Dana, his daughter, taught a school there for many years.

It was proposed that the unfinished portion of the Grammar School building be fitted for school purposes, and a subscription paper was circulated in February, 1828, "to defray the expense of finishing the Grammar School house for a male academy." The Ipswich Academy, which had been established in 1825 as a school for both sexes, had proved a failure. On January 25th, 1828, the proprietors had voted to secure the services of Miss Zilpah P. Grant as principal of the proposed Female Seminary, which they were anxious she should establish. Apparently some scheme was afoot to establish an Academy for young men, and this subscription

seems to have been made to that end. Only about \$130 were subscribed, though \$200 was needed, and the project was dropped.

The inhabitants of the South district in a petition to the Town in 1828, after declaring that they have no school house nor any suitable place on which to build, prayed for a piece of land near the southwest corner of the training field by the Burying Ground. The Selectmen authorized them to stake out the land. Apparently popular opinion was adverse to this unwise location and the people of the district turned then to the Feoffees for accommodation in the building used by the Grammar School.

The lower room was still unfinished, though more than thirty years had elapsed since the school house was built. The Feoffees voted accordingly on Sept. 19, 1828, that if the South district would finish the uncompleted part, so as to accommodate both schools, and be at half the expense of repairs, they might have a lease of the lower room for twenty-one years. The conditions were complied with and the school was kept there for this period. In 1849, another request for a location on the training field was refused and a lot was secured on a corner of the 'School orchard,' and the school house, now called the Cogswell school, was erected. The Plum Island people were allowed a share of the school money for a school in 1841, and the Grape Island children were admitted in 1843.

In the out-districts, there was a similar organization. Each district was a unit and it included all the inhabitants and estates within the limits defined by the Town in 1803. The Record book of the proprietors of the Argilla district has been preserved, and reveals many details of that school, which was a type of all the others. It begins with the year 1808, and the erecting of a new school building in place of the old one. The proprietors, or the free-holders and inhabitants as they were sometimes called, at a meeting regu-

larly called in legal form by a notice or warrant posted by their Clerk, voted to raise the sum of \$210 "to be assessed upon the estates of the Inhabitants & lands of this district," to build a school-house, nineteen feet square and nine feet stud, with a hipped roof, and that the old school-house should be utilized in building the new one. It was built forthwith on the site already occupied, on the opposite side of the road from where it stood in later years.

A Committee was appointed each year to secure a teacher and draw from the Town Treasurer the sum allotted to the district. In 1802, \$55.75 was thus appropriated. The school term was divided into two parts, the long winter term, which was attended by the older boys and was taught by a man, and the summer term, taught by a woman. The salary of the master was very moderate. Mr. Edward Todd received \$13.50 for three months teaching in the winter of 1812, the expense of his living being borne by the district. Mr. William Foster Wade taught the winter term in 1814, and it was voted "that the master be boarded for \$2 a week & that the master board round at the neighbors where it is convenient." He had five boarding places in that winter.

In 1815, when Mr. George Choate taught, the provision was that he "bord round at the nabours in proportion to the scholars," presumably tarrying longest where there was the largest family. In the following year, the rotation was to be according to their Town Tax, at \$1.75 a week; and yet another experiment was made in 1817, when it was voted, that the boarding of the teacher be set up at auction and struck off to the lowest bidder. This proved a popular device and the thrifty proprietors secured board from \$1.50 to \$1.19 a week, for two week periods, for a number of years. A lean diet must have been found in some households, but there were great social advantages appertaining to a two weeks sojourn, where there were companionable daughters.

The female teacher received a very slight stipend, but

the girls of the neighborhood or the vicinity were glad to add to their pin money. Hannah Kinsman taught the summer term in 1820 for \$9.24, but Mr. Benjamin Obear was paid \$42 for eleven weeks in the winter. Jacob F. Brown taught the winter term in 1845 for \$84 and he may have been boarded at Joseph Cogswell's on the Hill, as his acquaintance with their daughter, Lavinia, ripened into marriage in 1848. John Patch Esq. was master in 1849.

The length of the school terms increased gradually, and the salaries grew with the necessities of the times, so that Mr. Eben Little, the last male teacher, in the winter of 1864 was paid \$82.50 for 10 weeks teaching, and Lydia A. Dane, the last teacher under the old system, received \$90 for 18 weeks service in the summer and \$106.25 for 17 weeks in the winter.

Although the selection and paying of teachers, and the ownership and care of the school building were vested in the "District," a general Committee, as has been noted, began to be elected by the Town many years before. Its function was wholly advisory, as long as the district system was continued, but it gradually assumed prominence and authority, and its reports must have had much influence. The first Report presented to the Town May 8, 1811, gives some interesting particulars.

The whole number of pupils in attendance was:

Chebacco, So. E. district,	106
" Falls	107
" North	83
South 8. (Candlewood)	58
Argilla	30
South West. (Appleton)	35
South	43
Middle (now Denison)	73
Linebrook	46
	<hr/>
	581

North and North North (Village) not reported.

Books. Old and New Testaments, Constitutions and Morse's Geography, Spelling, Perry's Dictionary and Webster's Spelling Book, Pike's and Walsh's Arithmetic. English Grammar. The Ladies Academy and abridged Assembly Catechism.

"In all schools, a considerable number attend to writing and Arithmetic, and in some of them the English grammar."

The Report of the School Committee in March, 1813, written by Nathaniel Lord, Esq., gives other particulars.

	males	females	total
The West district school, Linebrook, numbered	37	28	65
The North district (now Payne)	59	56	115
The Middle district (now Denison)	80	20	100
The South district (now Cogswell)	39	19	58
The Southwest (Appleton)	17	14	31
The South Eighth (Candlewood)	34	29	63
The Argilla	20	12	32
	<hr/> 286	<hr/> 178	<hr/> 464

There was no report from the North North, later known as "The Village" school. Several schools in Chebacco reported 319 pupils. The total enrollment reported was 783.

Of the whole number, about 475 are so far advanced, as to be of the Bible class or first grade in English reading and writing schools; about 225 of the Testament class or second grade; and about 150 of the spelling book class or third grade, including all from the first stages in the public schools to such as can read in classes without spelling.

There are about 175 arithmeticians; about 450 writers and about 90 who attend to English grammar. There are also 5 who have made considerable progress in Latin.

The Assembly's Catechism is generally attended in all the schools once a week or oftener. Doctor Watts's collec-

tion of catechisms is introduced into one of the schools. The committee avail themselves of this opportunity to recommend the collection, consisting of doctor Watts's two catechisms, "on the principles of religion," his two "historical catechisms," his "Preservative from the sins and follies of childhood and youth," and the Assembly's catechism, with his notes, as a very valuable book to be introduced into all the schools in the town, to be used daily as a reading and reciting book, as exceedingly well calculated to impress the minds of children and youth with the principles of religion and morality, and adapted with peculiar felicity to every class of learners from the child of 3 years old to the youth of 15 or 20. Much valuable instruction is contained in this little treatise, more perhaps than in any other of its size that has ever appeared. The committee therefore cannot refrain from recommending it to the serious consideration of the town, as a cheap and useful book for schools and families and expressing their ardent hope that the town will take such measures, as will insure its speedy and general adoption into all their schools.

A file of School Reports, beginning with the year 1846, fairly complete, supplemented by the personal recollections of the old scholars in the various schools affords us a suggestive picture of the District Schools of later days.

The perennial difficulties under which these schools were carried on, already noticed, were the fluctuating attendance, due to the incoming of the large boys and youth, and young men, often of legal age, for a few weeks of schooling in the winter, the consequent crowding out of the young children and the older girls, and the constant change of teachers. A female teacher was invariably employed in the summer, but for the winter, a man was essential. Unfortunately, the salary was so small, that only young men, often college students who were eking out their scanty funds by a few months of teaching, were the only teachers available. Their youth and inexperience, and the large proportion of pupils in the crowded school rooms, who were rough and disorderly,

and whose standard of manhood was determined only by a rough and ready fight, led invariably to a constant struggle to maintain decent order.

The first days of the winter term were a trying ordeal. The new teacher was put upon his mettle to repress the first symptoms of rebellion, and the school sized him up by every sort of misbehaviour. By the traditions of the day, it must be decided first of all, whether the teacher could run the school, or whether the school could put him out. Very naturally, therefore, these old school reports are filled with comment on the discipline.

Mr. Wesley K. Bell taught the Middle Grammar school in 1851, in the upper room, with an average attendance of 67 in summer and an even hundred in the winter, though the enrollment was 116. On the lower floor there were two school-rooms. Hannah S. Caldwell had the Intermediate, with an average attendance of 63 in summer and 75 in winter, and Mehitable Frisbie Stanwood taught the little children 24 weeks in the summer, with an average attendance of 62, and was an assistant in the principal school in winter. In the summer term, an average of 192 pupils was actually in attendance in this one building. The total enrollment for that term was 257. We should imagine that on the days of highest attendance, there was little more than standing room for each pupil and an insufferable atmosphere on a hot blistering summer day.

Timothy B. Ross was the teacher of the "principal school" in the North district, with an average attendance of 45 in summer and 71 in winter. Sarah E. Titcomb had kept the primary school 16 weeks in summer with an average of 52. Aaron Cogswell was at the head of the South School, which was in session only 34 weeks, 16 in summer, 18 in winter, with averages of 51 and 75. Miss Abby C. Giddings taught the primary school 20 weeks in summer with an average of 46, and the same in winter with 40.

Rev. Kinsman Atkinson taught the winter term of the Linebrook school, with an average of 33. The Committee were pleased to note his good moral influence and his endeavors "to impress on the minds of their pupils the principles of piety, justice and a sacred regard to truth and the other virtues which adorn Society." The school was in session 35 weeks.

The large attendance of former years in the Candlewood School had diminished to such a degree that there was an average of only 15 in summer and 23 in winter. The two terms covered 34 weeks. The North North District, known now as the Village, provided school for a term of only 15 weeks, both summer and winter, with an average of 39 when John Warner taught. In the Appleton District, Albert B. Peabody taught his 20 pupils daily for 14 weeks, and the summer term lasted only 15 weeks, 29 for the year. Mr. Peabody became a minister and is still living in East Boxford, the only one so far as is known of the staff of teachers and prudential committees, of the year 1851, who survives.

In 1857, Miss Lucy Ann Perkins was teaching the Intermediate school, in the Middle District, and she continued many years, always winning the praise of the Committee. Miss Lucy Slade Lord taught the summer term in the Appleton District. Miss Hannah S. Lord began her teaching at the age of 18 in 1858 at the North School, was assigned to the Grammar School in the upper room, was transferred to the South Grammar school in 1861 to succeed Mr. Martin Van Buren Perley; in 1866 grappled with the marvellous task of teaching the Middle Primary, with an enrollment of 132 and an average attendance of 106 in a single room, with the assistance of Miss Abbie M. Fellows.

One of the old boys of the Candlewood school recalls the brothers, Albert and Freeman Putney, who taught the school from 1863 to 1866, both young men winning the affections of pupils and parents in very marked degree. Mr. Free-

man Putney, after many years as Superintendent of Schools at Gloucester, has recently reached the age limit and been retired.

But there were other teachers and other experiences in that old Candlewood school. One teacher with a fine sense of humor, dealt very effectively with some little fellows who had played truant, of the tender age of seven and five. She tied them together, arm to arm and leg to leg, so that the two had three legs between them, making locomotion difficult but not impossible. When the class of the seven year old was called, he had to take his five year encumbrance with him, and vice versa. When the tall girl above him failed in spelling and the senior member of the Siamese twin order spelled it correctly, he had to drag his junior to the place of honor, to the intense amusement of the school, and their corresponding mortification. So the whole morning session was spent, and to make a sufficiently vivid sense of the awfulness of their misdemeanor, at noon she told some of the others to stop at the homes of the prisoners and bring back their dinner. This was too much and their howls of anguish softened the teacher's heart, and she loosed their bonds. But they had learned their lesson.

Another youngster had been up to some mischief in the morning and received the very agreeable warning that he would get something in the afternoon that would make him dance. He went home to dinner, brooding over the awful prospect. He dared not play truant, for that would only make a bad matter worse; and if he lisped a word of the impending disaster at home, it would only cause another jig. Kind fortune suggested a possible way of escape. His father had a pile of salt cod fish in the shed, and his home made clothes, loose and ill-fitting, allowed plenty of room in shirt and pantaloons for one of the fish, covering the vital spot. He went to school, received his thrashing with cries of pain, danced about wildly, but declared to his sym-

pathetic mates that he had suffered absolutely nothing, though the protecting fish had been pounded to shreds.

Mr. Timothy B. Ross taught the Middle District Grammar School many years. In 1871, the average attendance had dropped to the reasonable number of 45. His old pupils tell of his whimsical doings. He always used a "demonstrator" to point to the work on the blackboard, and it served him admirably for another use. Some boy intent on mischief crawled down under his desk. "Ah," remarked Mr. Ross, "somebody is missing," and poisoning his demonstrator, like a javelin, he hurled it with unerring aim at the vacant chair. As he was huge in size, and the aisles were narrow, when he wished to make a rapid movement across the school room, he would mount the desks and stride rough shod to the offender.

The district school system was terminated by an Act of Legislature in 1869. Modern methods and changes in population have eliminated the out-district schools, with the single exception of that in Linebrook, where a considerable school population still remains, and the remoteness from the center of the Town precludes the transportation of children. The Argilla district has passed into the hands of a large colony of summer residents. The great families which once furnished pupils for the Candlewood and Appleton schools, no longer exist. The few young children of school age in these districts, in Willowdale and the Village, are transported daily at public expense to the large and well-organized schools in the center.

Of the "dame schools" where little children invariably began their education, only scant and scattered record remains for the most part, but a happy discovery of her school accounts, kept by a "school-marm," as she was called, of a century ago, affords valuable details of one of the most popular schools of this kind.

Richard Dummer Jewett, keeper of the country store inherited from his father, married Lucy Kinsman, daughter of

farmer Pelatiah Kinsman of the Argilla neighborhood on Christmas day, 1791. Two infant daughters had died, Richard Dummer, Jr. had attained the age of ten, and Israel Kinsman was three, when the school record of the thrifty housewife began. Some nine years are included in the memoranda, from 1802 to 1811. In some years, as many as twenty-five children were in attendance.

They entered at any time, continued their eight or ten or fifteen or twenty weeks and more and dropped out, but the school never ceased. There were no grades, no vacations, no limit of age. Major Robert Farley's three children came together, eight year old Caroline, who became the wife of Mr. Joseph Lord, Jr.; Robert, the future merchant, five; and three years old Elizabeth Ann, who married Geo. W. Heard, when she was twenty-one. Young Abram Dodge Wait was two and a half; Lois Smith was three. Capt. Richard Manning's Henry, three and a half years old, came to school in 1805, and with him his baby sister Elizabeth, only two years and three months. Their mother died from consumption in 1809, and the school dame afforded great relief, no doubt, in looking after the little ones. In September, 1811, a second Henry, three years and a half old, the first having died, was taken to board by the great-hearted teacher at a dollar a week, and remained fourteen weeks.

Evidently the school was a combination of nursery, kindergarten and primary. Many families with children were within a stone's throw, William Dennis, the barber, Jacob Spofford, the miller, Joseph Wait, Simeon Safford and Joseph L. Ross, the blacksmiths, Major Robert and Jabez Farley; many others were within easy walking distance; and many a mother, burdened with a large family, was glad to send two or three to the little school. For her services as caretaker and teacher, Mrs. Jewett charged 9 pence a week for the older ones and 8 pence for the babies, though her charges seem to have been made on a sliding scale. Little

Samuel Ross was charged 16 cents a week for two months in the winter of 1810, and $121\frac{1}{2}$ cents for 27 weeks of summer schooling.

Though the decimal currency, dollars and cents, had been established in 1785, the old English coins were still current and values were reckoned on the old basis. So the school-dame's accounts are a curious mixture of the old and new, some in the pounds, shillings and pence of the English coinage, some in the New England shillings and pence, and some in plain dollars and cents.

The commonest local coins were in fractions of the Spanish milled dollar, a sixteenth, called a fourpence, or a "four pence a'penny," equal to $6\frac{1}{4}$ cents; and an eighth, called a nine pence, equal to $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents. In Massachusetts, there were also the six pence, equal to $8\frac{1}{3}$ cents, the shilling, $16\frac{2}{3}$ cents, "two and thrip-pence," equal to $37\frac{1}{2}$ cents, three shillings or fifty cents, "four and six," 75 cents, and nine shillings, \$1.50. These terms were still in vogue among elderly people fifty years ago, though the coins had long since disappeared.

Though the tuition fees seem very small, Dame Jewett's accounts reveal the low price of labor, the cheapness of all commodities, and the great scarcity of ready money. Barter or "pay in kind" was the common way of business, and the needs of her own family, as well as the convenience of her husband's store, enabled her to turn to advantage every kind of payment. Milk, butter and cheese, eggs, apples, cherries, tea and coffee, flour and sugar, candles, bay berry tallow, often in very small quantities, offset the charge for teaching. Beef was credited at eight cents a pound, lamb and veal at six, halibut at three, and one lot of fresh fish at two cents a pound. Mr. Nathaniel Treadwell paid for William's tuition, a fat goose, $13\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. at 6 pence, and two pair of wings for the hearth at eight pence. Spofford, the miller, settled his account with corn and a wheel barrow.

John Chapman was credited with a day's work digging turf for a dollar, and a long hard day's work by a woman was reckoned at forty-two cents. One man killed her pig for twenty-five cents, another admitted her cow to his pasture on Bush Hill. A cooper gave her a leach tub for her soap-making. Shoemakers tapped her boys' shoes or made new ones. A poor widow came and scoured her floor for a shilling, another mother knit a pair of socks for sixteen cents, spun "four run" for a half dollar. The beautiful pillow lace was frequently sent in, valued at fifty cents a yard.

Parents were very leisurely in settling their accounts. Jonathan Wells, the famous man-of-war's man, sent his daughter, Lydia, to school in 1804, 1805, and 1806, fifty-four and a half weeks in all, the tuition amounting to \$6.61. A balance of \$3.86 remained unpaid on March 8, 1811, when Mrs. Jewett suggested that as he was tending the mill, she would like some meal.

The names of that little group of boys and girls of a century ago were characteristically solid and substantial. It was a veritable excursion into Bible times, when the roll was called. Here were Abraham and Isaac, Moses and Aaron, Ebenezer, Ephraim and Samuel, and one unfortunate youngster, named after Uriah, the Hittite, and for New Testament worthies, there were Mark, John, Stephen and Timothy. The good Bible women found their counterparts in Abigail, Sarah and Rebecca, Hannah and Ruth, and the later, Anna, Elizabeth and Mary, Salome and Lydia, Eunice and Lois, giving way sometimes to Betty, Sally and Polly.

Finding the financial return unsatisfactory or too large a portion of her time unoccupied, the thrifty school dame enlarged the sphere of her labors in 1810 and 1811, and combined with her school-keeping, entertaining lodgers and providing meals at the rate of 12½ cents for a meal or bed, taking two men to board at \$2.16 a week, and binding hats for the High Street hatters at four cents each. Despite these

extraordinary activities, Mrs. Jewett lived to be more than eighty years old.

Mr. Uriah Spofford, in his old age, then a resident of Appleton, Wisconsin, wrote a series of lively Reminiscences for the Ipswich Chronicle. He recalls the school which he attended after graduating from Mrs. Jewett's, kept by Miss Abigail, daughter of Rev. Dr. Joseph Dana, in the northwest upper room of his house. The children of the South Side learned the rudiments under her kind care, Theodore Andrews, the Wades, the Merrifields and the Wallaces. In common probably with the other dame schools of the time, she taught needlework and one of the laboriously wrought samplers made in her school has been preserved.

Rev. David Tenney Kimball, Pastor of the First Church, added to his numerous and burdensome duties, the teaching of his own children. A scrawling letter, written by Daniel, the nine year old son, is deliciously frank.

Ipswich, February the 21, 1819.

Dear Augustus

We all want to see you all very much, we are all well and want to know If you are well. I am coming up to Se you next Spring If nothing hapens I hope you Will Come Down and se us this winter. I have not much to writ to you.

I go to my fathers School. I study the Dictionary and pas In the Exersizes David Tenny Studeys lattin. Helen Elisabeth reads In the speling book John Rogers begins to Study his A B C John Rogers is a Smart litle fellow and I am the Worst of the hole bunch Dont let any body Se It but grammamm and gran pah I wrot It in A hurry.

Your Affectionate Nephew

Daniel Kimball

Mamm received unckle John leter and were glad to heare that you were well Mamm sess unckle John will never have a beter Opertunity to visit his friends at ipswich for when he gets employed in his business he cant go nowwhers to se his friends.

Daniel was not quite nine, David Tenney was ten and a

half, Peter Augustine, six and a half, Elizabeth, four and a half. John Rogers, the infant prodigy, was born Aug. 23, 1816, and was only two years and six months old.

A dame school taught by a Miss Kimball, was kept some seventy-five years ago, in the loft of a fire engine house that stood back of the Town Hall on Elm St. An old pupil, who signed herself Rebecca, wrote some singularly vivid reminiscences. Fifteen or twenty boys and girls attended, the girls all wearing their hair short in the neck and a little braid each side of the forehead tied with ribbon. Their pantallettes reached nearly to their old shoes. The school began with a chapter from the Bible. When she took it up, she held a pin between her thumb and finger, saying, "We must be so still as to hear this pin drop." She read some story of the old Testament heroes, or a New Testament miracle, with such effect that the school sat entranced and one boy craved the privilege of taking the big Bible home. "Why you have a Bible!" "Yes, mam, but it isn't like yours, it hasn't any stories in it."

When the school became restless, she struck a little bell and the school broke into song,

Haste thee, Winter, haste away
Far too long has been thy stay.

Or they marched about the room, singing

Children go, to and fro,
In a merry, pretty row.

Sometimes she told them what grown up people did in a sick room. They spoke softly, stepped very lightly and then she would say, "We will make this room like a sick room." So the curtains would be dropped, and the room darkened, and all restlessness ceased. Again she told a story with a useful moral.

She was very ingenious in her punishments. A child needlessly late, was stood upon a box in the middle of the floor,

with a great card pinned on his back, with the word, Tardy, in big letters. But the greatest disgrace was the fool's cap. It was made of white cloth, and was drawn over the head like a bag and buttoned at the neck. The wearer stood on the box. For grosser misdeeds, she had a piece of whale-bone, sharpened at one end, with which she combed their heads or snapped their ears. After lessons, boys and girls both sewed patch work, hemmed pocket handkerchiefs and knit, or several working together, made a bed quilt.

Books were then put aside, and some little fellow who had asked the privilege of saying the Lord's prayer, went to the desk and sat on a cricket at the teacher's knee. The closing hymn was sung.

Thus far the Lord has led me on
Thus far His power prolongs my days
And every evening shall make known
Some fresh memorial of His grace.

Then the child knelt and repeated the prayer and school was done.

Mrs. Alfred Kimball and Miss Amanda Kimball taught the school in the engine house in later years. Eunice Hale kept school more than eighty years ago in the old Dennis house, on the corner of County and Summer Streets. Rebecca, the oldest daughter of Joseph Wait, who became the wife of Rev. Apollos Hale, December, 1836, taught her school in the ell of the homestead, on the site now occupied by the dwelling of the late Theodore F. Cogswell. Girls as old as eighteen or twenty years attended her school, and learned fine sewing as well as the common branches. Mary Warner, daughter of George Warner, used a large room in her father's house, on the site of the present Damon Block for her school. Many other schools for beginners will be remembered, but they have had less and less place as the public schools have gained in efficiency and value, taught by teachers thoroughly prepared and familiar with the best modern methods.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE IPSWICH ACADEMY, LATER KNOWN AS THE IPSWICH FEMALE SEMINARY.

[The material for this chapter has been derived from the original Records of the Academy, kept by Charles Kimball and given to the Historical Society by his son, Edward P. Kimball; from the correspondence of Mary Lyon in the unpublished papers of the late Rev. Joseph B. Felt; from "The Use of a Life, Memorials of Mrs. L. P. Grant Bannister" by L. T. Guilford, and from Biographies of Mary Lyon, to all of which valuable contributions were made by Mrs. Cowles; from a large number of Catalogues, and from personal recollections by former pupils, and by members of the family.]

An interesting group of men gathered at the house of Nathaniel Treadwell, Jr. on November 28, 1825, to take the first steps towards establishing an Academy. Nathaniel Lord, Jr., Esq. was chosen Chairman of the meeting and Charles Kimball, Secretary. George W. Heard, Joseph Farley, Samuel N. Baker and others were deeply interested in the scheme and were probably present. No record remains of the reasons that impelled them to this important undertaking, save the very general one, the good of the rising generation.

It may be surmised that the decadent condition of the Grammar School, and the new interest in the education of young women, who had hitherto enjoyed scant privilege of instruction beyond the district schools, which was engaging the attention of wise and progressive men and women, were the predominant motives in their attempts to establish a school of high grade in their midst. Bradford Academy had been established in 1803. Rev. Joseph Emerson had begun his school at Byfield in 1818. The Adams Female

Academy at Derry, N. H. had been opened in 1822. Topsfield and Andover were seriously planning and the Topsfield Academy came into being in 1828, Abbot Academy at Andover in 1829. It is gratifying to see that Ipswich was at the front, and it is a fine indication of the enlightened public sentiment of the community, that only two men of this group were college graduates.

Nathaniel Lord, Jr. had been graduated from Harvard in the class of 1798, and George W. Heard had taken his degree of A. B. in 1812. Charles Kimball, then in his twenty-eighth year and unmarried, was gaining prominence in the legal profession, in politics and in military affairs. He was Secretary of the Proprietors and of the Corporation, that was formed afterwards, and his zeal in promoting its interests never failed. Joseph Farley was at the head of the manufacturing interests. Capt. Ammi R. Smith and Samuel N. Baker were engaged in mercantile pursuits.

Their enterprize was already well in hand. Sufficient funds had been subscribed and they proceeded at once to vote to erect an Academy building and to begin negotiations with Rev. Mr. Wilbur or any other gentleman to take charge of the proposed school. A few days later, voting by shares, 34 in favor and 8 against, they decided to buy the house and land of Dea. Thomas Knowlton, and on Dec. 2 they fixed the dimensions of their building, about 23 feet post, about 56 feet long and about 35 feet wide.

Joseph Farley, Ammi R. Smith, Geo. W. Heard, William Dodge and Charles Kimball were chosen the building committee, and were authorized to levy an assessment upon the shares. A Committee to prepare Rules and Regulations was also chosen. Mr. Wilbur was engaged on February 24, 1826. The work on the new building progressed rapidly, and although it was finished only in part, plans were made for an early beginning of the school. Public announcement was made by the instructor in April.

IPSWICH CLASSICAL SEMINARY.

The subscriber respectfully informs the public that he expects to open a SEMINARY for young Ladies at Ipswich, Mass., on the last Wednesday in April. The location being in a pleasant healthful village, with a new and spacious edifice erected for its accommodations, and under circumstances in which the Instructor and the Inhabitants *intend* nothing shall be wanting to meet the reasonable expectations of Patrons & Pupils, either with respect to terms, studies or accommodations, it is confidently hoped their share of patronage from abroad will not be inconsiderable.

For more details of information, reference must be had to hand bills, which have been extensively circulated, or may be had upon application to the subscriber.

Hervey Wilbur.

Ipswich, April 20, 1826.

The Association voted in October to finish the building and made a further assessment of \$16 a share to provide the means. Mr. Wilbur failed to satisfy the proprietors however, and his restricting the membership to young ladies evidently was not approved. A vote was passed on January 8, 1827,

that in the opinion of this meeting it is expedient that a school be opened in the seminary building for males and females the approaching season.

A Committee was appointed to make inquiries as to a teacher or teachers for the contemplated mixed school.

The Constitution was adopted at the meeting on January 22, 1827, and the names of members of the Association were appended on January 26, with their subscription. The list is evidently incomplete, as the names of George W. Heard and William Dodge do not appear, and only 26 shares are mentioned.

<i>Names</i>	<i>shares</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>shares</i>
Ammi R. Smith	Two	Joseph Wait	one
Nathaniel Heard	One	Nathan Brown	one
Moses Lord	One	Samuel N. Baker	three
Daniel Lord	One	Charles Kimball	two
Nath ^l Lord, Jr.	Two	Joseph Farley	four
Samuel Wade	One	David Baker	two
Michael Brown	One	Dan ^l Cogswell	one
Moses Treadwell	Two	Frederic Mitchell	one

Five Trustees were chosen from the members, but as the Constitution allowed other than members to be eligible, provided a majority of the Board were members of the Association, the Trustees enlarged their number at once by electing four more, Rev. Joseph Dana, D. D., Hon. John Heard, Rev. David T. Kimball and Rev. Daniel Fitz. Mr. Heard however, became a share holder in 1828.

Notwithstanding the evident dissatisfaction with Mr. Wilbur or with his school for young ladies only, fresh overtures were made to him by vote of February 6, 1827. But he declined to remain and James W. Ward was engaged for six months for \$225, upon the following terms:

for those who merely read and spell, \$3 a quarter; for all others \$4; and for all who enter for a less term than a quarter the tuition fees to be increased one 4th and payment to be made one week at least before the close of the term.

Voted that the trustees accede to the propositions of the feoffees of the grammar school and admit the grammar scholars on the terms offered by them. These propositions are as follows:

By grammar scholars the feoffees mean such as have for many years been so regarded by them viz. Those males of this town whose chief studies are the Latin and Greek languages and other studies preparatory to entering college. The feoffees are in all cases to determine who are grammar scholars. They are to have the same control of the grammar scholars as in times past in regard to directing their studies

and attending examinations. It will be agreeable to them to attend the examination with the trustees. The feoffees will pay the regular tuition of the grammar scholars viz. \$4 a quarter for each, provided one half of the income of the lands of the grammar school be sufficient for that purpose. If it be insufficient it shall be distributed in equal proportions among the grammar scholars, each scholar making up the deficiency of his tuition from his own resources.

Mr. Ward was the teacher of the Grammar School, and it would seem that during the period covered by this agreement, the Grammar School suspended its sessions altogether and sent its pupils to the Academy. The admission of some pupils, only to read and spell, and for attendance at will, suggests that it was now a school of very miscellaneous nature.

The Academy was evidently in a precarious condition. The first annual meeting held on August 1st, 1827, transacted no business as only a few members were present. In October, the Trustees voted to let the lower rooms of the building and to furnish them as may seem best. Mr. William Foster Wade, the County Treasurer, hired the front room, and other tenants were found. A Committee was appointed to propose terms to Mr. Ward, who agreed to continue the school but preferred that the Trustees should let the building to him. This the Trustees declined to do, but they engaged him to teach the school eighteen weeks for two hundred dollars,

it being understood that if the average number of pupils is above forty, Mr. W. is to receive the tuition fees for all over that number; it being also understood that Mr. W. is to receive in addition to what has already been pledged to him for the last six months and what is now proposed to be paid to him for the next quarter and a half such sum as the trustees may find themselves able to pay him.

Financial difficulties complicated the situation and com-

plete disaster seemed imminent. In this emergency, Miss Zilpah Polly Grant, one of the most commanding figures in the educational world, was relieved from the charge of the Adams Academy at Derry. The Trustees of the Ipswich Academy appointed a Committee on Jan. 12, 1828, to confer with her. The response was favorable, and the Trustees voted to engage her. New life and hope were at once infused into the discouraged Ipswich Academy Association. On January 25, 1828 they

Voted unanimously that the members of this association highly approve of the exertions which have been made by their trustees in attempting to procure Miss Grant to take the superintendence of a female seminary of high rank here; and that they be requested to proceed in bringing their negotiations with her to a close on such terms and for such time as to them may appear expedient.

Voted that the trustees be directed to petition the legislature at the present session for an act of incorporation.

The Legislature granted incorporation on Feb. 28, 1828. The agreement with the Feoffees was terminated, but the Trustees voted to appoint a Committee to confer with the Feoffees regarding an Academy for males and adopt such measures as may seem best. There is no record however that the Committee was appointed or any further action taken.

A fortunate train of circumstances had brought together Zilpah P. Grant and Mary Lyon. Miss Grant after ten years of teaching in the district schools in the vicinity of Norfolk, Connecticut, her birthplace, came to Rev. Joseph Emerson's school for young women in South Byfield, in April, 1820. She was then twenty-five years old. Her brilliant mind, trained and developed by her long and successful experience in teaching, and her profound devotion to study, made her a conspicuous figure in the school, and at the conclusion of her term, she remained to help Mr.

Emerson in his school and in some literary work in which he was then engaged.

In the following year, Mary Lyon came. She was then twenty-four years old. Like Miss Grant, she had been thrown on her own resources in her girlhood, and had begun teaching when she was fourteen or fifteen years old. When she was nineteen, an Academy was established in Ashfield, whither she had removed with her mother, and she entered as a student in 1817, an awkward country girl, whose blue homespun gown with running strings at neck and waist excited the laughter of the pupils.

But she soon ceased to be a joke. The common tasks were only play to her. One Friday afternoon, as she was going home, the principal handed her a Latin Grammar, and asked her to prepare the first lesson for Monday. On Monday afternoon, she took her place in the class and continued her recitation until she had covered the whole Grammar, declensions, conjugations, irregular verbs and syntax with hardly a slip. She confessed afterward that she had studied all day Sunday, but refused to regard it as a very wonderful feat. She worked with the same intensity at every task. The first term bills were paid with two coverlets, she had spun, dyed and woven with her own hands. When her means were exhausted and she was about leaving the Academy, the Trustees showed their appreciation of her extraordinary abilities by voting her free tuition.

A few terms of teaching only convinced her of her deficiencies, and when news of Mr. Emerson's school floated to quiet Ashfield, she hailed it with delight. At once Zilpah Grant and she were drawn to each other, and each admired the commanding ability of the other. Miss Lyon became an assistant in the Ashfield Academy upon leaving Mr. Emerson's school, and after five years' service, she was elected preceptress. Miss Grant followed Mr. Emerson, when he removed his school to Saugus, but when the Adams Female

Academy was opened for students at Derry in 1824, she became the Principal at the urgent solicitation of the Trustees. Mary Lyon listened to the call of her friend and became her assistant.

Under two such teachers, the new Academy attained immediate and widespread popularity. It was the first endowed Seminary for women, and the first as well, it is said, to give diplomas to its graduates. Its standard was high, its teachers and pupils were filled with a common enthusiasm. In May, 1827, while Miss Grant was leading in the calisthenics exercise, a tendon in her heel parted, and for two years she could neither stand nor sit, and could move only with crutches. But her classes gathered about her couch, and the work of the school suffered no loss.

In the Fall of the same year, a difference of opinion as to the conduct of the Academy arose between the Trustees and the teachers, which culminated in the withdrawal of the latter. Several invitations to important positions came to Miss Grant at once, but she decided to undertake the work at Ipswich, as the Trustees agreed cordially in granting her the use of the building without rent for a year.

The contract between them is interesting:

The trustees of Ipswich academy on the one part and Z. P. Grant on the other, agree as follows. Said trustees to permit Miss Grant to have their building for one year free of rent; they having laid out on it to an amount not exceeding \$50,—in manner as miss Grant may think proper—saving to the proprietors one room next to the street the whole year, except when the circumstances of her school shall require it to be be shut an hour or two in a day; of which suitable notice to be given; also the large room at the east end as far as the eastern side of the entry, straight across, for evenings, during the terms of the school; also the same room and the other room next to the street, from the close of the second term of the school in the fall till the time of opening school again in the spring.

Miss Grant to keep her school on the plan heretofore practised by her, with such improvements as she may find expedient from time to time for promoting the great interests for which the institution is intended; the trustees pledging their aid and co-operation in carrying into effect this great design.

This agreement to go into effect on the fifteenth day of April next, and as the parties now suppose, probably to be renewed in substance, at the expiration of the year, for a number of years then to be agreed on, on terms similar to the foregoing.

Nath ^l Lord, jr.	} For the Trustees
Geo. W. Heard	
Daniel Fitz	
D. T. Kimball	

Dated at Ipswich
January 29, 1828.

Z. P. Grant

Miss Grant wrote to Miss Lyon at Ashfield from Derry on February 6, 1828.

My Dear Sister:

After considering several applications I have at length concluded to locate myself at Ipswich, Mass., though this situation will probably be less lucrative than such as have been elsewhere offered. The place is considered peculiarly favorable. It is situated on Ipswich River, twelve miles from Newburyport, twelve miles from Salem and twenty-five from Boston. It is a thickly settled village and a place of very little business for so many inhabitants. The academy is a large, new building, and, though it is not painted and has no blinds, it is well finished inside and will be very commodious. Within a hundred rods of it twenty-five families would like to take boarders for the school, and more than a hundred young ladies can be accommodated, no more than two occupying one room. Many of the houses there are handsome, and some are elegant, but there is a large proportion of old houses which have never been painted. It is said, however, that they appear better within than without. I understand that as a people, they are rather distinguished

for their good morals and steady habits. The place is very easy of access, from eight to twelve stages passing through the town every day.

The leading men of Ipswich wish to have a flourishing school there, partly because they wish that their building (which has cost four thousand dollars) may not be lost, partly because they think it will benefit the place to draw in strangers, especially to draw in money and partly because they wish their daughters to have the means of improvement. They think they shall supply thirty or forty natives. So many of them will belong to the minor classes that it will be necessary to have an extra teacher devoted to them. My confidence in the utility of the plan we have adopted, and in the improvement in female education, which with a blessing, I believe we can unitedly make, your preference to be engaged with me, and mine that you should be, leads me to feel no doubt that by uniting our talents and labors in the same school, we may do more good than by acting separately.

The Ipswich Female Seminary, as it was now called, was opened in April, 1828. More than forty of the pupils at the Derry Academy followed Miss Grant, and made a trained and loyal body of students, as the nucleus of the new school. One of the first class which was graduated from the Derry Academy in 1824, was Caroline Sawyer of Henniker, N. H. She was now the wife of the Rev. Daniel Fitz, Pastor of the South Church and one of the Trustees of the Academy. The tenderest memories of Mrs. Fitz still survive, and we can be sure that her residence in Ipswich was a source of pleasure and benefit to the teachers and the new school. Some seventy-five pupils were enrolled, including thirty-seven Ipswich girls, in 1829. A considerable portion of these were in the primary department which was continued only until the Fall of 1831. The year was divided into two terms, the Summer term beginning on the last Wednesday in May and lasting sixteen weeks, the Winter term beginning on the last Wednesday in October and lasting twenty-five weeks, with a

week's intermission. The course of study included the common English branches, Botany, Chemistry, Astronomy, and in the Senior year, Ecclesiastical History, Logic, Paley's Natural Theology, Wayland's Moral Philosophy, Butler's Analogy, and Alexander's Evidences of Christianity. There was no Latin, French or piano instruction. Several times a week, Miss Grant gave lectures to the whole school on familiar, practical topics, dress, health, personal manners, covering a wide range of important and valuable themes.

The enrollment increased steadily. In 1829, the Summer and Winter terms had an attendance of 87 each, numbering 100 different pupils. In 1830, 138 and 140 were the term enrollments, and the total was 160. In 1831, the total reached 190; in 1832, 221; in 1834, 247. The staff of teachers was enlarged year by year, including Eunice Caldwell in 1830, who had completed her course in 1829, and Susan C. Farley in 1832, a graduate of 1831. Vocal music had an important place in the school course. Lowell Mason sometimes conducted these exercises in person, and he furnished teachers of his own training, some of whom were of recognized worth in the best musical circles of Boston. An elaborate system of calisthenics was directed by Miss Grant.

The daily life of the school was regulated with Spartan severity. The girls rose at quarter of five in summer, at quarter of six in the winter, and all lights were out at nine. A daily half hour of solitude and silence was imposed. Most rigid rules of propriety were laid down, and the students were required to make a weekly report of any lapse. One young miss reported that she had behaved with propriety, with the exception of laughing once at table. Whispering was a flagrant fault. All preparations for Sunday were made before sunset on Saturday. Attendance on several services of worship was required, and the first business of the week was a careful report of the sermons of the day. This

was supplemented by systematic and thorough study of the Bible.

The conspicuous success of the Ipswich Seminary led to frequent appeals to the head of the school to go elsewhere. The most determined and the most persuasive was that of Miss Catherine Beecher to come to her help in her Seminary at Hartford. The correspondence began in May, 1829, and was renewed at frequent intervals. Dr. Lyman Beecher wrote in most engaging fashion, begging her to consent. In 1830, citizens of Greenfield invited her to transfer her school to their village. Miss Grant refused these offers, but it is evident from the records of the Seminary that she kept the Trustees well informed and used her opportunities as a spur to incite them to action.

On Nov. 17, 1828, they had renewed the lease of the building free of rent for four years. On Jan. 13, 1829, they gave assurance that board should be obtained in town for Miss Grant's pupils "for time to come" at a cost not exceeding \$1.75 a week, exclusive of fuel. In March, they voted to procure blinds for the building. The continuous pressure by the Beechers caused profound anxiety, and at a meeting of the Trustees on August 19th, 1829:

It being understood that application has been made to miss Grant, our principal teacher, to remove to another seminary in New England; and it appearing to this board that the public good requires her continuance with us.

Voted that a committee be appointed to consider this subject,—to confer with miss Grant,—and in all respects to adopt such measures as the case may in their opinion require—and generally to use every effort in their power for the continuance of miss Grant in her present situation.

A vote of thanks was tendered Mr. John Heard Junior of Boston for his gift of a pair of globes.¹

¹ These globes were used in the Seminary until it was closed. By the kindness of the family of Rev. and Mrs. Cowles, they are now the property of the Ipswich Historical Society.

The Committee conferred with Miss Grant and in August the Trustees appointed Nath. Lord, Esq., Rev. Mr. Kimball and Rev. Mr. Fitz, a Committee to solicit donations. A boarding establishment was proposed and in October, 1829, the Swasey tavern, then owned by Mr. John Heard, was rented and fitted for the use of the Seminary. Up to this time Miss Grant and Miss Lyon had lived in the family of Rev. Mr. Kimball, the President of the Board of Trustees, and the staunch friend of the school. The teachers removed at once to the new boarding house with some twenty-five of the pupils.² In April, 1830, Joseph Farley and Daniel Cogswell were appointed a Committee to paint the Academy building, and in May, the Trustees agreed to allow Miss Grant the use of the room, hitherto rented to the County Treasurer.

It is evident that from a business standpoint the Seminary was not a paying investment for the proprietors. The school was steadily increasing in attendance and in value to the community, but this involved a constant strain upon the treasury. A number of the proprietors began to complain of the financial burden, and a Committee was appointed to present a detailed statement on January 7, 1831.

In their report the Committee reviewed the course of action of the Trustees from the first correspondence with Miss Grant, the cordial assent to her condition that the building should be provided free of rent, the renewing of the lease for four years, though Miss Grant was unwilling to bind herself to continue longer than a year, and their recognition "of the increasing celebrity of her school and of the many promising applications which they knew were made to her from other quarters." Expressing regret that any of the proprietors are disappointed in not receiving rent for the building, the report continues:

² Miss Lyon's room is remembered, the bed room over Dr. Tucker's office.

The trustees considering the primary and all important objects of the proprietors "the best good of the rising generation" have felt it their duty to use their utmost exertions to secure the high public benefits of the school as it now exists. Believing miss Grant inferior to no female teacher in New England in qualifications thoroughly to instruct young ladies in the most important and useful branches of an English education, seeing the happy opportunities offered to young ladies of this town to acquire such an education; perceiving that great improvements, as to the mode of communicating knowledge, are introduced into our schools, both male and female, in consequence of the influence of our female seminary; taking into view the fact that during most of the year, one hundred young ladies, collected from various parts of New England, are in the ardent pursuit of an accomplished education amongst us, and (a circumstance of some importance) putting in circulation in payment for board seven thousand dollars annually; adding to these the honor to us as a town of having a school of such respectability, above all considering the benign moral influence which this school exerts, your trustees have thought that these public-minded men, who have erected a literary edifice here, though they do not receive any pecuniary benefit, are commencing an immense good on the community, a good, the loss of which would be sensibly felt, if it were withdrawn.

The Committee reported further that several public spirited individuals, at the solicitation of the Trustees, had contributed \$80 to procure blinds and nearly one hundred dollars to defray the expense of painting the building.

The tone of this report indicates that there was a sharp difference existing among the proprietors, the majority warmly supporting the school on the large grounds of public benefit, the minority clamoring for some return from their investment. Two assessments, one of \$5 a share, the other \$21 a share had been levied, and a number of proprietors had surrendered their stock or allowed their holdings to be sold at auction.

Notwithstanding this lack of harmony, the two strong-

mindful women at the head of the school did not hesitate to plan more ambitious enlargement of their work. Miss Grant cherished the plan of an endowed school, which would secure the permanent use of adequate buildings and would furnish the finest facilities of the higher education to the largest possible number. They communicated their desires and the plans necessary for their accomplishment, to the Trustees, two months later.

To the Trustees of Ipswich Female Academy.
Gentlemen:

You doubtless recollect that in September, 1829, a committee from your board was appointed to inquire what was necessary to secure the continuance of our seminary in this place. Since that time, by persons in different and distant towns, who were disposed to make exertions to provide the requisite means, it has repeatedly been asked what would be an inducement to the present teachers to remove from Ipswich and locate themselves in a situation favorable to the promotion of their object. Before giving such encouragement to the friends of science, literature and religion abroad, as shall be anything like a pledge for our removal, we deem it proper and it is in accordance with our feelings, to state to you what provision we consider essential for establishing a female seminary on a good foundation, with the prospect of making it permanent.

The first requisite is a seminary building free of rent, containing a hall of sufficient size to accommodate 150 scholars, several recitation rooms, a laboratory, a room for a library, and a reading room. Some way should be devised to have this building furnished with a supply of apparatus and books of reference.

The second requisite is a boarding house with conveniences for 120 boarders, to be situated contiguous to the seminary building and surrounded by a few acres of play ground. The rooms in the boarding house should be pleasant and airy, so finished and furnished as to give ladies as favorable a situation, while pursuing their studies, as is afforded to young men at our colleges, or at our higher seminaries.

The means might probably be supplied either by dona-

tions from benevolent individuals who, by becoming acquainted with the object, might be disposed to give the whole for the benefit of the public; or by the subscriptions of noble spirited men, who would be the proprietors of the establishment. In the latter case, these proprietors would obligate themselves to rent the house, for the use of the institution, with the expectation of receiving about the common percentage for buildings and furniture, when the house is full, and less than the usual rent, when the number of scholars should be diminished.

* * * * *

If it be your choice, gentlemen, to have the foundation and superstructure of such an institution in this town, the opportunity is now presented to you to take measures to furnish the requisite accommodations.

Whether you should judge it inexpedient to attempt so great a work, or should decide to make an immediate effort, you will confer on us a favor by letting us know your decision as soon as consistent.

Yours very respectfully,

Z. P. Grant

Mary Lyon.

Ipswich, March 14, 1831.

It must be acknowledged that there is a decided brusqueness in the tone of this communication. They asked for large and expensive accessories, following close upon the addition of a boarding house to the original plant, and their most cordial supporters might have been embarrassed by the frequency of their requests, which may have seemed to some, only thinly veiled demands. Nevertheless the Trustees chose a Committee, Daniel Cogswell, Samuel N. Baker and Nathaniel Lord, Jr., Rev. Mr. Fitz and Charles Kimball being added, to make enquiries and estimates and give the whole subject mature consideration.

Miss Grant and Miss Lyon were absorbed with the great plan of a school, greater and broader than the Ipswich institution. They spent many hours in their rooms in the

boarding house in planning all its details. Rev. Joseph C. Felt, then Pastor at Hamilton, George W. Heard, Esq. and Hon. David Choate of Essex were enlisted as warm supporters. A small pamphlet was printed and circulated, appealing for help:

In a manner unexpected and surprising to all, the benevolent friends of the cause in Ipswich have come forward and pledged themselves for about half the needed sum. If other and successful efforts are made immediately, before the present tide of interest begins to subside, the object will be speedily accomplished. Otherwise the whole enterprize will go down, and nothing may again be attempted for years to come, perhaps nothing till the institution shall have fallen to rise no more.³

At this juncture, Miss Grant was obliged to leave her work for a rest and recovery, which required an absence of a year and a half from Ipswich. Her old injury confined her to crutches. Every day she came in a carriage to the door of the school and was then carried in his arms by a strong man to her place on the platform. By the advice of Dr. Warren, the injured limb was placed in a splint, and the amount of both solid and liquid food was reduced to twenty ounces a day for eight months. Eventually this severe treatment accomplished the desired end and she was able to lay aside her crutches.

"During my absence," Miss Grant wrote afterward, "Miss Lyon relinquished all hope of this being accomplished in our day and co-operated in the dissolution of all associations under the name of trustees, committees and friends that had

³ This was the original plan of Miss Grant, and Miss Lyon had been won over to co-operate with her. Mrs. Cowles, who was closely associated with them, told me that Miss Grant had selected the lot in Ipswich, on which she hoped to establish her seminary, drawn the plans of the buildings, and had appealed to her friends for funds. She hoped that the rich would come to her help, but was unable to secure only a portion of the funds. When Miss Lyon began her own enterprize, she appealed to the poor and those of moderate means, and succeeded in the end.

been formed for the promotion of the object." Thus Zilpah Grant's dream came to naught. Had it been realized, the great Seminary for women would have been established, not at South Hadley, but in Ipswich.

In December, 1832, while Miss Grant was absent from her post, five of the proprietors, Michael Farley, Moses Treadwell, Nathan Brown, Daniel Lord and Joseph Farley, gave formal notice that they desired that the "entire property should be sold, the debts paid, and the concerns of the institution be brought to a close, and that the net proceeds be divided among the stockholders." At the meeting of the proprietors, two votes only were cast in favor. Warm friends and generous supporters of the Seminary were not lacking. Again and again, they assented cheerfully to Miss Grant's request for the free use of the property.

Miss Grant returned in the Spring of 1833 with health completely restored. Miss Lyon had written to Rev. Mr. Felt on July 3^d, 1832.

Miss Grant's health is much improved: she walks about house as sprightly without aid as any one; and I think she will be well before our new Seminary will be ready.

Upon her return, Mary Lyon was released from the Seminary for the Summer term. Her mind was now set upon realizing the scheme, which for the time being had failed. She returned in the Fall but a year later, withdrew permanently from the Ipswich school. In the Spring of 1834, while still at her post she had sent out a circular letter to the friends and patrons of Ipswich Seminary, setting forth her plan for a separate and independent institution similar in character to the Ipswich school. It was addressed to ministers, professors in colleges and all friends of education for women. The ministerial Associations of Hampshire and Franklin Counties passed resolutions commending her project, and other similar bodies gradually declared in her favor.

On the 6th of September, 1834, a dozen gentlemen representative of the eastern and central parts of Massachusetts met in Miss Lyon's private parlor at Ipswich⁴ to advise with her. Hon. David Choate was present at this meeting. He wrote years afterward, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of Mt. Holyoke Seminary,

I shall never forget, I think, severely as the thought becomes jostled sometimes how gently we tried to rock its cradle or how carefully we endeavored, at Miss Lyon's bidding, to carry it in our arms. You who know the history from the beginning hardly need to be reminded that it was Packard and Hawkes and Howland, from the Connecticut valley, and Dana and Felt and Heard and my humble self, from the neighborhood of the salt sea, that in the early Autumn of 1834, I should say, met at a private parlor in Ipswich, and inspected a few small seeds which Miss Lyon was wishing to put into the ground *somewhere* at *sometime*, allowing us to have something to say as to the place and time and so forth yet not wholly surrendering anything entirely up to any; and still allowing us the innocent fancy of thinking ourselves, for the time being co-workers with her.

Miss Lyon's own record of that eventful meeting was:

A meeting of a few gentlemen was held on Saturday and Rev. Drs. Dana and Packard, Professor Hitchcock, Rev. Mr. Felt, Mr. George W. Heard, Mr. David Choate and General Howland were appointed a Committee to make a commencement and go on (provided they are successful) to appoint trustees etc. A circular is soon to be printed with the doings of the meeting.

Here then, in Ipswich, in the parlor of the boarding-house, Mt. Holyoke Seminary was born. A thousand dollars was needed at once to pay the expenses, incident to the raising of the large sum needed, that the Committee might be enabled to assure all contributors to the building and endowment that

⁴In the boarding house, now owned and occupied by Dr. William E. Tucker.

not a penny would be diverted to pay the expense of hired agents or of advertising. This sum Miss Lyon undertook to secure from women.

In less than two months and while still discharging her duties as acting head of Ipswich Seminary, she had raised very nearly the full amount, mainly in and about Ipswich. Her own students and teachers contributed more than a quarter of the sum, the ladies of the town gave almost half and former pupils and women in towns nearby made up the rest.⁵

A teacher in the seminary wrote of her calls from house to house:

She talked now with the lady of the house, now with the husband. She told the husbands in a very good natured but earnest way that she had come to get them to cut off one little corner of their estates and give it to their wives to invest in the form of a seminary for young ladies. She held before them the object dear to her heart—the bringing of a liberal education within the means of the daughters of the common people—till it loomed up to them, for the time, as it did ever before her eyes. She put it to the lady whether if she wanted a new shawl, a card table, a new carpet, or some other article of elegance in her furniture or wardrobe, she could not contrive means to procure it Ladies, that in ordinary subscriptions to benevolent objects did well to put down their fifty cents, gave her five or ten dollars of hard earned money, collected by the slow gains of patient industry, and gave it of their own free will, yet, gave it as a privilege from which they would not have been willing to be debarred. They paid it on the spot, grateful that it had come to their hands at such a time as that.”⁶

A person of less breadth and nobility of character than Zilpah Grant would naturally have resented the activities of her friend and co-worker in the interest of a rival institution which made it forever impossible that her own great plans

⁵ *Life of Mary Lyon.* Gilchrist, p. 187, 188.

⁶ *Life of Mary Lyon.* Gilchrist, p. 188, 189.

could be revived and carried out. But she put aside her own feelings and seconded with all her might Miss Lyon's efforts in Ipswich and in South Hadley to the end of her life. She interposed no bar to the solicitation of contributions in her own school, and in the circle of her nearest and most devoted friends, whom she had won to the support of her project; nor did she resent the transfer of their allegiance to a new leader. In this, she seems to have been able to display a more generous spirit than the President and some of the most earnest members of the Board of Trustees of the Ipswich Seminary, who never identified themselves with the movement to establish the new institution. Miss Lyon's letter to Mr. Choate, dated Norton, Oct. 29, 1835, indicates upon whom she placed most reliance.

Would it be convenient & pleasant to yourself and Mrs. Choate to have me spend two or three days next week with you as one of your own family, while I attend to this business? I could in this way avail myself of your mature thoughts & suggestions much better than any other way.

* * * * *

May the Lord reward you a hundred fold for all your labors of love in this cause.

Respectfully yours,

Mary Lyon.

Miss Grant continued her work with no abatement of zeal, and made it her study to broaden and develop the school. In April, 1835, an Association was formed for the purpose of "assisting young ladies in the Ipswich Female Seminary to qualify themselves for the business of education and other benevolent labors in the cause of Christ." By the rules of the Association, no person could receive aid, unless she had given evidence of piety for at least six months previous; had attained to eighteen years of age; had already acquired more than a common school education, and had been successfully

engaged in teaching; nor unless she possessed promising talents.

For the first three years, the Association extended aid to forty young ladies of promising intellectual powers, of high cultivation and decided piety. The amount thus expended was \$4294. Of the number thus aided in April, 1838, 20 were employed in teaching, 4 were married, 2 were in feeble health, 1 deceased and 13 still in the course of education. Of the \$4294 loaned to these beneficiaries, the Association was obliged to borrow \$1,100 in consequence of the pressure of the times. The Hon. William B. Banister of Newburyport was Secretary of the Association and Geo. W. Heard, Esq. of Boston, Treasurer.⁷

Many discouragements arose during Miss Grant's later years in Ipswich. One of the keenest, no doubt, was occasioned by the removal of Miss Eunice Caldwell, the most brilliant member of her school faculty, who had been associated with the school since she finished her course in 1829, and was a most sympathetic and efficient helper. Judge Wheaton of Norton, Mass. greatly bereaved by the death of his only daughter, decided to found a school for young women, as her memorial. They enlisted the help of Mary Lyon and planned a school along the lines of the Ipswich Seminary. Miss Lyon recommended Miss Caldwell as Principal, though she was just twenty-four years old, and the position to which she was called, demanded rare qualifications. She accepted the appointment and in the Spring of 1835 removed to Norton and took charge of the Wheaton Seminary.

Mount Holyoke Seminary opened its doors in November, 1837. Many of the oldest and most valuable students at Ipswich had been pupils of Mary Lyon. While their attachment to Miss Grant was in no wise diminished, the distinguishing principle of the new institution, the performance of all the house work by students, made a strong appeal to

⁷ From the Catalogue of 1839.

young women obliged to support themselves as largely as possible while securing their education. They very naturally enrolled themselves at the new institution and the Ipswich Seminary suffered a marked decline in its attendance. In 1834, the last year of the joint labors of Miss Grant and Miss Lyon, the enrollment was 247; in 1835, it was 210; in 1836, 222; in 1837, 201; in 1838, 167; and in 1839, 127.

Her health having become so seriously impaired that complete rest was necessary, Miss Grant ended her work with the completion of the school year in 1838. The far reaching value of those ten years in Ipswich can not be estimated, but the record published in the Catalogue of 1839 reveals in some degree their wonderful fruitfulness.

Time of attendance.

One year or less	1,020
One year to two years	306
Two years to three years	91
Three years to four years	25
Over four years	16

1,458

Have completed the course,

130

Occupation:

Missionaries, American Board of Commissioners for

Foreign Missions (Congregational)	20
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Baptist Board	1
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21

Teachers.

in New England and Middle States	400
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at the West	57
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at the South	31
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488

Miss Grant received overtures at once from important schools, but her work as an educator was done. On Sept. 7,

1841, she became the wife of Hon. William B. Banister, with whom she had been closely associated in educational work.

Sixty-four of her pupils were still teaching in April, 1839. In many fields they perpetuated the fine principles of the Ipswich School. Susan Farley, an Ipswich girl, pupil and then teacher in the Seminary, later Mrs. Maxwell, accomplished a monumental work in Alabama. Nancy Tuck of Beverly went from the school to establish a second Ipswich Seminary in Louisville, Kentucky. Her eldest daughter became the Principal in due time and won renown for her school through all the South.

"Next to my father and mother" wrote Mrs. Ballantine, a life long missionary in India, "I owe whatever good I have done in this world more to those excellent teachers, Miss Grant and Miss Lyon, than to any one else." Hannah Lyman became the first Lady Principal of Vassar College. Sarah Lamson, known to multitudes as Mrs. Albert Bowker, was the founder and for many years President of the Congregational Woman's Board of Missions.

The withdrawal of Miss Grant was the culminating stroke in the ill fortune of the Seminary. The Trustees voted to continue the school with the best teachers, who could be obtained, and Miss Mary E. Ellison, a teacher of large experience and fine reputation, was chosen Principal on March 26, 1839. She taught during the Summer term, but found her strength unequal to further service. Miss Little and Miss Hildreth were secured for the long Winter term, which seems to have been the last and the school was then given up.

At about this time, two Ipswich women opened a school of similar nature. Caroline Stanwood and Lucretia Wade gave notice in the Ipswich Register that they would open a school for misses in a building owned by Mr. Hammatt, directly opposite the Ipswich Seminary, on Monday, May 6, 1839. The course of study proposed included Arithmetic, Grammar, Geography, Botany, Algebra, Watts on the Mind,

Natural Philosophy, together with the ordinary branches of an English education. Calisthenics and plain sewing would be taught also. The tuition fee would be \$3 a quarter, with a separate charge for ornamental needle work and drawing.

Nothing is known of this new school and it is probable that it failed of patronage. There was no meeting of the proprietors of the Seminary until September 25, 1843. On that day, the Trustees met and

Voted, unanimously, that the reverend John P. Cowles and lady be invited to take charge of the female seminary here on such terms as may be mutually satisfactory to them and to the trustees.

On December 3^d, the Trustees voted unanimously to lease the building to Mr. Cowles for five years, rent free.

Eunice Caldwell, as will be remembered, left the Seminary in 1835, to become the first Principal of Wheaton Female Seminary at Norton. When Mt. Holyoke Seminary was opened in 1837, she followed Mary Lyon thither and was her assistant in the opening year. On October 16, 1838, she married Rev. John P. Cowles, Professor of Hebrew at Oberlin College.

Prof. and Mrs. Cowles remained at Oberlin a few years, and their eldest daughter, Mary, was born there. Differing sharply with President Finney on the subject of Christian Perfection, Prof. Cowles withdrew from the College in 1840 or 1841, and removed to Elyria, Ohio, where he and Mrs. Cowles established a school, and taught until their removal to Ipswich.

The Seminary was reopened under the charge of the new teachers in May, 1844. No person could have been better fitted to retrieve the fortunes of the famous school than Mrs. Cowles. An Ipswich girl, a student and then a teacher in the Seminary in its best days, when Zilpah Grant and Mary Lyon were working with fresh enthusiasm and united purpose, she

had acquired rich experience in administration at Wheaton and Mt. Holyoke. Prof. Cowles was a man of brilliant mind and a trained teacher. The first Catalogue was issued in November, 1845. On the last page was a significant paragraph.

To the friends of Ipswich Female Seminary.

This Catalogue will be sent to many of the old friends of the teachers, with the hope that they will lend their influence in rebuilding the school. It is already known to many of them that the school, after Miss Grant left it gradually declined until it was entirely discontinued. The building had been closed for more than a year, before the present Principals commenced their labors. They had but six young ladies from abroad at that time; the present term they have more than twenty; and these pupils almost without an exception are sedulously bent on their own improvement, and exert a happy and stimulating influence on each other, and on their fellow pupils from town. The Principals cannot but hope and believe, that the school is surely winning its way back to the favor of the friends of a sound and Christian education. The time and strength of both the Principals are given to the school. Mr. Cowles instructs in the languages, and in most of the higher English branches, while Mrs. Cowles takes the general care and supervision, and hears many recitations every day.

It was a formidable task to resurrect the old school with its great traditions, on the scene of its decline and death. Similar institutions in many places were now competing sharply for patronage, and Mt. Holyoke had achieved conspicuous renown. But the admirable beginning of the new era in the history of the school was prophetic of sure success. The total enrollment reported was eighty-nine and the loyal and affectionate confidence of her Town's folk in Mrs. Cowles is manifest in the fact that fifty-five daughters of Ipswich families were in attendance. The pupils from out of town were accommodated, eight or ten in the family of the Principals, and as many more at Mr. Ephraim Kendall's.

The scheme of study was abreast of the times, with courses in Latin, Greek, Italian, Spanish and French, Botany, Chemistry, Geology, Astronomy, Mathematics, Philosophy, History, Butler's Analogy, Paley's Natural Theology, and Kames's Elements of Criticism, Calisthenics, Music and Drawing.

The enrollment increased with gratifying regularity. In the Summer term of 1846, 74 were on the roll, 36 being Ipswich girls. For the year ending Oct. 19, 1847, 101 was the total, 45 Ipswich students; in the following year, 113 were present, 41 being Ipswich girls and the broadening reputation of the school was evident in the appearance of pupils from Michigan, Mississippi and Nassau, New Providence, as well as from the New England States.

In this Catalogue, the names of the Trustees appeared for the last time, Rev. David Tenney Kimball, Pastor of the First Church, President, Rev. Daniel Fitz, Pastor of the South Church, Nathaniel Lord, Esq. and Charles Kimball, Secretary. Col. Kimball had been the Secretary from the organization of the Academy in Nov., 1825 and continued in office until the Corporation was dissolved, some time after 1864. The records are a marvel of neatness, written in a clear and beautiful hand. Mr. Kimball and Mr. Fitz had been members of the Board from 1827 and Daniel Cogswell had continued his membership and cordial support until 1846.

The Catalogue of 1850 reported a total enrollment of 147, with 37 Ipswich members. Miss Mary Abby Dodge of Hamilton was graduated in that year and became a teacher in the Seminary where she remained several years. Her literary gifts were already evident, and her poems and prose began to attract attention. Writing under the nom-de-plume, "Gail Hamilton," she won a high place in the literary annals of the day for keen wit and forceful expression.

Girls from Iowa and Illinois, from North Carolina, Mississippi and Florida, appeared in 1851, the student body re-

maintaining the same numbers. In the Catalogue of 1852, there was a temporary loss in the enrollment, 120 as the total, and only 28 from Ipswich, but the announcement was made that the old Swasey House, utilized as a boarding house while Miss Grant and Miss Lyon were in charge, had been rented again. About thirty students and two teachers were domiciled there, the students doing all the housework, and reducing the cost of board to \$1.25 a week.

Under the stimulus of this economic opportunity, it may be, the total enrollment leaped the next year to 172, with 36 from Ipswich and new students from Hayti, Canada and the Western States, and the gain continued in the next year, 1854, when the splendid total of 214 was reached, only 38 coming from Ipswich homes. This was the high water mark of enrollment, so far as the Catalogues, which are at hand, reveal. It surpassed, with one exception, the record of any year since 1834, when the magic of the names of Zilpah Grant and Mary Lyon drew 247 to the Seminary. In 1836, 222 were enrolled, and 201 in 1837.

In 1855, the membership declined to 190, with 41 Ipswich students, and in 1856 to 136, 31 local. The interesting statement was made in this Catalogue that the total expense of a student for the year, who lived in the boarding house, was not more than \$100, a remark which suggests that there was no snobbish worship of wealth, in the extremely wholesome atmosphere of Ipswich Seminary, and that the poor girl, obliged to make her own way, was welcome to the best the Seminary offered.

The growth of anti-slavery sentiment in the North resulted inevitably in the disappearance of girls from Southern families. Mr. Cowles took no pains to hide his abolition sentiments, it may be presumed, for he was a born radical and advocated advanced and even extreme positions in theology and politics to the very end of his long life. The pro-slavery or non-abolitionist folk in Ipswich, of whom there were not

a few, may have declined also to send their daughters to his school. Be that as it may, only 25 Ipswich girls were included in the enrollment of 92 in 1857, 24 in the 1858 enrollment of 98, and 26 of the 101 enrolled in 1859.

During the Civil War, there was a rising wave, a membership of 119, with 31 Ipswich students, being enrolled in 1862, 115 in 1863 and in 1865, there was a surprising leap upward to 138. Only 20 Ipswich girls found their way to the school, but a troop came flocking from north, east, south and west, from States near at hand and from Pennsylvania, Indiana, Iowa, Illinois and California. The war was over and reconstruction was so well established on intellectual lines, that the Southern girls were again in evidence, coming from Washington, D. C., Virginia and South Carolina.

It would be interesting to trace the reestablishment of the patronage of the school in the different sections of the United States in the succeeding years, but unfortunately the Catalogues of these years have not been preserved. One only, that of 1869, shows an enrollment of 126, and 15 Ipswich members.

A gradual decline was now evident. Mr. Cowles had become totally blind. His marvellous memory enabled him to continue teaching the classics, but as Mrs. Cowles wrote, his powers were so much weakened that his name was no longer the great asset it had been when he was at his best. The high grade reached in the public High Schools, and the up-to-date and expensive equipment of neighboring Seminaries for young women, with which Ipswich could not vie, drew students elsewhere. The change of population, incident to the increase of the mill industry, made it increasingly difficult to secure desirable boarding places. In June, 1876, fifty years from the time the Ipswich Academy was opened, and thirty-three years from the coming of Professor and Mrs. Cowles, the doors were closed.

No finer summary of the high aim of the School, and the

wise and often original methods by which that aim was realized can be made than that which appears in the Catalogue of 1869. It embodies the experience of forty years in the teaching of young women by Mrs. Cowles.

The object aimed at in the Ipswich school is to train healthy, companionable, self-reliant women, disposed and prepared to be useful and acceptable in the family, the school, and in general society. The course of study, the location of the pupils at their boarding places and the care taken of them there, the mode of government and the general plans of the school, are all adopted with reference to this end. The present and future health of the young ladies is held to be of the first importance and great care is taken to proportion their studies to their strength. No rules are more insisted on or better observed than those which require them to be in the house at dusk, to retire to rest at an early hour, to be regular at their meals, and those which favor exercise in the open air. In the general exercises of the school and in the recitation room, constant regard is had to a free and natural development of the faculties and to the formation of an independent and Christian character.

Over governing is carefully avoided. The teachers aim to instruct the conscience, to instil just principles of action, to strengthen the purpose of doing what is right and avoiding what is wrong and thus to make it easy to govern the school by leading the pupils to govern themselves. The tone of morality is so high in the school that the students can generally be safely thrown on their own sense of honor and rectitude. For a large majority of the pupils, the chief end of the few rules insisted on is to save them from injuring their health and leave them delightfully free to pursue unmolested their chosen or appointed task.

No prizes are offered to the brilliant and very little use is made of the marking system. Love of study, delight in knowledge, the value of a good education, and the duty of pleasing their heavenly Father and making the most they can of themselves, are the motives mainly relied on for awakening enthusiasm and stimulating industry. Nor do these motives, when affectionately presented to young and

susceptible minds, often fail of producing the desired effects. The teachers are more frequently obliged to hold the students back than to goad them on in the pursuit of knowledge. Often nearly every scholar is actuated with a noble desire to accomplish all that she can in study and to make the best use possible of her time, talents and opportunities.

The Bible is made a constant study, and is daily referred to as the treasury of divine truth, the standard of duty, the gospel of salvation, and the true guide of life. The teachers desire nothing so much as to aid their pupils so to educate their whole being, that they may be prepared to glorify and enjoy God both here and hereafter.

A host of the pupils rise up to bear witness to the fidelity of this picture of the old school and to do honor to the beloved memory of their teachers. They all agree that the best features of the school in the days of Miss Grant and Miss Lyon were all preserved. In the early days, it might appear that a morbid and self-centred type of religious life was fostered. Mrs. Cowles supplementing the wise theories of her teachers with the knowledge of and sympathy with girl life that came to her as a mother, taught and exemplified a manner of life that was sincere and devout, but was also bright, affectionate and pre-eminently sensible.

She adopted Miss Grant's habit of frequent lectures or talks to the whole school. Her scholars speak of the half hour, from nine to nine-thirty, as one of the most interesting features of the school life. Sometimes her themes were distinctly religious, and they were treated most impressively; sometimes they were amusingly practical and commonplace. If she found that there was too much borrowing, she gave a piquant homily on "not-borrowing." Topics of current interest were discussed. This exercise was conducted with great variety. Mr. Cowles often asked questions on literary subjects. Repartee was encouraged and the exercise frequently ran over into the recitation hour.

Lucy Larcom came with her addresses on "Criticism,"

"Elizabethan Poetry," "The Drama" and "Sidney's Arcadia." Mary Abby Dodge, "Gail Hamilton," roused the admiration and won the hearts of her pupils. One of them recalls that everybody wept when she went away in the middle of the year. "I have got one of her hairs to put into a locket" sobbed one worshiper. They bought her a beautiful rose-wood writing desk which she always treasured. After her death, by the kindness of her sister, it came back to Ipswich as the property of the Historical Society.

A calisthenic exercise with wands was very much enjoyed, which was an ingenious substitute for dancing in the days when a dance called by its own name, was very much in question. The whole school life was free, bright, stimulating.

The admiring and affectionate tributes of the old pupils are a noble and sufficient memorial of the work of Mr. and Mrs. Cowles. Miss Lucy Seaman, afterward Mrs. Lucy Seaman Bainbridge of New York, writes most interestingly.

Over fifty years ago, in my home in Cleveland, Ohio, the question came up as to a boarding school. There came into my father's hands a circular of the Ipswich School. All other Young Ladies' Seminaries he had thrown aside as not offering the kind of advantages he wished for his only daughter. The circular read, 'It is the aim of this school to help to make healthy, companionable and self-reliant women'; and my father's verdict immediately was 'Daughter, you may go to that school', and I went and graduated in 1863. There are many lessons, learned at the Ipswich School, one can never forget, but out of many I wish to refer to only a few.

The personality of Mrs. Cowles made such an impression on every pupil that it has not only lasted through my life time, but has in a measure gone on to my children. Her practical Bible lessons, no Ipswich girl can ever forget. I remember so well her emphasis upon such words as these:—"Solomon built the house and finished it,"—and how, with her bright face and snappy, dark eyes, she told us how neces-

sary it was, when we began any line of work, not to drop it midway but to finish it. The picture of Solomon absolutely completing the house and its surroundings to every detail, we could never forget. I have passed it on to my children, to young people under my influence, even to the servants in my house, that 'Solomon built the house and finished it.'

Another lesson taught at Ipswich has been of great value to me in my busy and varied life, that a part of education is to be able to turn from one duty to another quickly, easily and pleasantly. It frequently happened that when we were in the midst of our wrestling with Butler's Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion, we might be called down to the school room for a spelling match. After some time of special application, when the girls were tired and naturally a little discouraged, if there was a crisp, bright day, we would all be driven out to walk or slide or skate. The result of this training has made many a girl beside myself, healthy and self-reliant and I trust companionable.

It is sometimes said to me, with a tone of commiseration, that it was a pity I did not live a little later and have the advantages of a college curriculum. I myself feel that Ipswich School in many respects gave to its pupils as many advantages for practical every-day living as any college. We did not go into Trigonometry but under the Rev. Mr. Cowles with his wonderful knowledge of English, History and Language, and under the splendid influence of Mrs. Cowles, we had that which made up for much of present day college requirement. To President Garfield, 'to sit on a log with Mark Hopkins at the other end was a liberal education.' In my estimation Mrs. Cowles was a woman, not in ten thousand, but in a hundred thousand. Her influence has gone out to China, Japan, Persia and the remotest lands. I visited a class mate in Peking who was imparting Mrs. Cowles's teachings and influence to hundreds of eager Chinese students. So I say that to sit on a bench with Mrs. Cowles was a liberal education.

Mrs. Susan E. Field of Shelburne Falls, Ipswich born, the daughter of Ammi and Lucy Smith, long past her four score years, bore glad tribute to the school and its honored instructors.

Professor and Mrs. Cowles assuredly left a character-forming mark upon many of their pupils, perhaps upon all.

I cannot presume to say more of Mr. Cowles than that he was an eminently scholarly man, and this, with his spirituality and his always gracious manner, held us, his pupils, in veneration and genuine love, but did not admit affectionate familiarity.

Mrs. Cowles was an embodiment of tact and talent. Her personality was strong, but most pleasing. Her sharply searching but sympathetic eyes and mobile features served to economize words, noticeably in administering reproof. In illustration, on one occasion upon passing through the hall, where a young teacher was having a recitation, Mrs. C's face plainly said, 'Aren't you afraid your girls will grow sleepy?' Upon her return trip, a few moments later, a glance at the teacher, sitting quite erect and animated, as plainly said, 'that's better.'

Being assembled in the morning, Mrs. C's custom was to salute us with a cheerful 'good morning young ladies,' whereupon we arose, en masse, in wordless response. After the reading of the Scriptures and a brief prayer, a lecture of some sort often followed, always practical and profitable, discussing table manners, carefulness in dress and the courtesies of life in general.

At the close of the afternoon session, we were requested to stand at our desks, and were told that those who had not violated any rule of the school that day might be seated. Those left standing were treated to a droop at the corners of the mouth, a dropping of the eyelids and a somewhat curt 'be seated.' If a hand went up and an earnest 'involuntary' or 'accidental' came from a delinquent, a dignified bow of the head was vouchsafed.

A cap for ladies of dignity was the fashion of the day and in this connection I recall an amusing incident. One morning, our Lady Principal opened school, capless, but soon after was seen clapping her hand to her head, and at once, with an expression of mock consternation, was heard whispering audibly over the top of her desk, 'Miss Mary Cowles.' Miss Mary, her brilliant eldest daughter, who sat directly in front, hastened to her mother's side and was bidden 'run home and get my cap, please.' Two pupils who sat near

eno' to hear were saved from discourtesy, only by her own tact in recognizing the humor. The cap was brought and whisked upon her head in a twinkling, and a moment later our dignified teacher, poring over her writing, wore a face prohibitive of fun.

She was an inspirational teacher, rousing the pupil's interest, ambition, courage, and hope of results, while learning her to do her own thinking, to stand independent of help. But she was encouraging to effort, however crude, and sometimes would give a softening humorous turn to honest blunders, while keen to detect shams and merciless to both shams and shirkings.

Mrs. Margaret E. Willoughby (Miss Stanwood) recalls the lasting wonder at Mr. Cowles's marvelous ability, though blind, to teach Latin, German, Butler's Analogy and other subjects from memory.

Once a month entertainments were given in the Seminary hall, which were well attended by friends of the school. These entertainments consisted of original compositions, music and recitations and I remember that once we gave a short play in Latin. The last number on our programme was always Calisthenics led by Miss Roxy, who was our teacher. All of the pupils in white and red uniforms, took part in these exercises, which were much enjoyed.

Many of the graduates attained positions of great honor and usefulness. Louise Manning Hodgkins, an Ipswich girl, went from the Ipswich school to Wilbraham Academy and Lawrence College, Appleton, Wisconsin, where she received her M. A. in 1876. She was regularly matriculated at Oxford University, England, and in the Girls' Normal College at Hanover, Germany. She founded the Department of English Literature at Wellesley College, and was the head of the Department for fifteen years, until 1891. She is very appreciative of the value of her early instruction.

During my few years at the Seminary, the impressionable

1

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years between thirteen and fifteen, I am sure I got my lasting habit of taking world-wide views. Mr. Cowles was in the habit of giving us questions to be answered in chapel, about once a week, that sent us early to the study of Plutarch, Rollin, English History and Literature, and no one was more keen than I to find the answers to such questions as 'Who was the Man with the Iron Mask?' 'What were the Seven Wonders of the World?' 'Where is the Singing Statue of Memnon?' Little I dreamed then that I should see all the places, nearly associated with these historic questions, but I can never be too grateful for the form of outlook they imparted. Mrs. Cowles, too, gave me a love for Mathematics, her specialty, as she entered so heartily into the problems of Elementary Algebra with us.

There is another indebtedness to both these loved teachers of my youth, and that is the fashion of committing favorite hymns. It has stood by me until today and it is rarely I need to open a hymn-book at Church, so intimately I know every hymn worth knowing.

Prof. Hodgkins mentions Julia A. Eastman as a notable graduate, a writer for young folks, and on the staff of the 'Youth's Companion.' She wrote a book, "Beulah Romney's School Days," a picture of the Ipswich school and Mrs. Cowles under the name of Madame Hale. Later in life Miss Eastman founded Dana Hall at Wellesley, a noted preparatory school. Miss Hubbell also wrote a pleasant book full of memories of her school days at Ipswich. Elizabeth Billings became the wife of Prof. Hiram Mead of Oberlin, and was President of Mt. Holyoke College for several years. Anna M. Bronson was at the head of Elmira College for a considerable time. Ellen Boyd was a long while Principal of St. Agnes School in Albany.

Helen Fiske of the class of 1848, afterwards Helen Hunt and after Major Hunt's death, the wife of William S. Jackson of Denver, wrote much and well under the pen name of H. H. in poetry and prose, but is best remembered by her "Ramona."

Miss E. Harriet Stanwood, an Ipswich girl of the class of 1855, taught Latin fourteen years at Elmira College and became the head of the department with an honorary A. M. Retiring from teaching, she became the Secretary of the Woman's Board of Foreign Missions, and continued in that office for thirty years. Amelia Temple (Mrs. George Gould) was one of the first Secretaries of the same organization, and Miss Ellen Caldwell (Mrs. S. Brainerd Pratt) was the Recording Secretary for many years. Miss Mary T. Caldwell, her sister, performed long and useful service in connection with "Life and Light," published by the Woman's Board.

Miss Frances J. Dyer, a pupil and also a teacher in the Seminary, was a member of the editorial staff of *The Congregationalist* for a long period. Miss Roxana C. Cowles, daughter of Prof. and Mrs. Cowles, began teaching in the Seminary, followed this with several years in the faculty at Vassar College and taught about twenty years in Miss Sarah Porter's school at Farmington, Conn.

Though Mrs. Cowles, because of her magnetic and thrilling personality, and great executive ability, may have been the larger factor in the success of their famous school, Mr. Cowles made great contribution to its reputation and its work. The son of a Connecticut farmer, he enjoyed only a few months schooling in Winter, in his boyhood, and in the district schools of that time, the pupil was largely self-taught. "There was little or no recitation of arithmetic," he wrote, "the scholar studied the rules and ciphered through the text-book by himself. Grammar was not taken up by the pupils until they were thirteen or fourteen."

He began the study of Latin with his brother, a little older than himself, in June, 1821. The strenuous work of haying and harvesting required all their time and strength for six weeks. Then they resumed their Latin, and in three months finished the *Aeneid*. A year was spent in home study, varied with a visit to Rev. Ralph Emerson, Pastor at Norfolk,

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once a week usually on Monday, for help on the difficult passages. In like manner in 1822, study gave place to the farm work in Summer, but in the Fall, they both entered Yale College.

Mr. Cowles was graduated in 1826, the youngest in his class, with the highest honor, the valedictory. He was associated for a time with Noah Webster, in the preparation of his dictionary. Later he was Professor of Hebrew at Oberlin. His linguistic attainments were remarkable, including Greek and Latin, Hebrew and Syriac, French, German and Italian. His memory was marvellous. After he had become entirely blind, he taught the languages with no perceivable lack in facility. He could repeat whole books of Scripture, his favorites, with scarcely a slip, and he beguiled many sleepless hours repeating Watts's Hymns. His profound and accurate scholarship excited the admiration of his pupils, and inspired them to their best.

CHAPTER XXV.

IPSWICH, SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO.

Seventy-five years lands us in that dim border land, just beyond the reach of the memory of the living. Not a few of our Town's people were then alive, but the remembrances of early childhood are scant though vivid. The elder folk of today knew at a later date, the men and women who were active in the affairs of the Town three quarters of a century ago, and heard from their lips the story of earlier days. But for accurate and detailed knowledge of that period, we still depend upon contemporaneous records of various kinds.

It was a period of great intrinsic interest. The community was still untouched by the great movements which have revolutionized the quiet towns and villages of New England. The population was almost stationary. In 1820, it was 2553; in 1830, 2961; in 1837, 2855; all English speaking, and except the little group of English lace-makers and hosiery weavers, all native born.

So it was a very happy accident, if accident it was, that brought Mr. Eugene F. W. Gray to Ipswich and induced him to begin the publication of the Ipswich Register in June, 1837, and continue it for some three years. Its columns are fascinating as a novel. Here are the advertisements of the tradesmen, careful annals of the current events, the shipping reports, letters of local correspondents, and a thousand and one little things, which we always like to know, and which give that last touch of minute detail to the picture of the Ipswich of his day. For the most part, the sprightly editor, who threw himself into all

social and political movements with the most delightful enthusiasm shall be our guide in our walks about the streets, and shall tell us what was going on so long ago.

The site, now occupied by Caldwell's Block, was then covered by the Smith Building, a plain pitched roof structure, built originally by Dr. John Manning for his woolen-mill. As has been noted, the upper story had been utilized for a number of years by the Baptist Church, then by the Methodists until they became able to build a meeting-house, but in 1837, was utilized for offices. The ground floor was occupied by shops.

Capt. Ammi R. Smith owned the building, lived in the southern end and occupied a part for business purposes. He had large interests, owning a lumber business located at the Granite wharf, and in company with his son and Mr. John Adams, operated the mills, now owned by the Norwood heirs, where they sawed fine veneers for cabinet work, and turned bed-posts of mahogany, curled and bird's-eye maple and mahogany stair newels. Mr. Abraham Lord was the veneer sawyer, and he walked to and from his work from his dwelling at the upper end of High Street, rain or shine, summer and winter, for many years.

Capt. Smith was interested as well in the seining of shad and alewives at the Choate Bridge, as they passed up the river to spawn in the Spring, a privilege which was sold at auction each year to the highest bidder. He was engaged also in the fisheries on the Banks. He advertised 500 prime fish barrels at his store in the Smith Building. In the center of the building was the variety shop kept by Mr. Stephen Coburn, who was also Post-master. The post-office occupied a bit of a room with glass windows, against which the letters for general delivery were placed, and a few private boxes. Postage was high, letters were rare, and the small volume of weekly newspapers required little space. James L. Wells, chaise and harness-maker, gave notice in the issue of June

9, 1837, that he had removed from his former location to No. 2 Smith Building, two doors north of the Post Office, where he continued cleaning and repairing chaises, making fire buckets, etc.

Mr. Abraham Hammatt, the antiquarian, author of the "Hammatt papers," owned the house, now owned by Mr. Philipp, on the corner of Central Street, and had a shop on the corner of his lot, near the house now owned by Mr. Charles W. Brown. It was then unused, but Loring Burnham announced in November, 1837, that he had taken a lease and offered for sale a large assortment of dry goods.

Mr. William Bamford advertised his large and varied stock of merinoes, alepines, calicoes, Highland shawls, Italian black cravats, an elegant assortment of Florence, Dunsstable, Mixt and Shaker bonnets, with new and elegant dark ribbons and flowers, white and black bobbinet lace edgings, hosiery, etc. His location is not given, but it was very likely in a part of the building called the Temperance House, "a few doors south of the Agawam House," where Mr. Bamford announced to the travelling public in November, 1838, that he was prepared to accommodate transient boarders and persons attending Court, and provide good stabling for their horses. At the first door below the Temperance House, Dr. C. H. Brown, Physician and Surgeon, had rooms.

The Agawam House, the principal hotel then as now, was kept by Frederick K. Mitchell, who sold to Jeremiah Prescott and John Wiggin. Mr. Gray gave the new landlords a fine sendoff in his editorial column.

Fine fellows both, who will make their first bow to the public in the capacity of Bonifaces . . . 'Mine hosts' have commenced operations in capital style, and no exertion will be wanting on their part to render this house one of the most popular hotels on the eastern route . . . Ye smoke and dust-wearied cits—ye disciples of Izak Walton and lovers of gentle wood craft—ye pleasure hunting idlers, sated

with the dull rounds of the crowded metropolis—ye lovers of the picturesque and beautiful works of Nature, in her most wanton hours—ye who would inhale the bracing breezes of hills or 'take thine ease in thine inn,' to each and every one of you, we are authorized by the gentlemen aforesaid, to extend a hearty invitation to our good town.

Dr. Asahel Wildes had rooms at the Hotel. Drs. Peabody and Fisk of Salem, Dentists and Manufacturers of Incorruptible 'Teeth, announced that Dr. Fisk would be at the Agawam House the 3^d Tuesday and Wednesday in July. The Siamese Twins were billed for two days at the Agawam in mid-August. The admittance fee was 25 cents, but an exhibition of colored statuary, 20 figures, large as life, depicting the recent grewsome tragedy at Salem, the murder of Capt. White, was announced in September, at Masonic Hall, first door south of the Agawam, at 12½ cents.

"The new brick block," as it was called, north of the Agawam House, was a hive of industry. In the upper floor, the Ipswich Register was printed, and Mr. L. E. Cole, a portrait painter, had rooms. On the street floor were several stores. Samuel Newman was located three doors north of the Agawam with his stock of broad-cloths in shades of olive, dahlia and brown, West India goods, crockery and glass, paper hangings, fruit and confectionery. Samuel Hale, under the startling caption, "Not Dead Yet," announced that he had finally concluded to make a permanent settlement in Ipswich and continued to manufacture boots and shoes "at the sign of the Golden Boot in the New Brick," two doors north of the Agawam. William Pulcifer had his stand here also and dispensed his broad-cloths and satinets, boots and shoes, and advertised as well 5,000 Cape Good Hope sheepskins, sumac tanned, and a lot of wool suitable for saddlers and upholsterers.

John Martin Dobson, was at his old stand in June, 1837. His card informs the public,

He flatters himself that the style and manner in which he cuts and curls hair and shaves will give entire satisfaction. He will cut ladies hair after the most approved fashion. No shaving done on the Sabbath day.

He removed to a new location near the Agawam the next year.

Eben Russell claimed his share of patronage also on North Main St. with his calicoes, gingham and groceries, ready made clothing, fruits & confectionery. Eben Burnham advertised his house and store for sale, the dwelling now owned by the heirs of Nath. R. Farley. John H. Dunnels, at his shop on North Main near the Methodist meeting house, formerly occupied by Wells, the chaise and harness dealer, had 400 bushels of corn for sale.

A new baking establishment, at the shop formerly occupied by Nath. Manning on North Main Street, was announced by Chas. B. Osgood. His list of goodies makes one's mouth water,

loaves, soft and hard; butter and sugar crackers; milk biscuit, ship bread; sugar, molasses and hard ginger bread; buns and jumbles; lemon, fancy, pound, currant and sponge cake.

Melzeard Poor, the blacksmith, was busy at the shop he occupied so many years. Perkins Lord was at the old stand. On the grass plot, in front of the present Methodist meeting house, was the building which was long used as Court House and Town House. The Town Hall was the only room of large size and was utilized for many purposes.

Returning now to the Smith or Coburn building, Joseph Wait and his sons, Abram D. and Luther, manufactured and sold at wholesale, boots, shoes and brogans, at No. 1 Market street, in the building now occupied by the Titcomb market; and at No. 2 Market St., at the store formerly occupied by

Joseph Wait and Sons, George Willett kept his groceries and dry goods. But in December, 1837, Joseph Wait and Sons announced they had commenced business in the store formerly occupied by them, and recently by George Willett, where they kept a stock of wearing gear, rubbers, dry goods, groceries and a formidable assortment of patent medicines. They advertised a large lot of cord wood as well.

Israel K. Jewett was at the stand, in which the grocery and variety business was continued for many years. George Warner owned the Damon corner, where he had a house, barn and knitting shop, and carried on his business of frame knitting. He advertised the place for sale in April, 1838, "intending to leave this summer for the west." Never failing springs of soft water enhanced the value, and great prospective value arose from the fact that "when the railroad shall be extended to this place (which it must be sooner or later) being within a few rods of where the Depot must be located."

The old Farley tannery, with its bark mill and other buildings, occupied the site of the John A. Johnson shoe factory and the store formerly Benjamin Newman's, reaching down to the river. The stone cotton¹ mill was built by Joseph Farley and others about 1830.

C. N. Haskell, at a shop which he locates on the corner of North Main and Market Streets, made tin and sheet iron-ware, and dealt in stoves, oven-frames and the like. He removed to a shop on South Main Street, opposite the Estes bakery.

Crossing the Stone Bridge, Samuel N. Baker occupied the building now owned by the Newman heirs with his sign and carriage painting, and his extensive business in carriages, furniture, clothing, and groceries. He was an auctioneer as well and advertised, "an extensive assortment of cooking stoves, among which are four kinds of Premium stoves, viz.

¹ See Chapter XXVII, The Textile Industry.

Improved, Moore's, James and coal stoves, also shop and parlor stoves for coal and wood." He purchased the building still used as a clothing store by Mr. Tilton, in 1847, and continued his business there. Otis Kimball had a shop near by, and Kimball and Caldwell had a lumber yard in the same vicinity. The Warren Boynton house, then owned by Jeremiah Ross, was a well-known tavern.

The Ipswich Bank, Joseph Lord, Jr., cashier, was located in the house on South Main, south of the old Souther house, recently demolished. Officers were chosen in Oct., 1837, John Baker 3^d, President, Michael Brown, Joseph Wait, S. N. Baker, Wm. F. Wade, Frederic Mitchell, Charles Kimball, E. F. Miller, Nehemiah Brown, Robert Farley and Joseph Lord, Jr. the cashier, Directors. Miss Hannah Caldwell, afterwards Mrs. Clark, did a thriving business in the building south of the Currier garage. She offered her French, German and English merinoes, figured and plain, scarlet and orange Salisbury flannels, linens, Florence and other straw bonnets; also just received from the country, a lot of superior all-wool and cotton and wool cloth; also a lot of family spun white and blue mixed yarn; also Village lace and German tie French and imitation French kid shoes, and India rubber shoes. With good womanly sense, she avoided the incongruous mixtures found in other shops, and opened the way for the sale of the home made yarns and cloths brought in by the farmers' wives, and the pillow lace made in many homes.

The Unitarian Society,² had built their meeting house a few years before and worshiped here regularly, Joseph Farley, Asa Brown, Otis Holmes and others being the most prominent supporters. The Society soon declined, however, and in 1843, the Town bought the meeting house for a Town House. It was greatly enlarged and remodeled for the Town use.

² See Chapter XXVIII, The Unitarian Church.

Estes, the baker, occupied the shop, afterwards used by Isaac G. Noyes, on the site of the gasoline station of the Ipswich mills. He gave a sharp notice to his customers on June 15th, 1838.

POSITIVELY THE LAST CALL.
WAKE UP GENTLEMEN.

All persons indebted to the subscriber are requested to call and settle their accounts by the 1st day of August next. No further indulgence will be given to those whose accounts remain unpaid after that time. Bills for 1837 will be left with an attorney for collection.

Benjamin E. Hoyt had a mill for sawing veneers on the east end of the dam, near Mr. Clark Abell's, which was afterward removed by James Wellington to a location on County St. and was used for many years as a shoe factory by Wellington and Daniels in the upper story, and by Wellington for a dwelling below. It is now owned and occupied by Mrs. George Gilmore. Mr. Hoyt also had a machine shop, dealt in stoves, etc. and announced in Jan., 1839, that he had erected a new shop a few rods west of his machine shop, to continue his business of blacksmithing.

Beyond Mr. Abell's was Daniel Cogswell's store, with residence on the upper floor. He was a vigorous advertiser. "War. War. War" is the heading of a very innocent announcement of the conflict between physicians and "The Matchless Sanative," a quack medicine.

Shilling goods for a nine pence were on his counters. His stock in trade included groceries, hardware, dry goods, pork and hams, school books, popular books, Ladies' magazines, etc. He demanded a settlement of their accounts of his debtors, and announced that no credit would be given November first, until all his accounts were closed.

In July, 1837, the great enterprise of building a new meeting house for the South Parish was well under way. The

floor timbers were in place on June 28th, when the corner stone was laid. A glass jar, containing an inscription on parchment, was deposited in the stone, after prayer by the pastor, Dr. Fitz, and the singing of the 127th Psalm. The frame of the house, 84 by 58 feet, was raised the next week. It was dedicated on Jan. 1, 1838. The editor reports that 1800 were present, a wholly imaginary number, but beyond a doubt, every inch of room in the great floor and spacious galleries was crowded to suffocation.

The old meeting house, a plain square building, without porch or belfry, built in 1747, stood on the present triangular Green, exactly in front of the new edifice. Immediately after the dedication, the old house was taken down and the majestic front of the new building, with its stately pillars and graceful steeple was first clearly revealed.

Calvin Locke had built the house near by, with frontal pillars, like those of the meeting house, in 1836, exceeding his resources to such a degree that it was known as "Locke's Folly." The Heard Mansion had been built about the year 1800. By the erection of these new buildings, this locality assumed at once great architectural dignity, which has been enhanced by the remodeling of the old inn by Mr. Cushing, the more recent beautifying of the South Common, and the erection of the Lathrop dwellings.

The old Swasey House had been a famous inn in its day. When Washington passed through Ipswich in 1789, he dined at the inn, then kept by Mrs. Homans. Major Swasey kept it for many years. Samuel Smith was a later landlord. In 1837 and subsequently, it was utilized as a boarding house for the pupils of the Female Seminary. Mary Lyon, then associated with Miss Grant, lived in the house, occupying the room over Dr. Tucker's office. She and her pupils swelled the congregation of the South Church. Mr. Zenas Cushing gave the building its present form after his purchase in 1855.

The rear end of this lot, abutting on the cove had been a famous ship-yard and was still known as the "ship-yard lot." Here Mr. William Dodge, one of the principal merchants of the Town, built in 1818, the fine ship "Arab," which was engaged in the China trade, commanded by Capt. Isaiah Lewis. He also built the ship "Hebrus," of which Capt. John Holmes Harris of Ipswich was first commander.

Asa Wade had built the store and dwelling, now owned by Frank T. Goodhue, in 1836, and dealt in groceries. The square hip-roofed Grammar School house originally occupied the corner of County and Argilla roads. When the Feoffees sold the school orchard in 1835, the school building, now used as a barn by the Lathrop brothers, was removed to its present location.

On Poplar Street, the house now owned and occupied by Mr. Geo. A. Green was owned by Capt. Samuel Day at the period of our study and used as an inn, called the Franklin House. He provided a banquet for the Union Fire Engine Co. in Jan. 1838, with great credit, and entertained the Universalist Essex Co. Quarterly Convention in July. S. S. Skinner became landlord in 1839.

Gustavus Farley bought a half interest in the old Heard distillery on Turkey Shore road in 1836, of Augustine Heard. Geo. W. Heard owned the other half, but the partnership was dissolved in June, and Mr. Farley, born of a race of tanners and curriers, gave up distilling and began the manufacture of leather. A year later, he advertised his new business, as tanner and currier at No 2 Prospect St.

400 sides stout Wax Leather
500 sides stout Wax Leather suitable for boots
400 sides kip Leather
shoes, brogans, etc.

Southern and Western merchants are respectfully invited to call.

The old buildings of the Farley tannery, last used by the Stackpole soap factory, were owned by Moses Wardwell, who carried on the tanning business at this time. On the spacious lot, now occupied by the beautiful Ipswich Hospital, there was a weekly market. Drovers gathered their great herds of cattle and sheep in New Hampshire, rested them at Byfield over Sunday, and arrived in Ipswich early in the week. Pens were built on the lot, and the cattlemen lodged in the house on the corner, which served as an inn. Purchasers came from Gloucester and the whole neighborhood to select oxen, calves, sheep and swine, and on market days, the usually quiet field took on the noise and bustle of Brighton market.

The Market Report for August 23, 1838 was as follows:

At Market, 28 beef cattle, 8 stores and 500 sheep. Prices; Beef Cattle. We noticed sales at \$6 and \$6.50. Working Oxen, one yoke Extra at \$120. Sheep and Lambs. Sales at \$2.50, 2.25 etc. Swine, none at market.

The Market Report for Sept. 23 mentions 20 beef cattle and 550 sheep and 50 swine, and there is also a report of the Ipswich Domestic Market on Thursday, Sept. 7, with quotations of the prices of butter, cheese, lard, potatoes, apples, pears, shell beans, squashes, musk-melons, water-melons, citron, cabbages, beets, onions, corn, rye and barley. The natural inference is that as the quotation was for Thursday, the weekly market day for cattle, the Domestic Market was a public market for the sale of all farm and garden products. Both markets were reported again on Sept. 21, when 50 beef cattle and 600 sheep were on sale, and on Nov. 1 the report shows that there were at market, 120 beef cattle, 50 stores 500 sheep and 90 swine.

The Eastern Rail Road was opened to Salem on Monday, August 27th, 1838, with great eclat. The editor of the Register devoted his whole editorial column to the grand occasion.

The train left Salem, ran to the terminus at East Boston, where a large company of distinguished guests was received, and returned. The cars were so crowded that only a few of the Lynn delegation could be accommodated, but a return trip to Lynn was made as soon as the guests were landed in Salem. But the dignity of the Lynn worthies had been sorely affronted. The train was greeted on its arrival with groans and hisses. This was the only drawback to the pleasure of the day. The "truly beautiful and convenient cars" were greatly admired, being fitted up with elegant taste. They were made in the "omnibus style," with an entrance at each end, so that passengers could pass from one to the other while the train was in motion.

There was a banquet in the car-house with toasts and complimentary speeches. The most significant utterances were those that assured the speedy extension of the road to the Eastward. A new impetus was given to travel, now that passengers could come by rail to Salem, and take stage there for the East. On Wednesday, Sept. 5, 1838, the editor noted that seventeen stage coaches and four post chaises, most of them full to overflowing, passed through Ipswich. But in the same issue, a paragraph was copied from the Salem Gazette, which hinted that there was a move by Boston brokers to stop the building of the road at Salem, notwithstanding the pledge given to go through to Portsmouth. Mr. Gray denounced this scheme in most vigorous fashion, and cut and slashed the Directors and all other parties who might be partners in this nefarious breach of faith.

His editorial on September 14th announced that work on the extension on two sections "already far advanced to completion" had been stopped and the contractors paid to quit. A petition had been sent to the Legislature to extend the time for completing the line two years, "thereby depriving those whose land was absolutely taken and staked out but not worked, from even legally applying for damages till the two

years expire." Petitions were showered upon the road officials to continue the work, and on September 22nd, the Company voted to do so. The surprising magnitude of stage travel at this time is revealed by Senate Document No. 77 of 1836, which reported:

Stage passengers from Salem to Boston, exclusive of Eastern passengers, were	77,000
from Newburyport	30,000
from Lynn	4,200
from Ipswich	2,000

The Rail Road Company operated six trains daily each way between Salem and Boston, the fare to Salem being 50 cents. Coaches of the Eastern Stage Co. met four trains on their arrival in Salem, so that passengers leaving Boston at 9 A. M. reached Newburyport at 1 P. M., and Portsmouth at 4 P. M.

The editor reported in his issue of Sept. 20, 1839, that the arching of Salem tunnel was about done, the piles for the bridge to Beverly driven, the cut through the ledge nearly completed, and a vessel with the railroad iron was 35 days out from Liverpool. On Friday, December 20, 1839, he announced triumphantly,

The Railroad is at length opened. The first train of cars came up in gallant style about 9 o'clock on Thursday morning, with between 50 and 60 passengers, in 34 minutes from Salem. The opening of the road will be celebrated next week by a public dinner at the Agawam to be given by the stockholders and citizens of Ipswich to the Board of Directors. The rates of fare are to Boston 87½ cents, to Salem 37½ cents, Wenham 31¼ cents, Lynn 56 cents.

The train schedule was announced by Stephen A. Chase, the Superintendent. From Boston, at 7½, 9¾, 11¾ A. M. 3 and 5 P. M.

From Ipswich, 9½ A. M., 1½ and 5¼ P. M.

Passengers for Portsmouth, leaving Boston at quarter of twelve, dined at Ipswich and went on in the Mail Stage.

Newburyport passengers could leave Boston at three and reach home by stage. All baggage was taken at the risk of the owner.

Thus passed the old stage coach. It was the one exciting thing in the quiet life of the Town,—the thundering arrival and departure of the great vehicle, loaded with passengers and baggage, the driver's long whip cracking, the four horses at a handsome gallop, the halt at the Agawam house to change horses and allow passengers a meal, the driver, meanwhile, always the hero of an admiring crowd, retailing his budget of news.

Distinguished travellers alighted now and then and tasted the good cheer of the Inn. Maj. Gen. Winfield Scott passed through in March, 1839, on his way to the East. The disputes over the North East boundary between Maine and Canada had reached such an acute stage, that Congress had authorized the President to call out 50,000 volunteers and had voted a war loan of \$10,000,000. The editor observed that war with Great Britain "was possible and even probable, and that, too, within twelve months." Daniel Webster, then in delicate health, tarried briefly on his way to Exeter Academy. The streets must have relapsed into a sleepy quiet when those seventeen stage coaches and four post chaises ceased their daily rounds.

The wharves,⁸ now falling into ruin, were busy places in those days. The lumber business with Bangor and the Kennebec, the fisheries, the freighting of domestic supplies from Boston and New York, employed a very considerable fleet of sloops and schooners, which sailed or were towed by their boats up the river. The big iron rings, still in place in the ledges near Nabby's Point and elsewhere, were used as make-fasts for the hawsers, as they made the sharp bends in the channel. Many of these coasting craft were owned and

⁸ See Chapters X and XXVI.

sailed by Ipswich men, and they came and went with the regularity of a ferry boat.

Among the smaller craft was the sloop "Carrier," Capt. Staniford, which netted an extra penny for her owners by a fishing excursion in the Bay at a dollar a ticket, which was advertised in August, 1837, leaving Granite Wharf at six o'clock, an early hour in these days but not then. It was announced in March, 1838, that the new bell on the South meeting house would be rung during the Spring and Summer at half an hour before sunrise.

Mr. A. Perkins Lord dealt in salt near the wharves, and a considerable fleet of mackerel and cod fishermen landed their fares. Jacob Brown and Ammi Smith both had coal wharves, and dispensed anthracite coal.

The Heard and Kimball building yard, near the Granite wharf, was still in use and a new schooner, fully rigged, was launched in June, 1837. The new schooner, "Agawam," built for Gardiner and Wade, for packet service between Ipswich and New York, came round from Essex with colors flying in May, 1838. Capt. Joseph Gardiner took command and carried passengers as well as freight.

Anent these items of the salt seas, the editor made admiring mention of the immense steamer lately launched at Bristol, England, having an extreme length of 253 feet, with two engines of 250 horse power each, of 1800 tons burthen, with a calculated speed of 200 miles a day, consuming 30 tons of coal, and expected to make the voyage to New York in 18 days, the return in twelve; "expectation is on tiptoe for the first voyage of this gigantic steamer, alongside of which other steamers look like little fishing boats." (Sept. 1837).

The alert editor of the Register had a vein of humor and enlivened his columns with choice bits. A worthy citizen of Ipswich inserted his advertisement on August 4, 1837.

A WIFE WANTED.

The subscriber wishes to contract with an active, genteel, good dispositioned white girl, the age from 16 to 35, as a companion for life; a likely young widow with one son or one daughter, would not be disagreeable.

Applications for further particulars may be made either personally or by letter to

Francis Hovey, Ipswich.

A pathetic plea for employment came from a blind man, still remembered by the older folks.

NOTICE.

The subscriber offers his services to the inhabitants of Ipswich as wood-sawyer, as from the loss of his sight, he is incapable of doing anything else and desirous of earning his living by some honest employment, solicits your patronage.

F. Bardwell.

Aug. 25, 1837.

The Register abounded in communications from citizens on a great variety of topics. One entitled "Keep your knitting, Hannah," written for the issue of September 29th, 1837, by Jonathan, has a delicious flavor.

By way of preface, he narrated a bit of personal experience, while he was teaching a district school some years before, in Charlotte, Vermont. One Hannah Cooke, a lazy, shiftless hussy, and an incurable gossip and busy body, had a good mother, whose constant ditty to the faulty daughter was "Keep your knitting, Hannah! Why don't you keep your knitting?"

Now Mr. Editor, I think there is a good deal contained in the commandment of this worthy dame—keep your knitting, Hannah; that is, attend to your own business, Hannah.

Would it not be well for us all to pay a little attention to mother Cooke's commandment as well as the ten commandments?

Why sir, it was a current story, a few weeks ago, that Mr. Jonathan was about being married; that he had hired the half of a certain house; that his intended bride had sent to Boston and got her an elegant white satin dress, made according to the latest French fashions; that he himself had spoken to Messrs. Cornelius & Lefavour of Salem to make him a pair of black cassimere pantaloons, a white satin vest, and a black broadcloth coat with a velvet collar; that Mr. Hale was making him a pair of Russia morocco pumps; that Mr. Newman had sold him a pair of white kid gloves; and the Rev. ——— was to unite Mr. Jonathan and Miss ——— in the bonds of matrimony. Now Mr. Editor, this is a false statement of facts in the case. I am not going to be married this Fall. That I intend matrimony is true, but when I shall perpetrate it, the deponent saith not. Why cannot people let me alone until I am ready!

But lest any should think I speak lightly of the marriage connection, I will publicly state that I am a decided advocate of the holy estate of matrimony. I am inclined moreover, to think that there still lingers on the horizon of my heart some rays of that sunny light which came over me in early youth, and made the world like a bright sphere, where innocent beings walk, loving and beloved, in green pastures and beside still waters, that image forth the peace and purity of their souls.

. . . . When a man of honor and of virtue leads to the altar the fair and confiding lady of his heart; when in the sight of man and angels and God, he makes oath to the truth and ardor of his affection, and the modest blush steals forth in proof that it is not unrequited, we perceive that there are some roses and sweets amid the thorns and brambles of life.

And if my life be spared, I shall ere many winters have passed away enter into that holy state. . . . Till I shall be ready however to take upon myself the joys and sorrows of that connection, I would that others be less anxious to hasten the day.

When all things are ready the tidings shall be announced; till then, ye anxious for the event, I beseech ye, as did Mrs. Cooke her daughter,—“Keep your knitting.”

Jonathan.

A communication under the heading "Celibacy" laments the "anti-social malady that afflicts our village," which the writer traces to the unwillingness to marry, unless a sumptuous home and a life of luxury are assured. He finds that thus "mammon impedes this beatific endearment of human life," and urges,

Let frigid formality be superseded by cordial socialness; let it be felt that the essentials of sublunary contentment are comprised in moral and intellectual pleasures, with ordinary domestic comforts, and we need not be exposed to any chills of celibacy.

Coelebs.

The building of a new brick house at the Poor Farm, a little to the east of the old building, which was finished in August, 1839, called forth an avalanche of sharply written letters in opposition from village Solons. A correspondent, writing in May, 1839, calls attention to the enterprising action of the citizens in Rowley in surrounding the Common with shade trees. "We hope old Agawam will not be backward in following the example of her neighbors in this particular Our village would be much improved in a few years." Apparently the seed fell on good ground. Many of our beautiful elms seem to be about the size of the trees in Rowley, many are younger.

An indignant citizen wrote to the editor in March, 1838:

Mr. Editor. Will you be kind enough to publish the names of the tithing-men for the current year? Judging from the noises and various improper conduct of some of our boys in the streets and other places, they will have something to do in order to the faithful discharge of their office.

A subscriber made an appeal for better care of the old High Street cemetery in July, 1839.

Hardly a tree or shrub has been planted since my boyhood. Sheep bleat mournfully among the tombs and the hoofs of cattle trample down the graves. The monuments have been wantonly broken down and scattered into fragments.⁴

"Andante" assailed the church choirs.

One word on instruments. They are very poor or quite badly performed on, and it is allowed by most persons that no instruments at all is preferable to inaccurate instrumental performance. It is not my intention in the above to wound the feelings of any individual, but to set forth the deplorable state of the choirs at the present time for the want of a little attention.

But politics was the editor's hobby. The Fall election of 1838 was hotly contested. Ipswich was seething like a maelstrom. Mr. Gray opened the campaign in July with his flings at the "Loco-Focos." Edward Everett was the nominee for Governor on the Whig ticket. The Democrats supported Robert Rantoul, Jr. for Congress, to the infinite disgust of the editor. The Whigs in Linebrook met in October, the Committee of Vigilance for that district being requested to give due notice of the place. The Democratic County Convention met in Ipswich on October 31st and nominated Josiah Caldwell for Senator. The Whig Convention on the following day nominated Col. Charles Kimball. The editor indulged in cutting jibes at the Loco-Foco nominee.

He was so completely worn out with his campaign activities that he issued a half sheet only on November 16th with apologies for its size, but with gleeful paeans of triumph. "Sweeping Victory for the Whigs, Down Fall of Martin Van Buren, Rout of the Loco-Focos"; and the taunting query "Wonder if the Rev. Mr. Pike of Rowley will be chaplain to the embassy?"

⁴ The "herbage" in the Burying Ground and the privilege of pasturing calves and sheep were let out to the highest bidder by the First Parish for many years.

The editor was obliged to confess on January 11th that he had not regained his strength.

The Anti-Slavery cause was gathering strength. There was an Anti-Slavery Society which always held its meetings in the Methodist vestry. Edwin Thompson, the agent of the Essex County Abolition Society, gave an address in the Methodist meeting house in August, 1838. The Ipswich Female Anti-Slavery Society met at Mrs. Jabez Farley's. The Rowley Anti-Slavery Society was refused access to either of the meeting houses, and eight hundred gathered at the house of Thomas Payson. Whittier, Garrison and Stanton were announced for the Anti-Slavery Convention at Danvers.

The editor declared that the crisis was approaching. Free discussion must be allowed. A meeting of those opposed to the Union of Northern Dough Faces and Southern slaveholders was called in the Court House. Families and churches were divided by the anti-slavery issue. In the old First Church there was a group of influential citizens whose antipathy to the unfortunate black man was so extreme that they refused him the privilege of worshiping in the Lord's house. A bill of sale of a gallery pew in April, 1825 affords conclusive proof of their determination to forbid his crossing their threshold.

Know all Men that we, Joseph Farley, Ebenezer Lord junior and Moses Goodhue, a Committee chosen and appointed by the first Parish in Ipswich in the County of Essex and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, to sell and convey the new Pews in the Galleries of the Meeting House of said Parish, and in consideration of thirty dollars and twenty-five cents in conformity to said authority, said sum being paid to us for the use of said Parish by Michael Farley of the same Ipswich, Merchant, the receipt whereof we do hereby acknowledge, do grant, sell and convey unto him, the said Michael Farley, number eight of the said new Pews in said

Galleries. And it is agreed between the said Parish and the said Michael Farley his heirs and assigns, that if he or they, or either of them shall ever hereafter sell or let said Pew to any Negro or colored person or persons, the same shall revert back to said Parish and successors and the title become void according to the Conditions of the sale thereof. To have and to hold the granted Premises with the appurtenances to the said Michael Farley his heirs and assigns forever, subject only to the above restriction.

In witness of which we hereto set our hands and seals this eighth day of April, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-five.

Joseph Farley
Ebenez^r Lord jr.
Moses Goodhue

Signed, sealed and delivered
in presence of us
Asa Andrews
Theodore Andrews

It seems incredible that this deed represented fairly the sentiment of the Church. The Methodist Church was willing to open its house of worship to anti-slavery meetings, but it was not a unit in its attitude regarding abolition, and the extreme sympathizers with abolition, after years of contention withdrew in 1842 and formed an independent Church.⁵

The routine of every day life was broken now and then by lighter events. The Equestrian Co. from the Lion theatre, Boston, billed the town for a one day exhibit. Box Tickets 50 cents. Pit 25.

For the only time in its history, the Register of May 18, 1838 contained a cut, an atrocious picture of two camels, facing each other, heading the thrilling announcement which set the Town in a flutter.

Menagerie From the Zoological Institute, New York.

⁵ See Chapter XXII, History of the Methodist Church.

The proprietors of this extensive establishment inform the citizens of Ipswich and vicinity that they will exhibit their Animals on the Common, opposite the Agawam house.

Another exhibition asked the public favor:

This night only at the Court House, Dunlap's sublime and magnificent scriptural and historical Painting of the Opening of the Four First Seals or Death on the Pale Horse, 12 by 22 feet.

The 17th of June, 1837, was celebrated with great enthusiasm, despite the fact that it rained in torrents. A procession was formed at half past two at the Agawam, Joseph H. Dodge and Warren Kimball, Marshalls. It marched to the Court House, where an excellent dinner was served, seventeen of the guests being veterans of the Revolution. The event was celebrated by a long series of after dinner speeches. Four of the veterans were at Bunker Hill, thirteen in other battles. Ten were unable to attend, including John O'Brien, 91 yrs. old, who was captured with Cornwallis's army, took the oath of allegiance, entered the American army and became a pensioner.

Winter brought the delights of the singing school. Mr. Goodrich, of the Boston Academy of Music, proposed a school of instruction in vocal music upon the Pestalozzian plan with an introductory lecture at the High School house. The school was held in Mr. Hammatt's hall. Daniel Woodward, Esq. President of the Beethoven Society, Newburyport, proposed a singing school the next Winter in the Vestry of the First Parish at half past six.

In the Fall of 1837, a Debating Club was organized, Charles Kimball, President, Josiah Caldwell and Geo. Chadwick, Vice Presidents, Timothy Souther, S. E. Strong, Stephen C. Brown, Joseph Farley, Gustavus Farley, Standing Committee.

It wrestled with some momentous questions, "Does the pleasure experienced by the habitual use of tobacco compen-

sate for its deleterious effects upon the system?" "Is the effect of theatrical representations necessarily injurious to the Community?" The ominous subject "Is it expedient to continue the Ipswich Debating Club?" was debated in March, 1838. Wearied with its hopeless task, it then fell asleep.

An extraordinary passion for militarism was prevalent at this time. Low's Independent Fusiliers was organized at Linebrook in October, 1837 and named in honor of Gen. Low, the commander of the Brigade to which the Company was attached. The Boxford Washington Guards and the Fusiliers had a field day at Capt. Thomas Potter's, and an elegant standard was presented by Gen. Low's daughter.

The Ipswich Association for Military Discipline met for drill and public parade. On the Fourth of July, 1838, the Independent Sea Fencibles paraded and a standard was presented to them by Miss Abigail Treadwell. Two companies of boys, The High Street Volunteers, afterwards changed to The Washington Blues, and the Agawam Guards also were in line, the Guards making their first appearance. Beverly rejoiced in a Juvenile Artillery Company. The lads were admitted to a proud place in the militia musters and were petted and feted to their hearts' content.

In the churches the great annual event in Methodist circles was the voyage to the Camp Meeting at Eastham, where there was a grove capable of accommodating four thousand people, tents in a circle, and a choir of a thousand voices. The sloop "Granite," and the schooner, "Arabella," in successive years, were chartered and the perils of the sea and the pains of sea-sickness were faced with pious zeal.

Couples intending marriage were "published" from the pulpits, and the gossip loving community often received a shock, when some engagement, which had been kept secret was thus disclosed. An old letter tells of the family surprise when the young son of the household rushed home from

church with feverish haste to announce that his sly and shy Uncle Richard had been "published" and was going to be married.

Our versatile, enterprising, vivacious editor began to find financial difficulties in February, 1838. He voiced his need in rhyme.

Here is Winter, here is Winter
Storms of hail and snow and sleet
Pay the Printer, Pay the Printer
Let him warm his hands and feet.

In August, an excursion of the editor with a handful of bills netted him two dollars. In April, 1839, his published intention to give up the paper at the end of the year, May, 1839, unless more encouragement was given, led to a public meeting of citizens in the Town Hall to devise schemes of relief. Nothing resulted, and on January 21st, 1840, he made the fatal announcement that the Ipswich Register now ceased to be, being merged with the Lynn Freeman and Essex County Whig under his editorial charge.

"It is now nearly three years," he remarked in his Valetictory, "since we took up our abode in this good old town, young and a stranger, and with sincere regret are compelled to remove our habitation." It was a singularly trying experience, inasmuch as in the previous August, the young editor had married Elizabeth C. T., daughter of Rev. David Tenney Kimball, Minister of the First Parish.

CHAPTER XXVI.

SHIPPING AND SAILORS OF THE 19TH CENTURY.

At the opening of the century, Ipswich was enjoying the dignity of a Port. Asa Andrews, Esq. was the Collector, and presided over the Custom House, with its proper retinue of subordinates. With the decline of commerce, the business of the Port did not warrant the continuance of the Custom House and it was abolished.

Had the records been preserved, a multitude of interesting details, regarding the vessels, their owners and captains, their voyages and cargoes, would have remained to us. But unfortunately, the most diligent search has failed to find them, and if they are in existence, their discovery awaits some happy accident. One small book of registrations has been found in the records of the Newburyport Custom House, now abolished, and its record of shipping is of great interest. It begins with the year 1804, and it reveals a flourishing business in the Chebacco Parish, now Essex, of building and operating the small fishing schooners, for which the town has long been famous. These craft were almost invariably of twenty-two tons, and the master usually owned either the whole or a half of his vessel. The numerous families of Andrewses and Burnhams were naturally most conspicuous.

Asa Andrews sailed the schooner, "Union," John Dodge, owner, in 1804, John Mears succeeding him in 1805. Caleb Andrews, Jr. was master of the "Hannah," built in 1806, owned by Thos. Giddings and others, and sold to Dorchester parties in 1807. Moody Haskell owned the "Friendship,"

Capt. Eleazar Andrews; Jacob Andrews sailed the "Patriot" in 1808; Jonathan Andrews was master of the "Mary," built in 1807, also owned by Moody Haskell, and Jonathan Andrews, Jr. in 1804, commanded the old schooner "Dolphin," built in Newmarket in 1783, of which Moses Marshall was part owner, and the next year, the "Mars," which was sold to Brunswick owners. Jonathan Andrews and Moses Marshall owned the "Fly," Mark Andrews, master, in 1804; Solomon Andrews sailed the "Marie" in 1804, which he owned in company with William Andrews, and in 1806, the "Finis," owned by Benjamin Burnham. William Andrews 3^d was master of the "Harmony," owned by Jonathan Andrews and William Andrews.

Benjamin Burnham, Jr. owned and sailed the "Tryal" in 1805, and the "Deliverance," built in 1807, which he sold to W^m Bowers. He owned the "Recovery," Samuel Stodder, master, in 1808. Ebenezer Burnham, Jr. was master and owner of the new schooner "Lively" in 1807. Henry Burnham was master of the "Rainbow" in 1805, and the new schooner "Dolphin" in 1806, owned by Jonathan Burnham and John Burnham 3^d. Jacob Burnham, Jr. sailed the new schooner "Leon," John Dexter being part owner, in 1804, the "Camel" in 1805, and the "Sally," built in 1806, Dexter and Moses Andrews owning an interest. The "Pilgrim" was owned and sailed by Michael Burnham. Moses Burnham was master of the "Fair Play," which he owned in company with Jacob Andrews. The little craft called the boat "Ogin," 12 tons, was owned by Willy Burnham, sailed by Samuel Burnham. William Burnham 3^d was master of the "Liberty," Enoch Low sharing the ownership, and Zaccheus Burnham sailed the "Amazon," owned by himself and James Andrews.

The Allens had a great fancy for the name "Dolphin" for their fishing craft. Isaac Allen sailed the "Dolphin," built in 1804, John Burnham 3^d part owner, and a new

"Dolphin" built in 1805, sharing it with Burnham, which was sold to Deer Isle the same year. Joseph Allen sailed the sloop "Rainbow" in 1804, the schooner "Jefferson," built in 1805, owned by himself, Joseph Choate and David Burnham 3^d, and sold to Boothbay owners in the same year; another "Jefferson," built in 1808; and he was sole owner of another "Dolphin," built in 1807.

Jacob Cogswell, Jr. sailed his own vessel, the "Sally" in 1804. William Cook was master of the "Nabby," built in 1808; Aaron Craft sailed the "Olive," owned by Thomas Choate and David Burnham 3^d. Josiah Burnham's vessel "Nabby," was sailed by William Day in 1807. The "Betsey," built in 1804, owned by John and Amos Choate, was commanded by Daniel Emmons. Jeremiah Lufkin sailed the "Columbus," which he owned in company with John Smith, Jr. The "Ruth," owned by Moses Marshall, Jr. in 1808, was sailed by Josiah Poland. John White was master of the "Willow," Ebenezer Story, owner. Daniel Young was master of the "Hunter," and owned his vessel, in shares with Jonathan Burnham.

In the four years covered by this ancient record, the Chebacco fishing fleet numbered forty vessels, built for the most part in the local ship yards and owned by the men of the Parish. These vessels were manned by the young men, many of whom probably were trained in this hard school for the command of deep sea ships.

The building and rigging of the vessels, the making of barrels, the curing and packing and shipping of the fish, gave abundant employment to those who preferred a firm footing on Mother Earth. With farming and store-keeping, and the common trades, with shoe-making in Winter to supplement these industries the Chebacco Parish had no reason to complain of scarcity of work or scant resources for the support of the people.

In the Town of Ipswich, Major Robert Farley was the principal merchant and he owned, wholly or in part, quite a fleet, both of fishermen and the larger vessels, which carried the dried and salt fish and fish oil to the West Indies and to European ports. He married Susanna Kendall, daughter of the old sailor and merchant, Capt. Ephraim Kendall, on Nov. 30, 1786. The bride was only nineteen, but she became the mother of fourteen children and outlived her husband seventeen years, dying in 1840 in her seventy-third year. Major Farley named the brig "Susanna," built to his order in Ipswich in 1804, in her honor. She was a goodly craft for her day, with her two decks and 173 tons measurement. She was commanded by his nephew, Michael Farley, Jr., son of his brother Jabez, a young sailor of twenty-two years who was master of the schooner "Dolphin," at Trinidad in March, 1804. The shipping news in the Salem newspapers, the principal source of information regarding the movements of Ipswich vessels, reported him at Leghorn, April 17, 1806, sailing for Galiopoli, and at Leghorn again in September.

Capt. Farley seems to have been the owner of the brig "William." The original parchment signed by James Monroe, President of the United States, granting a permit to the Brig "William," Andrew Marsters, master, 200 tons burthen, navigated with eleven men, "to pass with her Company, Passengers, Goods and Merchandise without any hinderance . . . or molestation," and bearing the name, Michael Farley, on the outside, is still owned by the heirs of the late Nathaniel R. Farley.

Major Robert Farley's five sons and seven daughters lived to mature age, two children only dying in early life. Following the fashion of the day, he named two of his ships, the "Five Brothers" and the "Seven Sisters." Capt. Michael commanded the brig "Five Brothers," and sailed on an ill-fated voyage in the winter of 1818-19. He died

of the coast fever on the West coast of Africa at Rio Nunis, on Feb. 12, 1819. Mr. Gray, chief mate, took command, but died on the passage to St. Pierre, where she arrived Oct. 22nd in charge of a seaman. Capt. Wright took command, but the brig was lost in a hurricane, which swept the West Indies, while lying at anchor in the harbor, and only part of the cargo was saved.

Capt. Farley had married Mary Manning, daughter of Dr. John Manning, in 1813, and she was left with four young children.

Shipping ventures were peculiarly uncertain, and Major Robert had his full share of mishaps. The schooner "Caroline," 114 tons, named for one of his daughters, was commanded by Capt. Thomas Kimball. On the return voyage from Demerara, she went ashore, November 10, 1804, on the back side of the Vineyard and was totally wrecked, though the crew and cargo were saved. Another of his fleet, while fishing on the Grand Banks, was run down by an English ship in August, 1816. She sank at once, but the crew were saved.

The schooner "Commerce," 86 tons, of which William Robbins was master in 1806 and John Sweet in 1807, the "Experiment," Captain Wright, which brought a fare of 40,000 fish from the Bay Chaleur in Sept., 1820, and a hundred barrels of mackerel in October, were owned by Major Farley, and perhaps the "Eunice," Capt. Farley, which was at St. Petre in July, 1819.

Capt. Jabez Farley, father of Capt. Michael, lost two other sons in foreign lands. The young lad, Gustavus, died at Demerara in January, 1810, lacking two months of sixteen years. Thomas took to the sea as well, and became a captain of one of the ships owned by N. L. Rogers and Bros., but afterward commanded a river steamer in the West.

The Treadwells were another family famous for sea-faring and ship owning. Capt. Moses, Jr. was in command of the

brigantine "Adventure," 105 tons, in 1807, and was reported at Trinidad and St. Lucie in 1808 and 1809. William Robbins was also master in 1807. Capt Treadwell married Mary Kendall, daughter of Capt. Ephraim in 1805, and formed a partnership with Jonathan Kendall, his brother-in-law, owning together the "Adventure" and the schooner "Hannah," 74 tons, of which Aaron Sweet was master.

The Ipswich ship "Eliza," commanded by Capt. Treadwell, was reported at Lisbon, June 11, 1807, at Cadiz in Sept. at Lisbon, in December, having arrived recently from Cork. In April, 1808, she was at the Isle of May, on a voyage from London for Boston, and at Torrington in January, 1810. Eliza was a favorite family name with the Treadwells, and the ship was probably owned by Capt. Moses and Mr. Kendall. Capt. Treadwell was the sole owner of the small pink-sterned schooners, "Alert," 25 tons, "Fame," 24 tons, and the larger schooner, "Richmond," of 90 tons. Capt. Lord was master of the "Richmond" on a trip to Martinique in 1818, returning with a load of molasses. Capt. Treadwell, probably Daniel or Nathaniel, had charge of her on West India voyages in 1820 and 1822. For several years she made an early Spring voyage to Cape Haytien or Port au Prince, returned with a cargo of salt, and in Summer went to the Bay of Chaleur or the coast of Labrador for fish.

Nathaniel Treadwell was master of the sloop "Packet" in 1805, and doubtless commanded other vessels. Nathaniel Treadwell, a young man of 33 years, was lost at sea in February, 1821, and another Nathaniel was lost overboard from the brig "Antelope," on a trip from New Orleans to Providence in 1828. Capt. Daniel Treadwell died at New Orleans in June, 1825. He may have been master of the "Friendship," which made West India voyages. Jabez Treadwell, son of Capt. Jabez, 19 years old, died at Havana, 1806, and Joseph Grafton Treadwell died at sea, on board

ship "Mary Ellen," bound for Canton in July, 1844 in his twenty-first year.

The Lakemans, generation after generation were men of the sea. Richard Lakeman, Jr., mariner, and Joseph Lord of Boston, merchant, sold to John Baker, Jr., whitesmith, Joshua Giddings, yeoman, and John Boardman, mariner, the good schooner "Betsey," 35 tons, April 2, 1803. Richard Lakeman, 3^d and Ebenezer Caldwell owned the schooner "Sally," 52 tons, Benjamin Pindar, master, in 1804, and the sch. "Washington," Capt. Thomas Caldwell, 3^d in 1806. In 1807, Richard Lakeman, Jr. was owner and master of the sloop "Betsey," 20 tons. Captain Lakeman and Joseph Lord owned two-thirds of the schooner "Hero," 80 tons, of which Lakeman was master in 1815. Thomas Kimball had been master in 1806, Richard Lakeman in 1807.

In 1809, Captain Daniel Lakeman was instructed by Richard Lakeman "for the concern" to proceed to sea in the schooner, "William Henry" as soon as the weather favored. She was engaged in trade with the West Indies. The schooner "Molly," 67 tons, Capt. Sweet, was employed by Capt. Lakeman in fishing on the Grand Banks and the Labrador coast. She was sold to Capt. Moses Treadwell. The "Nancy," another of the Lakeman fishing fleet, brought full fares from the Grand Banks.

Captain Benjamin Glazier in the Ipswich brig, "Mary" was reported at Guadaloupe, Trinidad, St. Croix and St. Martins, where he was seeking a market in 1803 and 1804. In the same years, John Boardman was owner and master of the sloop "Experiment," 44 tons, and Ebenezer Sutton, Jr. sailed the schooner "Enterprize," 40 tons, Moses Goodhue owning a part. Thomas Hodgkins, Jr. owned and sailed the little schooner "Speedwell," of 25 tons. Thomas Staniford was master of the sloop "Salem," 42 tons, which he owned in partnership with Samuel Eveleth. David Pulcifer owned and commanded the 46 ton sloop "Rainbow."

The schooner "Republic," 21 tons, was owned by her master, Samuel Hardy. Benjamin Averill and Daniel Potter, Jr. owned the sloop "Salem Packet," 42 tons, sailed by Samuel Eveleth, and Daniel Emmons in 1806. Aaron Sweet sailed the sloop "Washington," Nath. Harris, Jr. being his partner. Stephen Choate, Jr. and John Choate owned the schooner "Britannia," 72 tons, in 1807, Benjamin Frost, master, and also the schooner "Dove," 39 tons, John Glazier, master, in company with Ammi Brown, Michael Brown and Asa Lakeman. The boat "Drake" of 12 tons, Nathaniel Dodge, managing owner, was engaged in cod fishing, sailed by Samuel George. The sloop "True American," Capt. Pearson, was at Martinique on March 11. The "Perseverance," Capt. Glazier, was at St. Petersburg in Sept. 1807. Capt. Daniel Lord, 3^d was master of the brig "Parrot," owned by Ebenezer Caldwell and Michael Farley in 1805 and Ebenezer Lakeman in 1807.

The extent and value of the shipping industry in these opening years of the century are revealed strikingly by the list of Registration papers granted between the years 1796 and 1806. One hundred and fifty-one certificates were issued to the sailors of Ipswich and the Chebacco Parish, now Essex, in this period. The serious depression brought upon this thriving business by the Embargo has already been noted.¹ It is not wholly strange that some skippers resorted to smuggling. Two Ipswich craft came to grief.

The Newburyport Herald on Jan. 21, 1814, copied from the Portsmouth Gazette, that the schooner "Industry" of Ipswich, Capt. Pulcifer, from Halifax with English goods, said to be bound to Newburyport, had been seized by Customs Officers in Isle of Shoals Roads. Part of the cargo had been landed at the Shoals and some portions at Rye. The "C. Polly," presumably the "Charming Polly," a favorite

¹ See Chapter XVII.

name, was also seized with a cargo of English goods and taken into Portland.²

The sloop "Primrose," moored for the winter at Little Neck wharf, was stolen in January, 1814, as well as the sails and rigging, which were in the store house on the wharf. Jeremiah Choate and John H. Dodge offered liberal rewards for the recovery of the vessel or the detection of the thieves.³

Business revived instantly after peace was declared. The river was alive again with the incoming and outgoing sloops, schooners and brigs. One of the stateliest craft entering the river was the ship "Ten Brothers," of which William Dodge was half owner. She was reported in 1815 at Alexandria and Cadiz, commanded by Capt. Berry, selling her cargo as markets opened, and in 1817, under the command of Capt. Ellwell, she was at St. Pierre. She arrived in Ipswich on October 16, 1817, a proud day for the pilot, Ebenezer Sutton, who brought her safely over the bar and up the winding river to her moorings. Mr. Dodge made sundry repairs and fitted her at once for a voyage to the coast of Africa, his half of the cargo being valued at \$6700, and half her freight of lumber, valued at \$700. Upon her return from Africa in 1818, under the command of Capt. Cays, the "Ten Brothers" was sold on July 10th, for \$14,260.23.⁴

The schooner "Lark," Capt. Stanwood, bound for Hallowell with a number of passengers, including five women, struck on a ledge off Richmond's Island in a thick fog on June 30, 1819, and was lost with her cargo, but all on board were saved. The shipping news of the Salem newspapers made frequent mention of Ipswich vessels. The schooner "Arrow," Capt. Damon, was at the West Indies in 1820, the boat "Breed," and the schooner "Bee," Capt. Perley, were at St. Barts in 1815.

² The Massachusetts Centinel, Jan. 29, 1814.

³ Newburyport Herald, Jan. 29, 1814.

⁴ Account books of William Dodge.

The schooner "Belisarius," Capt. Jewett, made mackerel cruises and marketed her fish in the West Indies in 1819-20. About the year 1820, the sloop began to be the popular type of Ipswich craft, and within a few years, there is mention of the "Edward," Capt. Sweet, the "Harriet," Capt. Manning, the "Hero," Capt. Lord, and the "Henry," Capt. Lord, the "Nancy," Capt. Harris, the "Rob-Roy," Capt. Sweet, the "Relief," Capt. Caldwell, the "Return," Capt. Sweet, the "Traveller," Capt. Caldwell, the "Three Sisters," Capt. Willcomb and the "Volant," Capt. Kinsman.

The Ipswich Journal began to be published in 1827. An incomplete file has interesting news of the day. The schooner, "Peace," Capt. Lord, was engaged in mackereling. The sloop "Elizabeth," Capt. Sweet, brought molasses from Portland to Geo. W. Heard in August; the "Exchange," Capt. Caldwell, the "Rainbow," Capt. Brewer, the "Lydia," Capt. Dennis, the "Relief," now sailed by Capt. Philbrook, were busy with coasting trips. Nathaniel Harris, Jr. advertised his "well-known and remarkable sound sloop "Nancy," 40 tons, "about forty-five years old, in every respect an excellent vessel for the coasting trade" for sale, at Richard Lakeman's wharf, in March, 1828.

The new and elegant schooner "Don Quixote," Capt. Sylvanus Caldwell, sailed from Newburyport for the Kennebec, with Mr. Daniel Cogswell, one of the owners, as a passenger, in Sept., 1827. She was engaged in the coasting trade for many years. The schooner "Hunter" of this port, sailed by Capt. Crocket and later by Capt. Harris, made her trips to Wilmington and Charleston. Capt. Boardman, in the schooner "Polly," brought salt and sundries from Boston to Manning Dodge. Capt. Manning in the schooner "Commerce," brought molasses from Salem to Mr. Heard's distillery, and the sloop "Lydia" brought a similar cargo from Boston. Capt. Woodbury in the "Reliance" was at St. Thomas in May, 1828. The Ipswich schooner "America," Capt.

Stanley, sailed from Saco for New York in May, sprang aleak, filled and capsized, but the passengers and crew were saved. Captain William Treadwell was master of the Salem schooner, "Plato," and made regular Southern trips. Captain Kinsman in the brig "Comet," sailed to the West Indies and New Orleans.

These were busy years at the ship-yards on the river bank. John H. Dodge advertised the hull of a fishing schooner, then approaching completion, in January, 1817. William Heard advertised the hull of a 70 ton vessel "built in workman-like manner of pasture oak," in April, 1818.

William Dodge, merchant and ship-owner, built the fine ship "Arab," at the ship-yard on the Cove, now included in Doctor Tucker's lot, in 1818. His private records contain many interesting items. Calvin Turner, from the famous Medford ship-yards, was hired as the master builder in March, 1818. With Daniel Cogswell's horse and chaise, sundry trips were made to Linebrook to select trees for the keel piece, the knees of walnut and yellow oak, masts and spars. Samuel Henderson and John Low struck the first blow in cutting down timber in the Linebrook woods. Skilled builders were imported from the South shore, but the Ipswich ship carpenters had their full share of work, William Heard, Benjamin Kimball, Senior and Junior, John Wade, Thomas Foster, Eben Pulcifer, William Hoyt, Mr. Cross and Edward Martin, the blacksmith.

Work began on the ship on March 30, 1818, Mr. Dodge agreeing with Capt. Mills, the carpenter, to pay him 9 shillings a day. "I am to find Grog and he to pay his own board." In May, Silvanus Caldwell made a trip to Portland for lumber. As the work progressed, white oak logs were hauled from Boxford and Hamilton and from the farms of Samuel and Oliver Appleton. In the middle of October, Aaron Treadwell's oxen tugged at the tackles which raised the heavy masts. October 16th, 1818, was a gala day, when this

great ship of 360 tons made her maiden plunge into the Cove. Isaiah Lewis was Master and part owner, and in the year 1820, the "Arab" was in China, and brought home an invoice of goods, shipped by Captain Augustine Heard. It may have been on this voyage that Capt. Lewis touched at the Hawaiian Islands, and brought a letter home from young Nehemiah Haskell, then on his first voyage before the mast in the schooner "Eagle."

The "Hebrus," owned probably by Mr. Dodge and his associates, was commanded by an Ipswich sailor, John Holmes Harris. She ran aground approaching the harbor of Savannah, and the Captain was obliged to throw part of the cargo overboard to save the ship. She was pulled off, but lost boat, anchor and hawser. He made several trips to Savannah in the "Hebrus," then sailed between Liverpool and Boston in 1819 and 1820. After which the ship seems to have changed hands and a new captain succeeded him.

The Salem Gazette of Oct. 25, 1822, notes: "an elegant coppered brig of 200 tons, called the "Colon," belonging to Hon. I. Thorndike of Beverly, was launched from Messrs. Heard and Kimball's ship-yard at Ipswich, on Thursday last." The brig "Sylph," intended for the East India trade had been launched in June.

Other Ipswich vessels of seventy-five years ago were owned or sailed by men who are still remembered, though there are some, which are known only by name: the schooners "Armida," "Bashaw," "Caravan," Capt. Gray and the "Caspian"; the schooner "Climax," which was at Barbadoes in 1824, commanded by Captain Harris and Capt. Stanwood; the "Decatur," the "Elizabeth," Capt. John Newmarch, and the "Eliza Ann"; the sloop "Exchange," of 56 tons, owned by Daniel Cogswell and Joseph Farley, sailed by Sylvanus Caldwell; the "Hazard," Capt. Harris, (1817) and the "Hunter," Capt Harris (1827), the "Janus," the "London," the "Norman," the brig "New Packet," Capt. Isaac Chadwick,

owned in 1835 by Josiah Caldwell; the schooners "Reindeer," Capt. Kimball, and "Reliance," Capt. Woodbury; the "Superior," the "Venus," and the "Webhannet," first entered at Ipswich, in 1817, commanded by Aaron Harris many years, and sold by her later owners, Sylvanus Caldwell and Daniel Cogswell, to Newburyport parties in 1857.

Last of the long list of the Ipswich fleet are the vessels, which are well remembered by the older folk, who as boys made their first ventures upon the sea, fishing or coasting on some of them, or those who used to see them sailing majestically home from sea, and patiently tacking up the river, hauling round Nabby's Point by the help of hawsers, fastened to the great iron rings in the rocks, which still remain, the mute reminders of an ancient and romantic industry, now wholly gone from the old sea-port.

These included the "Arabella," used for the most part as a mackerel catcher, but when the time for the Methodist camp-meeting came, Captain Leatherland or Captain Brocklebank cleaned up his craft and took a company to Eastham; the "Agawam," built in Essex in 1838, for the firm of Gardiner and Wade, which made frequent trips with passengers and freight to New York commanded by Capt. Joseph Gardiner; the "Ann Maria," a Kennebec coaster, under Capt. Kinsman, the old "Boxer," sailed by Capt. Richard Sutton and Capt. Edward Grant, the "Branch," Captain Searle and Capt. Searle's pinky, the "Plyant," the "California," sailed by Capt. David Spiller in 1864, who was master as well of the "Challenge," the "Charles Cooper," the "Clara Rankin" and the "Hortense."

The sloop "Carrier" was a Kennebec packet, with a variety of masters, Brocklebank, Butler, Lakeman and Stanford, and Capt. Lakeman was in the schooner "Caspian" as well. The "Commodore," 66 tons, was commanded by Capt. Thomas Sweet in 1854, who was master of the "Georgia," 128 tons; for many years, until she was sold in 1868, and

then master of the fine new schooner, "Lucy K. Cogswell," built by Edward W. Choate at his ship-yard near the Rogers house. Captain Richard Weymouth was master of the "Clara," the "Mayflower" and the "Ospray." Capt. John Newmarch was master of the "Crocodile," the "Enterprise" and the "Outvie." Captain Philbrook sailed the "Dispatch."

Captain Frank Chapman sailed for Washington on his first voyage as master of the "Eliza B." in March, 1864, with a crew of four men and was never heard from; and Captain Willcomb's schooner, the "Eliza Ann," was the scene of a painful accident at Gardiner, when William Lord became entangled in the hawser and lost his leg. The "Elizabeth" sailed regularly to the Kennebec under Captains Caldwell, Sutton and Spiller, and also Capt. Sweet's sloop, the "Edward." The "Fawn" was a fisherman under Capt. Jewett. The "Grand" made coasting trips under Capt. Brocklebank, the sloop "Granite" carried the camp-meeting company to Eastham in 1837. Capt. Richard Sutton had the "General Kleber"; Capt. Aaron Harris was master of the "Helena," whose bones rotted out in the cove near East Street and also of the "Vandalia."

The "Hannah Clark," Richard L. Weymouth, master, in 1871 was owned by Richard Lakeman and John Newmarch, Jr. Robert Gove and William Jewett were masters of the fisherman "John S. Glover"; Ignatius Dodge had the fishing smack "J. Howard," in which Eben L. Thomas shipped as boy in 1849, when he was fourteen, beginning his long career as a sailor. Capt. Dodge was master of the "July Fourth." The top-sail schooner "J. Warren," was in charge of Capt. John Philbrook, who was master as well of the "Ornament." Capt. Joseph Willcomb sailed the "Spy." The "Rising Sun," Capt. Newmarch, made fishing trips to the Bay of Chaleur. William Jewett was master of the "Union"; Aaron Sweet sailed the "Votre." Capt. Lakeman in the "Van

Buren," and Capt. Staniford in the "William and Louisa," made coasting trips to the Kennebec. Capt. John Caldwell, the father of Mrs. Cowles, was struck by the boom of his sloop, the "Traveller," near Gardiner, knocked overboard and drowned.

In the year 1834, Charles Choate removed to Ipswich from Essex with his family and began building vessels at Baker's wharf. The "Marsena" and many others were built there by him. In due time, his sons, Lewis and Edward, took up their father's trade and built in the same yard, the schooners "Howard C. Dodge," "A. S. Wiley," "Freeman," "Almira M. Cloutman," "Emma F. Lewis," "Warren B. Hopkins," "Timothy Davis," "Deborah B. Webb," "Caldera," "Lizzie F. Choate," "Helen M. Dennis," "John S. Glover," "J. Albert Smith," "Sarah R. Smith," "Lydia M. Crowell," "F. A. Smith," "Leonida Euphasia."

In 1851 they removed their business to the bank of the river at the foot of Green Street, now occupied by the bridge, and built that year, the "Mountain Spring" and "David Howes"; in 1852, the "Masconomet"; in 1853 the "Anna Maria," "Deliverance," and "Mary B. Smith"; in 1854, the "Martha Russell" and the "Pucalangi"; in 1855, the "John S. Crowell" and in 1859 the "Hero."

Edward W. Choate built at his yard at Rogers's Point, the "Lucy K. Cogswell" in 1868, the "Fred Gray" in 1869, the "Mattie F." in 1875, and the steamer "Carlotta" in 1878. These vessels were built, with few exceptions, for Gloucester parties and were used as fishermen.

The "Deliverance," while engaged in a whaling cruise on the coast of Africa, was carried up high and dry on the shore by a tidal wave. The "Fred Gray," built for Capt. Eben Lakeman, was lost in the West Indies and the "Lucy K. Cogswell," built for Capt. Thomas Sweet, lies on the bottom off Edgartown. The "Carlotta" was owned by Capt. Nathaniel Burnham and Charles W. Brown, and was used for

35 years as an excursion boat, plying between the wharf and Grape Island, Plum Island and Newbury. She was sold to Salem parties in 1914. Many Ipswich seamen spent their lives on these small coasters and fishermen, or retiring from distant voyages in larger ships in middle life, were content to end their sea-faring in short trips near home. But there were always some ambitious lads, who soon passed from the fisherman or coaster to the deep-sea square riggers, and in due time to the quarter deck.

For many years Ipswich captains carried the Stars and Stripes to every sea and the most distant ports, commanding some of the finest ships that sailed the Ocean. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, a most interesting group had already attained this dignity. Mention has already been made of John Holmes Harris, the eldest of the group, who commanded the fine ship "Hebrus." He was afterwards Captain of the schooner "Sarah," sailing between Boston and the West Indies. Misfortune followed him. His vessel ran upon the rocks while entering the harbor of Bermuda in 1822, and in the following year she was wrecked by a hurricane at Lagaira. On a return voyage from the West Indies, he was swept overboard and lost in March, 1830, at the age of fifty-eight.

Capt. John Lord, "India John," as he was familiarly known, is remembered only in connection with one of his voyages, as master of the ship "Francis" to the East Indies, in 1818-1819. One of the sailors had been tied up to the mizzen mast and whipped with a rattan 300 violent blows. He suffered so severely that he was disabled for two months. He brought suit for damages and the Court awarded him a hundred dollars. There was much brutality on the deep sea ships in those days, and it remained for Richard H. Dana to reveal it in his "Two Years before the Mast."

Capt. John's sons followed the sea as well. Captain Mark died on a passage from Havana to England in May, 1821.

Captain John 3^d sailed from Boston for Valparaiso, master of brig "Charles" in Oct., 1827. He made his last voyage as master of the ship "Miles Standish" to Calcutta, sailing May 17, 1855. Charles Haskell and Daniel Cogswell shipped with him, and Mr. Haskell's Journal of the voyage mentions the old time fashion of celebrating the passage across the Equator.

Oct. 25. At 7 P. M. Neptune and his servants made their appearance and 10 of us were taken into his Family by being shaved with Tar and slush and then ducked into the deck-tub. Afterwards all hands came aft and received their Liquor.

March 27, 1856. Daniel Goodhue (an Ipswich man, presumably) came on board to see us from the ship Bell Rock.

The ship was nearly ready for sea, passengers had sent their baggage, the Captain's daughter, who had accompanied him had come aboard, when Capt. Lord sickened with the prevailing fever and died on April 21st. In 1847, he had built for his residence, the dwelling near the depot, recently owned by Mr. John J. Sullivan.

Captain Joseph Kendall Farley followed the sea for many years, but only one of his ships, the "Argo," is known to us. He was owner in part of the fine ship "Augustine Heard," built at Newbury in 1843, sold to Salem merchants in 1848.

Fortunately, more complete knowledge has been preserved of some well-remembered Ipswich captains, Augustine Heard, Symmes Potter, Ebenezer Caldwell, Nehemiah Haskell, and a group of later days. Captain Heard began his career as a sailor in 1805, as super-cargo of the Ipswich ship, "Eliza," to the Mediterranean, and thence in another ship to China, following this with a voyage to the Mediterranean in 1807 as super-cargo in the little 74 ton topsail schooner "Betsy," from Beverly. His first voyage as Captain was in the Salem brig "Caravan," in 1812. He carried as passengers to India, the famous missionaries, Adoniram Judson and Samuel

Newell and their wives. He was master of the brig "Gov. Endicott," and the fine ships "Bengal," "Packet," "Emerald," and "Mary Ellen." Giving up the sea, he began a mercantile career in China, which brought him wealth and great reputation in the business world. In his old age, he built the Public Library and gave it to the Town with a valuable library and a substantial endowment.⁵ His career was one of thrilling interest.

Symmes Potter was master of the brig "Charles," from Boston for Matanzas and Europe in January, 1828, when he was thirty-one. For many years, he was in the employ of the Boston merchants, Nathaniel and Benjamin Goddard, sailing in the barque "Louisa" on East India voyages; then from 1846 to 1850 in the ship "William Goddard" on voyages to Europe and Calcutta; and in 1851, in the "Coringa." During the summer of 1853, he superintended the building of the extreme clipper ship "Matchless," in Medford, and sailed in command of her in September for San Francisco with a cargo for the gold fields. Thirty days out she was dismasted and returned to Boston, sailing again in January, 1854. The crew deserted on arrival at San Francisco and rushed to the "diggings." James Henry Lakeman and another sailor stood by the ship, and Henry was promoted to the second mate's berth for the voyage to Calcutta and thence to Boston.

In the fall of 1854, he sailed again in the "Matchless" for San Francisco and Shanghai, and loaded there with a cargo of tea for New York. Weary with his long years of sea life, Capt. Potter now gave up his ship and retired to his farm. But the dull routine of farm life soon grew distasteful and as the owners of the "Matchless" pressed him to go one more voyage, he sailed for Manila in July, 1857, in light ballast. The ship passed Angier Oct. 5th, having made one of the fastest passages on record, but was never seen again.

⁵ For full sketch of his life, see Publications of the Ips. Histor. Society, XXI, Augustine Heard and his friends.

Nehemiah Haskell, another Captain of the old school, is better known to us through his sea journals and log books. The record is of more than passing interest, illustrating the life of the "sea-rovers" of his day, engaged in long and varied voyages, with very brief enjoyment of home and family life. In August, 1820, when he was twenty years old, he shipped on the schooner "Eagle" of Boston, for the Sandwich Islands. The little craft had a long passage but arrived safely. From February to December, 1821, he notes in his Journal, trading visits to the different Islands and the coming and going of well-known Salem ships, but most interesting of all, the good ship "Arab," Capt. Isaiah Lewis, which he had seen in process of building in the Ipswich ship-yard, a few years before, then homeward bound from Canton. Their relations with the simple natives were friendly. "King David dined on board of us" he notes, and remarks as well on the Island monarch's frequent visits to and passages in the ships.

The "North-West coast," as the present Pacific States were then known, was a favorite resort for trading and smuggling vessels, and young Haskell notes the departure of many ships in this adventure. Following his trade as a ship carpenter, he was engaged in August in setting up a schooner of 45 tons, which had been framed in a home ship-yard, taken apart, and shipped to the distant Islands. He was engaged at one time in "making a pulpit for the straw church." On Dec. 29th, 1821, he shipped on board the "Paragon" for Canton. He was at Whampoa on April 25, 1822, engaged in some carpentry work on the ship "Levant," of which his old friend, Nathaniel Fuller, was first officer. He arrived at Boston in the "Paragon," Nov. 13, 1822, after two years and three months absence.

He sailed again in the brig "Phoenix" from Salem, in April, 1823, to Havana, thence to Antwerp, then to Sumatra, to Genoa and other Mediterranean ports, reaching the

anchorage in Salem harbor on Oct. 19, 1824. Less than three weeks in Ipswich and then on Nov. 7th, the sailor was afloat again in the Salem ship "Friendship," to Baltimore, to Rio Janeiro and around Cape Horn to Lima. A war was in progress and their ship was chartered to transport soldiers, 450 officers, servants and men, "dirty ragged fellows enough," on the coast. Thence the ship made its voyage to the East Indies, to Antwerp and arrived at her home port, May 24, 1827, after nearly three years absence.

Mr. Haskell married Mary Smith on the twenty-second of July. Three weeks afterward, on August 12, he sailed in the brig "Leander" from Salem on a voyage of nine months to the Mediterranean. An unusual interval of eleven months elapsed before he sailed on a second voyage in the "Leander" to Canton, returning as second officer in July, 1829. On Nov. 13, he was at sea again, as first officer of the Salem brig "Talent," bound for the pepper coast and China, where he met Captain Heard in the "Lintin," and was at home once more July 22, 1831. Two voyages as first officer of the ship "Nile" followed in 1832, a short one to European ports, and a long and eventful one to Manila. On the return, the Captain, W. H. Brown, sickened and in a fit of despondency, jumped overboard and was lost. Nathaniel Lakeman and William Perkins returned in his ship.

Returning home as master of the "Nile," he reached now the summit of a sailor's ambition. He was placed in command of Capt. Heard's old ship, the Salem brig, "Gov. Endicott" in 1834, and sailed again as master of the Salem brig "Pioneer" in 1837 on a South American voyage. Though he had worked his way painfully from the forecandle to the quarter deck, he seems to have lacked some qualifications as a captain, who was responsible not only for the sailing of the ship but for the sale of his cargo and purchase of goods for the home market. So when he sailed again in Sept., 1840, he was first officer of the ship "Unicorn," Capt.

Wm. Silver. His wife died two months later, on Nov. 12, 1840.

Two Sumatra voyages with Captain Silver in the "Pro-pontis" followed in the three years 1841 to 1844, and on his return, Captain Haskell married Sarah F. Dodge in May, 1844. His log-book shows that he was Captain of the ship "Monument" on a voyage to Manila in the Fall of the same year. Again his voyage spelled failure, and his prestige had so far declined that he was glad to take charge of a schooner. He sailed from Ipswich in November, 1846, with lumber for Key West. Five days out, in a heavy gale, he lost part of his deck load, was washed overboard twice, cut away the masts, rigged jury masts and reached St. Thomas, where the vessel was condemned and sold, and the cargo as well.

Despite his perilous mishaps, a lover of sea-life still, Capt. Haskell shipped as chief officer of the "Nonantum." While the ship lay in Calcutta, Capt. Edward Williams of the Boston ship, "American," died on Oct. 13, 1847, and Capt. Haskell was appointed master for the return voyage. A week after she sailed, the ship was found to be leaking so badly that the officers and crew demanded a return to port. The cargo was discharged, repairs made, the ship reloaded, and the voyage resumed two months later than the original sailing. This misfortune was but the prelude to exasperating trials and tribulations throughout the voyage, seamen asleep on the lookout, a chief mate asleep while in charge of the deck, and often criticizing his handling of the ship with the crew, so that he was finally set aside and the second officer advanced, the new officer in his turn insubordinate and insulting, and a shortage in provisions, compelling a stop at St. Helena. The long unfortunate voyage came to an end in due time, and apparently Captain Haskell's career ended as well.

Capt. Nathaniel Fuller reached the dignity of the quarter-deck in his early manhood. In April, 1822, he was first

officer of the ship "Levant" at Whampoa, loading tea. No record of the ships he commanded has been preserved, except the "Alert," on which he made his last voyage. That fine ship was owned by William Dodge, our Ipswich merchant, and she sailed for Canton in January, 1825, Joseph Lord, Jr. going out as super-cargo. Captain Fuller died at sea on June 22, 1825, at the age of thirty-five, leaving a widow and two infant children, the younger of whom was born four days before the father died. Mr. Lord took charge of the ship and brought her home.

Ebenezer Caldwell, son of Capt. Ebenezer and Mercy Dodge, his second wife, born March 12, 1798, married Clarissa Smith of Manchester, July 13, 1825, died April 17, 1864, was another famous deep sea sailor. He began his sea-faring in his boyhood, as he was Captain of the brig "Osprey" on a voyage to India in July 1828, of the brig "Oregon" in 1837, and the ship "Forum" in 1839. In November, 1844, he was master of the fine ship "Dorchester," a passenger packet, from Liverpool for New York. The story of the almost miraculous deliverance from the storm-beaten and sinking ship was told by Captain Caldwell, in a letter⁶ to his nephew in Augusta, Me.

Capt. Caldwell was master of the ship "Plymouth Rock," in the packet service between Boston and Liverpool in 1853, and afterwards on a voyage to Australia, James Brown, Henry Sweet and William Morris, Ipswich men, shipped with him. Sweet left the ship on its arrival and was never heard from again.

Henry Caldwell, son of Captain Ebenezer, and first officer of the "Dorchester," gained command of a ship and followed the sea for many years.

The last generation of Ipswich ship-masters and sailors, who manned some of the finest ships that flew the American flag, is well remembered by those of mature years.

⁶ Published in the Kennebec Journal, April 4, 1845 and in the Caldwell Records. See Appendix II.

Richard T. Dodge, the son of Manning Dodge, at the age of twenty-one had worked his way to the rank of chief mate, and sailed in that capacity with Capt. Gorham F. Bassett in the ship "Franklin," Boston to Penang in July, 1844. He married Miss Abigail T. Jewett on January 15, 1850, but four months later, sailed as mate of the ship "California," Capt. Woodbury, on a Sumatra voyage, arriving home in the following year.

His first voyage as master was in the barque "Grafton," from New York to Sumatra, in December, 1851. He made a second voyage in the same ship, and in December, 1853, sailed in his old ship, the "California," to Sumatra. Mr. Eben Lakeman went with Capt. Dodge on this voyage as first mate. Mr. Dodge became master of the barque "Thetis," owned by John L. Gardner & Co., and sailed from Boston for Sumatra in December, 1854. Ipswich was well represented in his crew. Eben Lakeman was first officer, and William Cogswell, William Nichols, Mark Harris, Eben L. Thomas and George Baker were "before the mast." On his second voyage in the "Thetis," Capt. Dodge was accompanied by Mr. Lakeman as first officer and Mark Harris, Nathaniel Butler, Benjamin Ellsworth and Eben L. Thomas among the crew. The ship arrived in New York in February, 1857, and Captain Dodge, with health somewhat impaired, left the sea and began a mercantile career. His affection for his good ships was evinced in his choice of Grafton and Thetis as the names of his children.

William Cogswell, William Nichols and George Baker shipped in the new ship "Derby," Capt. Hutchinson, on a voyage to California. Henry Dunnels went at least one Sumatra voyage with Capt. Dodge, and in the "Monterey," Capt. Stanwood Kimball of Salem, master, Eben Lakeman, mate. John Condon, brother of Thomas, died on the coast of Sumatra on this voyage.

THE SHIP "MALAY"
Capt. Joseph W. Wilcomb, 1856-1860
Capt. Josiah Dudley, 1866

Captain Josiah Dudley, a native of Ossipee, N. H., but long identified with Ipswich as a resident and by marriage with Miss Sarah B. Holmes in 1860, had a fine record of sea service. He began his sea-faring while a lad, with two long voyages in the whaling barque "Palestine," to the Pacific Ocean, each extending over three and a half years. In 1843, he sailed as mate of the barque "Henry Enbank," and on his return, became master of the ship "Rome." He commanded the Sooloc," the ship "Witchcraft" on several voyages from New York to San Francisco, and the ship "Sumatra" from Boston to Melbourne.

Three voyages to the coast of Sumatra in the ship "Australia" followed. In July, 1862, he sailed from New York for Calcutta in the barque "Quickstep" and made another voyage to the same port in the "Gen. Cobb." In 1865 he made a Manila voyage in the ship "Magenta"; in November, 1866, he sailed in the "Malay" on a voyage to China.

He gave up the sea after thirty-three years of active service, having rounded the Cape of Good Hope thirty-two times, and made eight voyages to Sumatra in the pepper trade.

Captain John H. Shatswell began his sea life also when a boy with twenty-eight months on a whaling voyage. He shipped before the mast in the "Sumatra" with Capt. Dudley and rose to the position of first officer in successive voyages in the same ship. He sailed then as first officer of the "Ocean Rover," Capt. Joseph W. Willcomb, to Australia, and in the same capacity in the "Sooloo," Captain Hutchinson, to China. He commanded the barque "Nabob," and the "Sooloo" on a voyage to the East Indies.

Captain John Lakeman was a deep sea sailor but the names of his ships have been forgotten, save the brig "Louisa." James H. Lakeman, son of Capt. Humphrey Lakeman of the Beach farm, began his sea-faring with Capt. Symmes Potter, and sailed with him in the "Matchless" on her first voyage to San Francisco in 1853. The crew deserted the ship and

Mr. Lakeman made the return voyage as second mate. He made several voyages to the coast of Africa as master, but sickened with the coast fever and was obliged to remain at home some years. He was master and managing owner of the schooner "Challenge" in 1869, master of the schooner "T. J. Becket" in 1872, and in 1872 sailed for London in command of the barque "Gov. Troup." Subsequently he was master of the schooner "Hiram Powers" and the "Lucy K. Cogswell."

Young Arthur Parsons sailed first with Capt. Lakeman, then in the fine ship "Emily F. Whitney" of which he became commander.

John E. Norman shipped as cabin boy out of Newburyport, when he was about fourteen years old, it is believed in the "Morning Star." While he was first officer of the "Crown Point," she was captured and burnt by the "Alabama," and her crew was put ashore on the coast of Africa. He gained command of the ship "Rival" on China voyages. On a homeward voyage, laden with a valuable cargo of rice, tea and silk, the ship was lost with all hands. The Captain was only twenty-eight years old, leaving a widow and a young family.

Captain Marcus Lindberg went mate with Captain Joseph Gardiner and succeeded him in the command of his ship. A new ship, the "Ethan Allen" was built for Capt. Lindberg by Bacon and Weld, in which he made a voyage to the Cape of Good Hope just before the War.

Joseph William Willcomb, the son of Joseph Willcomb, an old time sailor, went to sea with his father at the age of twelve. He worked his way to the quarter deck, and became first mate of the "Malay," Capt. Hutchinson, and when the latter took the "Derby," Mr. Willcomb took command of the "Malay."

The young captain's voyage from Boston to Melbourne in 79 days in 1856 was one of the quickest on record. In Oct.

THE SHIP "HIGHLANDER"
Capt. Joseph W. Wilcomb, 1869-1876

1860, he sailed in the "Malay" from Boston for San Francisco, the China seas and Asiatic ports. His log-books have been lost for the most part, but it is known that he was master in 1861 of the fine new ship "Ocean Rover," 776 tons, built at Portsmouth in 1860. He sailed from Troon for Boston in the ship "Horatio Harris" in March, 1869.

Captain Willcomb, as master of the ship "Shirley" of Salem, 910 tons, sailed for San Francisco and China. His log book shows that the ship sailed from San Francisco in March, 1870, from Hong Kong in January, 1871, thence to Yokohama, San Francisco and his home port. He now became master of the great ship "Highlander," 1352 tons, built in Boston in 1869 at a cost of a hundred thousand dollars. His sea-journal tells of his departure from Liverpool for King George's Sound, in December, 1873, thence for Newcastle, New South Wales, in Feb., 1874, thence in May for Hong Kong, in September from Hong Kong for San Francisco. In March, 1875, he sailed again from San Francisco for China and on September first, from Manila for New York, arriving March 3, 1876.

Philip E. Clarke followed the sea for several years, sailing in the good ship "Malay," Capt. Hutchinson, to Hobart Town, Australia, and two other voyages in the same ship, then commanded by our townsman, Capt. Joseph Willcomb, to Melbourne, and as second mate of the barque "Golden Rule" to the Mediterranean. Albert B. Holmes shipped in the brig "Henry," Capt. Charles A. Homans, in 1859, and made a Calcutta voyage with Captain Dudley in the "General Cobb."

Not a few other Ipswich men, without doubt, spent years in this dangerous but romantic calling. Many turned from the sea to varied employments on the land, many died in foreign lands, many found their graves in the ocean depths. Steam vessels now monopolize the sea traffic. The beautiful ships of a generation ago have ceased to be. The great fleet of coasting vessels, whose sails whitened the horizon, has disappeared. The day of the sailor has passed forever.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY.

Three inventions of the highest importance in the development of machinery to supplant the slow and tedious processes of hand spinning and hand weaving were put in practical operation in England in the decade 1770 to 1780.¹ James Hargreaves devised a spinning jenny in 1770. Richard Arkwright invented a spinning frame and established a cotton mill in 1771. The yarn which was produced by these machines was not strong enough for warps and could be used only for the woof or "filling." The hand wheel was still used for this, but in 1779, Samuel Crompton invented the "mule," which proved a practical success.

These three inventions were followed by Samuel Cartwright's power-loom in 1785-86. Watt's newly invented steam engine was used for power in cotton manufacturing in 1785. The factory system was now made possible and textile mills sprang up rapidly.

Great quantities of these machine made fabrics were exported to the United States, which undersold the home-made and hand-made products, and the home industry was in danger of being destroyed or seriously impaired. Fully aware of its advantage, the English Government adopted the most stringent legislation to prevent the exporting of the new machines, or the designs or models. American merchants resorted to every expedient to gain the information that was so sorely needed. Models were packed and shipped to France, to be repacked and reshipped by the American Min-

¹ See *The Story of Textiles*, by Perry Walton, compiled and written for John S. Lawrence, Boston, Mass.

ister to France, but they were seized in transit. An English workman, familiar with the machines, was induced to emigrate to America. He smuggled himself aboard a ship, but the ship was stopped and searched, and he was found and brought back and put under bonds not to leave. But Yankee ingenuity prevailed in the end, and various portions of the machines found their way across the sea and were reassembled here.

John Cabot and others of Beverly petitioned the Legislature for incorporation as a company for the manufacture of cotton goods in 1788. In January, 1789, their cotton mill, the first to be established in New England, and the first in the country, it has been claimed, was in active operation, with one carding machine, nine spinning jennies, one warp mill, and sixteen looms. Power was provided by two stout horses, which worked in the basement. Gen. Washington visited the factory, when he passed through Beverly in the Fall, and was greatly interested in the weaving of cotton denims, thicksett, corduroys, velveret, etc.

The out put of the Beverly mill found a ready market, but from the outset it was impossible to put the business on a paying basis. Although the Legislature passed measures of relief, obstacles of various kinds constantly arose, and the enterprise was given up shortly before the Embargo Act of 1807. The first woolen factory in America was started in Hartford, Conn., in 1788, the Connecticut General Assembly exempting the buildings and employees from taxation and offering a bounty of a cent a pound on all woolen yarns woven into cloth before a certain date.

Dr. John Manning, the most progressive citizen Ipswich ever knew, who had introduced inoculation against small-pox at the cost of much unpopularity, was now in the field in the new role of a woolen manufacturer. In 1792 he secured by grant from the Town and subsequent purchase the lot now occupied by Caldwell's Block, and erected a two story build-

ing, 105 feet long and 32 feet wide. The Massachusetts Woolen Co. was organized, and the manufacture of broad cloths, blankets and flannels was begun. It has been said² that all the work of carding, spinning and weaving was done by hand. But the lingering tradition that when the Baptist Church worshiped in the disused factory, the adventurous boys amused themselves by climbing over the shafting that was still in place, affords presumptive evidence that power of some kind, perhaps from a treadmill, operated by horses, was used. When the inventory of William Warner, the "clothier," of Warner's Mill was filed in 1794, a carding machine was appraised at \$75. If a carding machine was owned and operated by Mr. Warner, the astute Dr. Manning would surely have secured one for his factory, unless all his wool were sent to the Warner mill to be fashioned into rolls.

The Woolen Factory shared the fate of the Beverly Cotton Factory. Business was carried on at a loss, and although cotton was substituted for wool, the enterprise was abandoned about the year 1800. There is no record that the State backed this venture, and it speaks volumes for the progressive and even venturesome spirit of Dr. Manning and his associates that they entered so boldly into this new and untried field.

Twenty quick years passed. Ipswich had relapsed into the same old routine of "the age of homespun," as Dr. Bushnell aptly called it. The yarn was spun on the great spinning wheel, stockings were knit, the long webs were woven on the family loom, flax was spun and woven into fine and beautiful linen, lace of delicate and intricate pattern was wrought on the lace pillows, which found place in every Ipswich household. Then two Englishmen from Nottingham, Benjamin Fewkes and George Warner strolled into Town, and their coming marked the advent of a new industry, which was destined to revolutionize the life of the community.

² The Story of Textiles, by Perry Walton.

They were stocking and lace makers, and the story of their migration from their English home has been told in most interesting fashion by Mr. Jesse Fewkes, son of the immigrant.³

Stocking making by machinery was an established industry of many years standing in Nottingham, Leicester and Derby, when, in 1768, by various devices attached to the stocking machine, lace, resembling that made on the lace pillow, was produced. A warp machine was introduced in 1782 and other attachments were devised by which large quantities of lace were produced. The price fell instantly, and the pillow-lace makers were thrown out of business. Labor riots followed and the factories where the frames were used were attacked and the machines destroyed. Upwards of a thousand stocking frames and a number of lace machines were broken up by the organized bands of stocking-knitters and pillow-lace makers in Nottinghamshire alone, and many others in Derby, Leicestershire and York counties.

Many of the skilled workmen, who had formerly been employed in making machine lace, being thrown out of employment, resolved to emigrate to the United States, and to start for themselves this new industry in this free country, leaving behind them, forever, these troublesome conditions of the trade, in which they had passed the early part of their lives; to take with them the tools of their craft and to become naturalized citizens of the country of their adoption. The hosiery weavers as well, looked to America, as the only escape from the hopeless conditions of their trade.

The British government, ever extremely careful of its textile industries was especially so of its hosiery, and of its newly introduced lace manufacture at Nottingham. In order to keep these in England, excessive duties had been put upon the exportation of the machinery required in these industries.

³ *Fine Thread, Lace and Hosiery in Ipswich, Publications of the Ips. Histor. Society, XIII.*

These had been from time to time increased, until they amounted to actual prohibition.

Every obstacle was placed in the way of skilled workers in these branches of industry, to prevent them from leaving the country, and especially their emigration to the United States of America. A penalty of £40 for the exportation of a stocking machine existed till 1788. It was then increased from time to time till it amounted to a prohibitory duty and the penalty for exporting lace machinery in 1818 amounted to an excessive fine of £500, much beyond the means of the ordinary workman to pay, and transportation for a term of years if payment was not made. The agitation of the labor question, at about this time, and the recent Luddite troubles furnished a pretext for extremely stringent laws in this respect.

In the face of all this, as we have said, some of the better class of the lace weavers and stocking weavers resolved to come and bring the tools of their trade with them, even if these excessive fines had to be paid. I have heard it boldly said that the bobbins, points, guides and needles of lace stocking machines came into Boston in 1818 and 1822, secreted in pots of good Yorkshire butter. Whether these pots of butter paid an export duty to the British Government I am unable to tell.

The first stocking machine, which reached this part of the country, came out of England from Liverpool, in 1818. Some incidents in the history of this machine are interesting. It was first bought in Nottingham, then packed in two boxes and sent to a framesmith to be repaired and repacked for its trip to America. It was then sent to Liverpool and left upon the wharf where an old brig was lying, being laden with salt stowed loosely in bulk. It was taken by a stevedore and placed upon the keelson away up in the bows of the ship, and packed deep in the salt. The brig dropped down to the mouth of the harbor, and was overhauled and inspected thoroughly (as they thought) by the Custom House men. Trunks and boxes were inspected and long sticks run into the salt but these two boxes with the adventurous machine escaped detection.

Its passage in the brig, which was destined to a southern port, was a stormy one. She was driven out of her course

several times, by adverse winds, for over sixty days. Then, when some miles outside of Massachusetts Bay, she was spoken by a schooner bound for Boston, to which the machine and its adventurous owners were transferred, and the brig, with her lost reckoning rectified, and her mechanical "Jonah" not overboard, but reshipped on an American schooner, went on her southbound way rejoicing, no doubt. The schooner arrived in Boston on Sept. 4, 1818. The boxes were put upon a produce wagon, carted to Watertown, and carefully unloaded at a little house by the river, near the present Etna Mills. When the boxes were opened it was found that one of the most important parts of the machine was missing. Its sinker bar and all its sinkers had been left behind in England.

By the ingenuity and skill of one of its owners, these were replaced during the first winter in its new home; then it was used under the management of its two owners, six hours on and six hours off, through the day and night, for the greater part of its two first years in this country. It was then there came the lace makers, and the starting of the Lace Factory in Watertown, which gave it a long time of rest, but it finally reached Ipswich to do duty while the New England lace company was getting a foothold in this good old town.

This machine was brought to Ipswich in 1822 by Benjamin Fewkes and George Warner, its joint owners. I have been told that the first pair of stockings, woven upon this machine in Ipswich, were made by Mr. Benjamin Fewkes, Sr., in the kitchen of a house, which then stood upon the site of the present South Congregational meeting house.

The successful transfer of this first stocking machine furnished a clew to others, who were anxious to get the lace machines introduced into this country. The essential and more delicate parts of the lace machines were brought over concealed in the effects of the lace weavers from Heathcoat's factories, who came in numbers soon after this time. In this instance the more bulky heavy bars and frame work of the lace machines were constructed here, from drawings and ideas of skilled machinists who came over about the same time. A factory was brought into successful operation in Watertown near the Newton boundary line, by the capital engaged in the enterprise, and the lace machines were in

working order in the spring of 1820, where they continued till 1822. Mr. Augustine Heard and others becoming interested in the enterprise, the machines were removed to Ipswich.

Mr. George W. Heard had purchased the Dr. Philemon Dean dwelling near the foot bridge on the South Side. An addition was built and here the lace machines were installed. A memorandum in the Augustine Heard papers shows that the lace-factory was in operation in October, 1822, and that the share holders found it a losing investment.

THE LACE ESTABLISHMENT IN IPSWICH.

1822

Oct. 29. To cash pd. W. H. Sumner as p^r his
account 3970.05

1823.

Feb. 15.	Assessment on 6 shares @ 175	1050.00
Mar. 15.	Assessment on 6 Shares @ 25	150.00
April 24.	Assessment on 6 shares @ 50	300.00
Aug 12.	p ^r G. W. H ^d 6 shares @ 25	150.00
Sept 11.	6 shares @ 100	600.00

1824.

April 25.	6 shares @ 100	600.00
May 21.	6 shares @ 25	150.00
June 5	6 shares @ 25	150.00
Sundry expenses by G. W. H. up to Oct. 23, 1826		29.74
Dec.	Paid by G. W. H. for new stock, } 8 shares	1051.83
Dec.	Paid by G. W. H. for new stock, }	1042.25

The Boston and Ipswich Lace Co., consisting of Joseph Farley, William H. Sumner, Augustine Heard and George W. Heard was incorporated on Feb. 4, 1824, with a capital of \$150,000. Mr. Heard transferred the Philemon Dean house to the new corporation on February 26th, 1824. Under the new management, the business proved no more profitable than before. The Company became insolvent, and the dwelling and factory were sold at auction, November 9, 1827, to Theodore Andrews, styled "lace manufacturer."

Notwithstanding the ill success of this venture, Dr. Thomas Manning, Ammi Smith, John Clark, with "their associates, successors and assigns," were incorporated as "The New England Lace Co." Jan. 19, 1827, with a capital of \$50,000. The Dr. John Manning dwelling on High Street, now in remodeled form, the Joseph Ross homestead, was utilized for the manufacture.

The west front room was used for the weaving room; the front chamber over this was used for warping, winding and mending the lace; the rear lower rooms, west, were used for washing and for a machine shop. The east rooms were the residence of Mr. Clark, the superintendent. Mr. Fewkes was a stockholder and worked in each of these three factories.⁴

The names of the persons employed by this lace enterprise in Ipswich were as follows:—

Sup't, John Clark; machinists, James Peatfield, Joseph Peatfield, Sanford Peatfield; lace weavers, Benjamin Fewkes, Samuel Gadd, George Gadd, James Clark, John Trueman, Mr. Watts, George Warner, Samuel Hunt, Sr., John Morley, James Cartwright, Sr., Charles Bamford, Sr., and Mr. Harrison. The warpers and winders were young men and boys as follows: Thomas and William Gadd, William and Henry Fewkes, Samuel Hunt, Jr., Charles Bamford, Jr., and others. There were also employed many women and girls, mending, embroidering and washing lace, who were mostly the wives and daughters of the workmen and some others of Ipswich birth whose names I am unable to give.

The managers of the lace enterprise also made an effort looking to the introduction of a silk industry in Ipswich. Mr. Augustine Heard (I have been told), who was one of the first movers of the Lace Company, imported from China in one of his vessels some eggs of the mulberry Moth (*Bombyx mori*). The transportation of the eggs was accomplished by packing them in small silk bags which were worn about the person of the Chinaman who brought them. This was done to ensure the proper temperature for them on the voyage, as the temperature during some of the colder days was too low to ensure their safe transportation without this precaution.

⁴ Narrative of Mr. Jesse Fewkes in Publications of Ips. Histor. Soc. XIII.

These were put in charge of Mr. Clark the superintendent of the lace factory, and a room was set apart for them in the factory and kept at the proper temperature to hatch the eggs. Prior to this time, a nurseryman in Newton, Mr. William Kendrick, had planted a large stock of white mulberry trees (*Morus alba*), a native tree of China, and had advertised the same largely in all the papers of the day. In fact a furor for silk raising had been created, not unlike the celebrated Tulip mania in Holland several years previous. Great quantities of these trees were sold and, among others, Dr. Manning became interested. He had the side hill in the rear of the Old Manning homestead graded and terraced, and planted with these trees of the white mulberry. When the eggs of the mulberry moth came into town these trees had attained two or three years of growth.

When the writer was a small boy, I think it was in the spring of 1832, his father took him with others to the lace factory, to see the machines weaving lace. Mr. Clark escorted the party through the works, showing and describing the different machines and processes by which the lace was woven, cleansed, mended and wrought, to get it into a marketable condition. He then took them into a room set apart from the others, in which were a number of cases containing trays, the bottoms of which were made of lace. These were covered with young and tender green leaves, upon which were innumerable worms like caterpillars, all voraciously eating the leaves. He also showed the party cocoons all formed and showed how readily the silk could be unwound from the cocoon in one continuous thread. He then escorted the party out through the garden in the rear of the factory to a terrace at the foot of the hill where the young mulberry trees were growing and showed them where the tender leaves had been gathered. I cannot tell how many seasons this experiment was continued; probably it was abandoned at the time the lace works closed, I think in the winter of 1832-3.

This Company continued its factory in operation till 1832, when it failed to procure the usual supply of thread, which had been imported from England. Linen thread of sufficient fineness for the work could not at that time be spun in this country, owing chiefly to the dry atmosphere. It was always spun by secret methods in damp cellars in England and

France. The British government, finding that the lace machines and workmen had really escaped to this country, and that lace was being woven from imported thread, put an excessive export duty upon thread, and allowed manufactured lace to go out free. This ruined the industry of lace weaving in Ipswich, and its promoters lost their investment.

After the failure of the lace factories, the lace makers returned to their old business of weaving hosiery. A memorandum in the Augustine Heard papers shows that he and his brother were interested in a "stocking concern," which had a brief career.

Bazin Stocking Concern

F. J. O.	S.	J. F.	G. W. H.	A. H.
Paid Bazin for patent etc. of Essex Co.				500
drawing papers				15

November, 1825. Removed the machine from Ipswich to Canton, Norfolk Co.

April 27. Concern now stands

Mr. Oliver	$\frac{3}{8}$
A. H ^d	$\frac{3}{8}$
G. W. H.	2-8

Continuing his narrative, Mr. Fewkes tells us,

Many of the stocking makers went to Germantown, Pa. where some imported frames were in use and others to Portsmouth, N. H., where some frames had been introduced during the term of the lace industry in Ipswich. Some of the most skilful remained and in 1832, the Peatfield brothers made for Mr. Benjamin Fewkes, two new stocking frames, which were the first made in New England, and I think the first made in this country. He began the manufacture of hosiery in a small shop on High St., near his dwelling.

Mr. George Warner established a similar shop on the site of the present Damon Block,⁵ directly opposite the railroad station. He bought the interest of Mr. Fewkes in the origi-

⁵ Geo. W. Heard sold a house, barn and land to George Warner, a frame-knitter, March 15, 1836, who sold the property with a knitting shop, to Caleb K. Moore, Aug. 14, 1838.

nal machine, but sold it to Mr. John Bilson, with whom it went back to Newton in 1840. Mr. Samuel Hunt, Sen. began work in a shop on East St. in the rear of his dwelling, and Mr. Charles Bamford, Sen., in the shop still standing in the rear of his late dwelling, the old Frisbie house on County Street. Each of these stocking makers had only two machines.

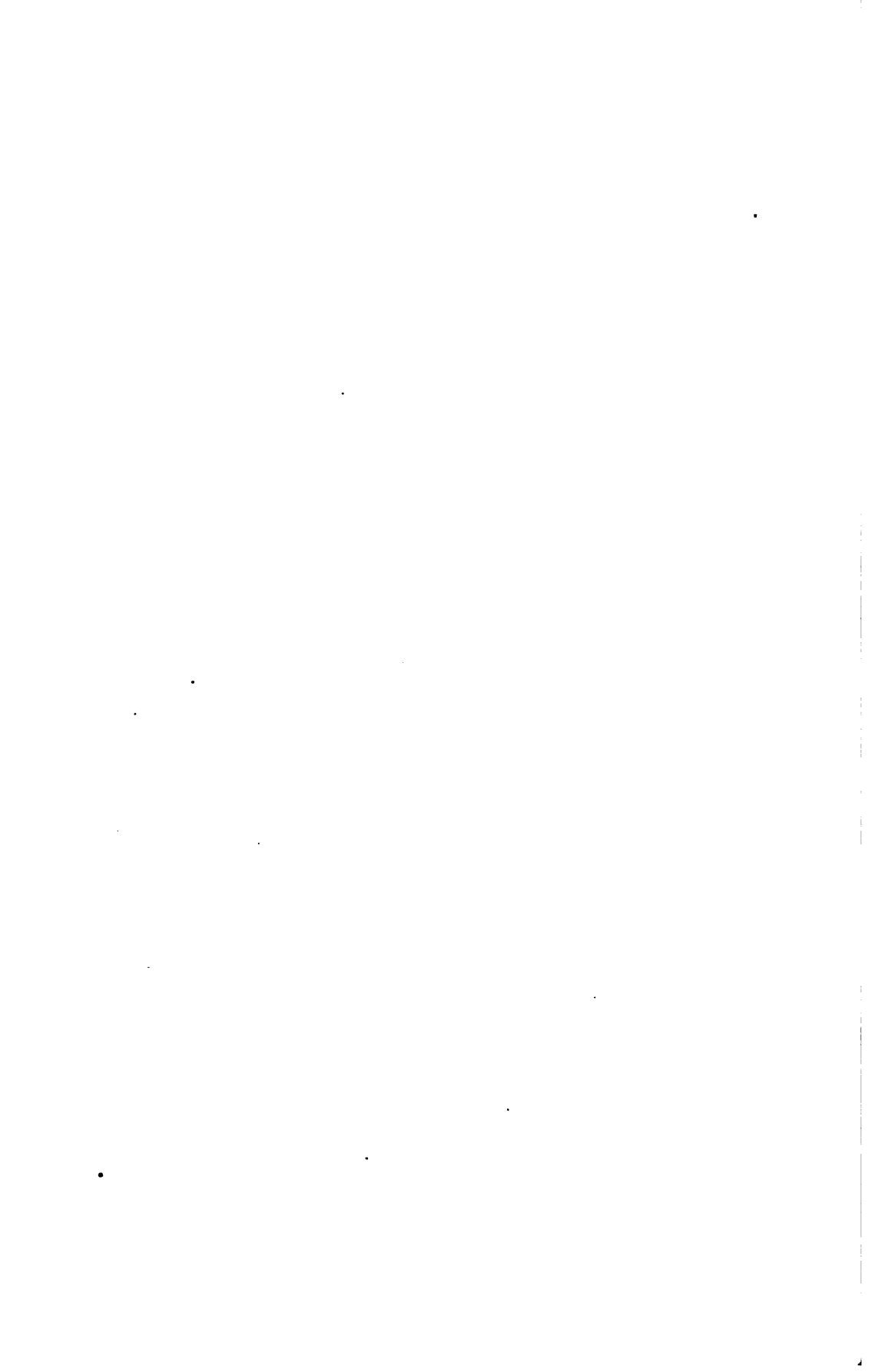
It is said that Timothy Bayley of Albany was the first to put power to the Lee frame in 1831. I know that in 1834 James and Sanford Peatfield had a rotary warp frame in successful operation in the old saw mill building by the Cove. Jesse Fewkes at that time was their "Winder Lad" and can vouch for the age of this great improvement in warp machines. They also invented a round knitting machine in 1841 or about that time.

The Census Report of 1900 says "The only stocking factory in the United States in 1831 was the Newburyport Hose Manufacturing Company." Ipswich I think is entitled to the credit of manufacturing stockings by machinery nine years prior to this date and in 1833 there were four well started hosiery manufacturers in town.

The lace factories were but the prelude to far more ambitious manufacturing schemes. Joseph Farley, the last in the long line of millers, who operated the grist mills at the upper dam, Augustine Heard and George W. Heard were incorporated as The Ipswich Manufacturing Company, June 11, 1828, with a capital of \$50,000 in real estate and \$100,000 personal. A new dam was built, an ancient ford-way across the river near the old lace factory was closed by permission of the Town, and the stone mill which disappeared a few years ago, was erected at large expense. Cotton machinery was installed and the manufacture was begun in 1830. Otis Holmes was the Superintendent, Samuel Davis, overseer of carding; Calvin Locke, overseer of weaving; Joseph Farley, Jr., Clerk and Paymaster. The work day was nearly fourteen hours.

In 1832 the mill had 3000 spindles and 260 looms. It

FOOT-BRIDGE AND WATER-WAY
Half a century ago



spun Nos. 36 and 32 yarn, used 80,000 lbs. of cotton, made 450,000 yards of cloth annually, worth from 9½ to 10 cents. It employed on an average 18 males and 63 females.⁶ The Ipswich Manufacturing Company, with Joseph Farley as its President, operated boldly. The lower grist mills, and other buildings on the Island were secured. Land on Elm St. was bought, and permission of the owners of the estate now owned by Mr. Clark Abell was secured, preliminary to building a canal from the river above the upper dam, across the Heard estate to the lower river. The Asa Andrews estate and the old Lace Factory were purchased and other lands, including the saw mill.⁷ But financial difficulties arose, and in 1836 Mr. Farley conveyed his interests to the Company. In 1846, a new Company, known as the Dane Manufacturing Co., purchased the mills and other properties from the Ipswich Manufacturing Co. The manufacture of drilling was continued.

Meanwhile the hosiery manufacture and kindred industries were coming into greater prominence. The four small manufactories, mentioned by Mr. Fewkes, in which stockings were knit on hand frames, were supplemented by a larger industry, as early as 1834. In a building erected by the Heards at the Lower Mills, James Peatfield and his brother Sanford, were engaged in knitting shirts and drawers upon a warp frame, invented by James, at least as early as that year.

Encouraged by their success, the Peatfield brothers bought the land in 1840, and proceeded to build the brick factory now known as "Hayes Tavern." It was equipped with machinery invented by James, and began at once a prosperous business in the production of underwear. Mr. Geo. W. Heard was the warm friend of the enterprise, and advanced

⁶ Felt: Hist. of Ipswich, p. 101.

⁷ This old saw mill fell into ruin, but a new building for veneer sawing was built by Mr. Benjamin C. Hoyt, about 1843. This was removed by Mr. James M. Wellington about the year 1859, to its present location on County Street.

money for the new manufactory. But the business had been established only a few years when Mr. Heard was obliged to go into bankruptcy and the Peatfields were hopelessly involved. Mr. Heard began the knitting business in the building at the Lower Mills about 1845, with Jabez Mann as Superintendent. He secured the help of James Glover, who came from England with a long warp machine. John Birch and other skilled workmen were engaged as well.

The Peatfield brothers lost their building and business for a time, but recovered in a few years. Sanford Peatfield sold his share of building and land, but James Peatfield began the manufacture of the nets then in vogue for women's wear, and continued it profitably for years. In a building in the rear of the brick one, which was removed from the County House land, a new corporation, known as the Lincoln Manufacturing Co., carried on a business, first of weaving flannel, and later of hosiery making.

At Willowdale, within the bounds of Hamilton, Dr. Thomas Manning had built a dam in 1829 and a wooden saw mill. The mill was soon burned and another was erected, which was used in part for the sawing of veneers and for turning. The more permanent stone buildings, the factory, and the boarding-house on the hill slope, were in process of erection, and about the year 1834, the looms were installed and the weaving of woolen goods began. The factory was owned by Dr. Manning and it was called "Manning's Mills." During the War of the Rebellion, hosiery machinery was in operation and in 1864, there were manufactured 55,000 pairs of army socks and woolen goods to the value of \$135,000.

The hosiery making gave way to the manufacture of blankets by the Willowdale Manufacturing Co., and many houses had been erected for the operatives. The mill was destroyed by fire, January 12, 1884, and was not rebuilt. The stone house has been taken down and except a temporary use of a wooden building built on the ruins of the old

mill, no use has since been made of the water power at this spot.

The decade 1860 to 1870 was the period of another great advance in the textile industry of the Town. In 1863, Henry L. Ordway and Sylvanus F. Canney bought a piece of land on County St., intending to establish a saw mill. It was proposed that a yarn mill should be erected instead. A capital stock of \$40,000 was secured, about half in our Town, and the Company was organized with N. W. Pierce and George G. Colman of Boston, Joseph Ross, Capt. Thomas Dodge and Henry L. Ordway of Ipswich as Directors, and the firm of Pierce, Hardy & Co., as selling agents.

After about five years, the Corporation decided to use its yarn. The capital was increased to \$50,000, knitting machinery was introduced and the manufacture of hosiery was begun. A few years of great prosperity followed. The capital was increased to \$75,000, and the building was enlarged and equipped with the most improved machines. The work produced was of the finest quality, and the most skilful operatives earned ten and twelve dollars a week. Employment was also furnished to three shops, where skilled English hosiery makers worked on hand frames. Burrows & Hunt, Chas. Bamford & Son, employing eight men, and John Birch, with twelve men in his employ, were constantly engaged on work for this mill. The stockholders rejoiced in ten per cent. dividends, and ninety per cent. of the original investment had been paid to investors, when sudden calamity befell this prosperous and promising business. The great fire in Boston in the fall of 1873 consumed a large amount of finished goods. The insurance companies were bankrupt and only 38 cents on a dollar were realized by the Company. From this time the business was conducted in the face of great difficulties, and with less and less success, until the doors were closed in January, 1885.

The manufacture of cotton cloth was continued in the

stone mill until 1868 or thereabout. In that year, Mr. Amos A. Lawrence of Boston, having purchased for \$70,000 the mills and other property owned by that corporation, transferred the property to the Ipswich Mills Co. The cotton looms were removed and hosiery machinery was introduced. For a time business was conducted at a loss. Mr. Lawrence wrote in January, 1868,

I am starting up my mill at Ipswich again, which has been stopped for a few weeks. This attempt to manufacture cotton stockings by machinery, so that they can be sold at \$1.50 per dozen, has caused me to lose not less than \$100 a day for eight hundred days,—\$80,000—yet I am not discouraged, though I feel the loss very much.

At last a young Nottingham manufacturer, Mr. Everard H. Martin, was chosen superintendent. With his coming, an era of prosperity dawned, and for many years this Corporation has been the chief industrial enterprise of the Town.

Under the skilful and enterprising management of Mr. Walter E. Hayward, the Resident Agent, the business has increased by leaps and bounds. The old stone mill, in which the manufacture of hosiery was begun, after being surrounded and shut in by new and larger buildings, has finally been torn down, and a modern building erected on its site, in which the extensive dye-works and knitting rooms are installed. Branch establishments have been set in operation in South Boston, Lowell, Belmont, N. H., and a large mill is about to be erected in Gloucester, the whole constituting one of the largest hosiery plants in the United States.

At Ipswich, 1500 operatives are employed, seventy-five per cent. of whom are females, 55,000 dozen pairs of hosiery are produced every week, and an annual output of nearly 3,000,000 dozen pairs. The total annual production of the whole plant of the Ipswich Mills is 4,000,000 dozen pairs, valued at \$5,000,000. Formerly the whole product was cotton, but

IPSWICH MILLS, 1917

a full quarter of the present output is silk, derived from wood fibre.

The administration of this great business centres in Ipswich. All orders are received here. The dyeing in a multitude of delicate shades is mostly done here. The paper cartons and shipping cases are made here, and the finished product is shipped from Ipswich to every part of the country, to England, France and Russia, Spain and Greece, Australia, and the countries of South America. The story of the final distribution in far distant lands, by clumsy ox-wagons, on the backs of mules and donkeys, in the packs fastened on dog-drawn sledges in the cold North, on the backs of porters in tropical wildernesses, to great military camps and hospitals, to lonely mining villages, to the islands of the sea, would read like a fairy tale.

The hand frame business prospered for many years. James Glover manufactured the hair-nets, then in vogue for ladies' wear. The Hallams produced fine knit goods. Frames were operated in their little shops by James, Arthur and Walter Shepard, John Birch and Harry Kirk. These small enterprises have all been given up, and not a single hand-frame remains in Ipswich.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE UNITARIAN CHURCH, 1830.

"The Independent Congregational Society," was organized in the Spring of 1830. Under date of April 28th, the Records of the First Parish contain the names of its members, who had withdrawn to form the new body:

Theodore Andrews	James H. Kendall
Ebenezer Burnham	George W. Lowell
Francis Caldwell, Jr.	Alfred Newton
William P. Dennis	Nathaniel Perkins
Joseph Farley	Richard Potter
Thomas Farley	Moses Treadwell
Jeremiah Henderson	Daniel L. Willcomb

Services of worship were held in the Court House. The new enterprise prospered and in March, 1832, Nathaniel A. Millett bought the lot, now occupied in part by the Town House, which he transferred in May, 1833 to Joseph Farley, Asa Brown and Otis Holmes, the Committee of Proprietors of the Independent Congregational Society. A meeting house was built at once, and the services of dedication were held on October 23^d. Rev. Ezra Stiles Gannett, Pastor of the Arlington Street Church, Boston, preached the sermon, from the text, I Peter IV: 14. "On their part he is evil spoken of, but on your part he is glorified." His theme was "Unitarianism not a negative system."

Much bitter feeling had been aroused by the Unitarian controversy. The Town was divided into hostile camps, each of which patronized its own shops and tradesmen. William P. Dennis was the Unitarian barber. Nathaniel

Millett, the tailor, it has been said, came to Ipswich, to make good Unitarian clothes for his friends, and the Orthodox portion of the community let them severely alone. Old friendships cooled. The peace of the churches was destroyed. Notwithstanding these antipathies and divisions, Mr. Gannett's sermon was a calm, wise and well reasoned appeal to the good judgment of the community, but it reflects the hot passions of the time.

The builders of this house are Unitarians, members of a denomination whose tenets are as grossly misrepresented as they are vehemently decried. The history of religious opinions contains few examples of a warfare of more relentless character than that which has been maintained against this form of faith. As if fair argument could not be trusted, misstatement, invective, broad insinuation against character, personal abuse of men distinguished by their virtues even more than by their obnoxious theology, passionate appeal to all who might and harsh censure of all who should give an impartial ear, and at last solemn remonstrance, as if they who held such a faith were worthy only to be treated as the felon whose crime demands confession,—a sort of exorcism of the spirit of error, that would provoke a smile, if it did not awaken feelings of pity and indignation for the presumptuous folly by which it is prompted—these are the means which have been adopted to prevent the spread of those views of Christian doctrine to which the worship and instruction of this house will be conformed.

Replying to the current criticism, "Unitarianism is a negative system," the preacher proceeded to declare the positive articles of the Unitarian faith.

We do then believe in the existence of a God—a Being of infinite perfection—a pure Spirit—the Author, Sovereign and Father of the Universe—the Source of truth and love—the Spring of peace and joy. We believe in a moral government of the universe, by which all intelligent creatures are made subject to wise and immutable laws. We be-

lieve in a righteous providence, within which all things are included. We believe in the moral nature of man; in his freedom of choice, his capacity of improvement, and his liability to err. We believe in the divine mission of Jesus Christ, in his miracles, his perfect character, his authoritative teaching, his voluntary death and his triumphant resurrection. We believe in the necessity of obedience to the will of God, and of repentance for sin, and in the inseparable connexion between goodness and happiness on the one hand, and wickedness and misery on the other. We believe in the immortality and accountableness of man; in spiritual judgment and future retribution. We believe in the authority and sufficiency of the Scriptures in respect both to faith and to practice. We believe in the forgiveness of sins, in the efficacy of prayer, and in the importance of a change in them who lead vicious and careless lives. To sum up all in one line, we believe in God, in Christ, in duty here, and in recompense hereafter.

To this noble declaration of faith, so broad and catholic, so thoroughly in harmony with the great essentials of the Christian religion, that we marvel today at the bitter schism, which rent the old Calvinistic church, he added frankly some points of disagreement with the common faith,

that the infinite perfection of the Deity is inconsistent with a tri-personal existence, and that accountableness can not be predicated of a being who by nature wholly corrupt could be made capable of holiness only by an irresistible action of the Divine Spirit, and still farther that the doctrines of the Trinity and of total depravity and supernatural conversion have no support in the Scripture.

* * * * *

We do not concur with some of our fellow Christians in condemning certain practices which they hold in abhorrence. We do not pronounce all amusement and festivity wicked, nor account the man a reprobate who uses his senses as avenues of enjoyment. We hold excess and abuse to be sinful, but we do not find in the teaching or example of our Master, authority for an ascetic rigor or an indiscriminate censure of the ways of the world.

The one potent and sufficient reply to all the opposition, abuse and misunderstanding, he declared is Christian character.

We may convince men in spite of ignorance and prejudice and interest, that Unitarian Christianity is endued with a divine energy. . . . It is our characters, our lives that must prove the efficiency of our system. . . . The truth by which mankind must be regenerated, before which error, superstition, bigotry and fanaticism must flee as the shades of night before the rising sun, is ours. We may cause it to shine forth with irresistible power. Let us but feel its awful majesty, its surpassing loveliness, its divine excellence, its spiritual potency, and we shall let it beam from our characters in its native radiance.

Nothing could surpass the tenderness and beauty of the preacher's closing sentences of consecration.

In obedience to their sense of duty under such circumstances the builders of the house in which we are assembled have raised its walls, and having, under the blessing of heaven, completed their work, would now by solemn act dedicate it to the purposes which they have had in view from the first conception of the undertaking. We set it apart, consecrate and forever devote it to faith, duty and improvement;—to faith in one God, the Father everlasting, in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, in a moral government to which all are subject, and a righteous retribution to which all are destined; to duty, the oracle and will of God; and to improvement, the great interest of man. Here may the doctrines of pure religion be declared, its requisitions be inculcated, and its influence be unfolded. Faith, hope and love, ye sister spirits, who preside over the household of Christian graces, to you we dedicate this house. Come hither with the congregation, and fill their hearts with the joy of your presence. Touch the lips of him who shall speak, and let him utter the words of heavenly life. Oh, Christ, our Master, to thee we dedicate this altar. May the prayers that shall ascend here in thy name to Him to whom thou hast taught us to pray be quickened with the truth,

which thou dost reveal, that they may be accepted through the grace which thou didst seal with thy precious blood. Oh God, our Father, to Thee we dedicate this temple. Let thy blessing rest within it henceforth until time shall reduce it to decay, and let the blessing here realized be but the type and foretaste of that fulness of blessing which they who may worship here shall enjoy in thy heavenly presence forever.

The contrast between the "sweet reasonableness" and reverent devotion of this evangel and the crude excesses and extravagances of the Maffit revival in protest to which Ipswich Unitarianism was born, the rigid requirements of the Wesleyan doctrines, and the stern legalism of the Calvinistic churches was so profound that not a few of the leading men of the Town were won to its leading. Asa Andrews and George Haskell, the lawyers, were warm supporters of the new church. But the new doctrine failed to establish itself in the old Puritan town. In a few months less than ten years, the congregation had dwindled, the financial foundation had failed, and the meeting house was sold to the Town and used as a Town Hall. The pews were sold to the Linebrook Parish and installed in their new meeting house. In 1866, a strip was acquired on the south side of the lot and the Town Hall was removed to the center of the lot, remodeled and enlarged to its present form.

THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

Services of worship in the Episcopal form were held for a time prior to the year 1850, but were given up for lack of proper support.¹ A renewed attempt to hold such services was made under the leadership of Dr. Joseph E. Bomer. He came to Ipswich to begin his medical practice in February, 1849, and in October, 1850, married Miss Caroline E. Hayes of Gloucester. She was a devout Episcopalian as well. Mr. John Worth came to Ipswich in 1855 and established his business of soap boiling. Mr. John F. Clothey of Marblehead opened a dry goods store on Market street. This little group, encouraged by the sympathy and co-operation of Mr. Daniel Fuller Appleton, and his brother-in-law, Rev. John Cotton Smith, D. D., Rector of the Church of the Ascension in New York City, who had their summer home in Ipswich, after a time proceeded to reestablish Episcopal worship.

By the kindness of the Trustees of the Methodist Church, Mr. Perley informs us, Dr. Bomer and Mr. Clothey were allowed the use of their house of worship. They invited Rev. Robert F. Chase of Danvers to officiate at some time in the year 1861. So much interest was manifest that Damon's Hall was secured and an evening service was held regularly. During the winter of 1866-7, a Parish was organized, the first meeting being held at the residence of Mr. Worth, now the Parsonage of the South Church, on February, 7, 1867.

¹ M. V. B. Perley in *History of Ipswich in History of Essex County*, Vol. 1, 1888.

Seven persons were present but their names unfortunately have not been preserved.

Mr. Worth, who had acted as Chairman of the preliminary meetings at Mrs. Bomer's, presided and opened the meeting with prayer. Mr. Josiah F. Mann, Chairman of the Committee on By-Laws, presented a list, which was adopted, and the meeting proceeded to elect the officers of the Parish, who should serve until Easter Monday. John Worth and John F. Clothey were chosen Wardens; D. F. Appleton, J. F. Kinsman, F. Rollins, Edward H. Damon, Geo. F. Fitz, Geo. F. Bray, Josiah F. Mann, Vestrymen; Curtis Damon, Treasurer; and Josiah F. Mann, Clerk.

The Parish met again at Mr. Worth's on April 30th nine members being present. Officers were elected: John Worth and George H. Green, Wardens; Geo. F. Fitz, W^m. Gwinn, D. F. Appleton, Geo. F. Bray, E. Fowler, Cady, Edw. Damon, J. Marshall and T. Gould, Vestrymen; Curtis Damon, Treasurer; and Josiah F. Mann, Clerk.

The services of worship continued to be held in Damon's Hall, in the old Court House, which had been removed to the corner now occupied by the Damon Building, but has since been destroyed by fire, and later in the Town Hall. Rev. Henry Wall was the minister in charge at the beginning, but after a few months apparently he was succeeded by Rev. Benjamin R. Gifford, who began his work in November, 1867. The success of the new enterprise seemed so well assured after a year's experience that the Vestry voted unanimously on March 18th 1868, that it was "safe and expedient to purchase the lot known as the 'Haskell' or 'Jewett' lot (on High Street) for the purpose of erecting an Episcopal church."

At the annual Parish meeting, held on April 13, 1868, at Damon's Hall, twelve were present. In the absence of both Wardens, Rev. B. R. Gifford was chosen the Chairman pro

tem. The officers chosen at this time were Manning Dodge and Geo. C. Fitz, Wardens; Henry Terhune, William Gwinn, John Hobbs, Dr. I. Franklin, Sylvester Brown, D. F. Appleton, F. G. Dayton, Vestrymen; Josiah H. Mann, Treasurer; and F. G. Dayton, Clerk. It was voted to pay Mrs. Bomer, who had already begun her long and acceptable service as organist, a hundred and four dollars.

An adjourned meeting of the Vestry was held on July 6th but only three persons were present and no business was transacted. No further entry is found in the Parish Record, from which these notes have been taken, for six years, an omission suggestive of a lack of steady and enthusiastic interest. Services were maintained however by the Rector.

In the summer of 1869, Dr. Smith, by the aid of friends, purchased the lot on County Street and began the erection of a church edifice, the corner stone being laid by Bishop Manton Eastburn of the Diocese of Massachusetts, on October 26th. With fine enthusiasm, services were begun in the church, as soon as the chancel was finished, though the windows were still covered with cotton cloth, and simple settees answered for pews. With the approach of Winter, the services flitted back to the more comfortable hall.

Mr. Gifford resigned in the Spring of 1870, and for a time, Rev. Mr. Pickman of Salem and other clergymen officiated. In 1873, Rev. Benjamin F. Newton, then a student at the Episcopal Seminary in Cambridge, began his ministry, and new life and wholesome vigor seem to have been infused. The regular order of morning and evening service was maintained. New friends appeared and a complete reorganization seems to have been effected. At the meeting of the Parish on May 25, 1874, when the record is resumed, a Constitution and new By-Laws were adopted.

Officers were elected, to serve until the Annual Meeting in Easter Week.

D. F. Appleton, Senior Warden	
E. H. Martin, Junior Warden	
Dr. I. H. Franklin,	}
John Birch	
O. C. Smith	
Chas. Noyes	
James J. Goodrich	
Thos. T. Oviat	
Alfred Norman	
Dr. Chas. H. Osgood	}
I. H. Franklin, Treasurer	
Geo. L. Tilton, Clerk	

Vestrymen

The year 1874 is sometimes alluded to as the birth year of the Church. Evidently its work was taken up with fresh enthusiasm. Some of the men who were elected to office that day for the first time, began then a long and loyal service. Mr. Daniel Fuller Appleton had been a Vestryman from the beginning and he continued to hold office as Warden or Vestryman until his death in 1904. Mr. Charles H. Noyes had been prominent in the choir for years and still remains a Vestryman, after forty-two consecutive years in that office. Mr. George L. Tilton, the new Clerk, was re-elected annually until his death in 1906, and his records are models of neatness and carefulness. Dr. Charles H. Osgood remained in office until his death in 1896, and Dr. Franklin, musical director for many years, continued his helpfulness as long as he lived. Mr. Everard H. Martin, the Junior Warden, continued in office as Junior and Senior Warden for twenty-six years, and Mr. John Birch was his colleague for a long period.

At a special meeting of the Vestry on August 23, 1874, Dr. Osgood submitted a proposition from Rev. John Cotton Smith, D. D.

To the Wardens and Vestrymen of the Church of the Ascension, Ipswich Mass.

Gentlemen:

I propose to place at your entire disposal for the purposes of public worship, according to the usages of the Protestant Episcopal Church, during the year from July 1, 1874 to July 1, 1875, the Church edifice in this town, the title of which is vested in me. The proposition thus made is subject to the following conditions.

1. The choice of the minister in charge shall be a matter in which you, as the representatives of the Parish and I, the proprietor of the church, shall be mutually agreed.

2. The minister in charge shall have such direction and control of the services as belong to rectors of parishes, except while I am resident in the town, during which time, such direction and control are reserved by me.

I am happy to learn of the very favorable impression made upon the Parish by the Rev. B. F. Newton, and believing it to be in accordance with the wishes of the Vestry, I would nominate him as the Minister in charge for the year from July 1, 1874 to July 1, 1875, and would hereby subscribe toward his salary the sum of \$500, payable quarterly during the year.

Respectfully yours,

John Cotton Smith.

Ipswich, Mass., Aug. 22, 1874.

This proposition was gratefully accepted and a letter of thanks was voted. With commendable ambition, the Parish set itself to raising \$1500 by subscription, and offered the Rector a salary of \$1000 for the ensuing year. Unexpected difficulties arose, however. Funds were not forthcoming and on August 31, 1876, it was voted by the Vestry "that all existing pecuniary engagements be terminated at this date." A Committee was appointed to devise means for the payment of the indebtedness already incurred, and another Committee was instructed to arrange for services for the next three months without any expense to the Parish.

The financial outlook remained unpromising and on Octo-

ber 19th, the Rector sent to the Vestry his letter of resignation, which was received regretfully. An effort was made without success to retain his services until the following June, when Dr. Smith usually began his summer preaching.

Mr. Reuben Kidner, then a student at the Seminary in Cambridge, was engaged to supply the pulpit a month, and he continued to preach through the Winter. The expediency of maintaining worship after Christmas was seriously considered, but by an unanimous vote on Christmas Day, the Parish voted to continue its services although in view of the unfinished condition of the church building and the extreme cold weather, it was decided to secure the use of Odd Fellows Hall or a room in the Seminary building for three months. The Hall was secured but the exigency of the weather proved less serious than that of the financial status.

The Vestry faced a gloomy situation on January 24th, 1877 and voted "after considering pecuniary conditions"—"to continue service another month but not to exceed that time unless otherwise ordered." At the end of that month, Dr. Smith offered to be responsible for the salary and traveling expense of Mr. Kidner for ninety days, but the Vestry voted to continue services until June 1st, on their own responsibility. They voted also to return to the church on March 21st, and a Committee was appointed to procure chairs or settees. Mr. Kidner had leave of absence from October 1, 1877 to May 1, 1878, and Rev. Paul Sterling officiated during that period. Upon his return, Mr. Kidner was called to the rectorship for the year ending May 31, 1879. He was admitted to Priest's orders in the summer.

The title to the church property was still held by Dr. Smith, but in October, 1878, he made conveyance to Mr. Joseph W. Woods of Boston, a Vestryman, the deed reciting that the land was purchased and the church building thereon erected by said John Cotton Smith with funds contributed by himself and friends. Mr. Woods reconveyed at once to

Dr. Smith, as Trustee of the Parish, under several conditions. Two were of especial interest.

III. The said Trustee, the Rev. John Cotton Smith, shall have full power to constitute the church building hereby given in trust, a Memorial Church at any future time, should he elect to do so.

IV. The sittings in the Church building on the granted premises shall be free in all future time, unless it shall be otherwise determined by the joint action of the Trustee or Trustees, the Vestry of said Church and the Bishop of the Diocese.

The financial status had improved so materially that the salary of the Rector was raised to \$1000 in September, 1879. A vote of thanks was extended to Dr. Smith for his generous support for the past fifteen years and the hope and expectation were expressed, "that the Vestry will be able to carry on its services in the future without any pecuniary aid, thereby showing that such expenditure has not been entirely thrown away on the Ipswich Parish."

Complete ownership of the property was now the ambition of the young Rector. He began an active canvass for funds and on April 8, 1881, he had the pleasure of informing the Vestry that \$5000 had been raised and the last instalment paid. The sum of \$5038 had been secured, of which \$3648 came from friends in Boston, \$1050 from friends in New York, \$340 from Ipswich and other places. Greatly to the regret of the Parish, Rev. Mr. Kidner resigned his office on Jan. 2, 1882, to accept a position as Assistant Rector at Trinity Church, Boston.

Mr. Julius W. Atwood, then a student at the Seminary in Cambridge, was invited in March to succeed Mr. Kidner, at a salary of \$10 a Sunday while he officiated as Lay Reader, \$800 when admitted to Priest's orders. In April, the salary was advanced to \$1000.

Rev. John Cotton Smith, D. D. died on January 9, 1882.

The Parish adopted resolutions which characterized him as "the founder, benefactor and unfailing friend of the church." But it was recognized that something more costly and substantial was due, and in the mid-summer of 1882, the Rector, Mr. Martin and Mr. Woods were appointed a Committee to secure funds to complete the church building. This Committee was able to report in the following June, that the funds had been secured. The friends of Dr. Smith responded readily to the suggestion that they have part in this tribute to his work. Contributions were received from Bishop Paddock, Bishop Potter and Bishop Neely, from old friends in Boston, from Cornelius Vanderbilt, Pierpont Morgan, Miss Wolfe, Dr. Henry C. Potter and others in New York, and from the family connections. The Easter Offering added \$110.32, the St. Agnes Society bore the expense of installing the gas fixtures, \$155.27, and cushions were provided by the Church Aid, at the cost of \$222.30. The total gifts amounted to \$2105. At the request of the Parish, the Bishop consecrated the house of worship as the Ascension Memorial Church, in memory of Dr. Smith, on June 21, 1883.

Rev. Mr. Atwood sent his letter of resignation to the Parish on May 28, 1887, to take effect on the last Sunday in June. Rev. Robert B. Parker received a call early in June, and began his ministry on the first Sunday in July, 1887, which continued until June 1, 1892. Rev. Milo H. Gates, assistant minister of the Church of the Ascension, New York, accepted the call that was given him and began his work on June 1st, 1892. Under his vigorous leadership, the Bradbury house on High Street was purchased for a Rectory in 1894 and the Parish House was built at an expence of \$4600, through the inexhaustible generosity of the friends of the Church of the Ascension. Mr. Gates's resignation to accept a call to the rectorship of St. Stephen's Church, Cohasset, took effect on the first Sunday in June, 1899.

Rev. Reginald Pearce of Portsmouth, R. I. began his ministry on December 1st, 1899. The purchase of a new church organ, the enlargement of the choir and the engagement of an organist and choir director at the expense of a few friends, and the placing of an oak floor were accomplished during Mr. Pearce's rectorship, which terminated on Sept. 1, 1911. Rev. Robert B. Parker, the former Rector, having officiated with great acceptance for some months, was called again to the rectorship in June, 1912. Mr. Parker resumed his work with great enthusiasm. The large and flourishing Drexel-Biddle Class, composed wholly of men, meeting every Sunday afternoon, has proved a unique and gratifying success.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE CIVIL WAR, 1861-1865.

On April 12, 1861, Fort Sumter was attacked by the Confederates and the Civil War was begun. The President issued a call for 75,000 troops on April 15th, for a three months period. A telegram from Washington on that day required 20 companies to be sent from Massachusetts to Washington and there mustered for service. Four of the militia regiments of the State were called out, the 3^d, 4th, 6th and 8th. The 4th Regiment was the first to leave, by the afternoon train to Fall River on April 17th, the 6th took a train direct for Washington later in the day, the 3^d and 8th Regiments went on the following day.

Col. Thomas W. Higginson tells the story vividly.¹ Massachusetts was better prepared than any other State, but little provision had been made here for actual war. Gov. Banks had developed the regimental organization of the militia. Gov. Andrews, his successor, was inaugurated on Jan. 5, 1861. He ordered at once an accurate levy of the militia, and recommended, against disapproval and even derision, that the State should contract for overcoats, knapsacks, blankets and ball cartridges for 2000 troops. In the arsenal at Springfield, 3000 Springfield rifled muskets of the best pattern were ready for instant delivery. "Trivial as this provision now seems, it enabled Massachusetts to be first in the breach and perhaps to save Washington."

The Salem Light Infantry, Co. I, of the 8th Regiment, known also as The Salem Zouaves, Capt. Arthur Devereux in

¹ Massachusetts in the Army and Navy, 1861-1865, I: 16.

command, left Salem on the 18th, mustering about 62 muskets, part of the men without uniform.² The Newburyport City Guards were in the same regiment and left on the same day. The 6th Regiment, passing through Baltimore, was attacked by a mob and four men were killed on April 19th. It was quartered in the Senate Chamber and was the main reliance for the defence of the city until the arrival of the later regiments, the 5th and 8th Mass. and the 7th New York. The 6th Mass. Regiment, says Col. Higginson,³ "has the undying honor of being the first regiment to reach Washington fully organized and equipped at the call of the President." But it numbered many new recruits, some companies wore blue uniform coats with red trousers, four wore gray with buff and yellow trimmings, some practised the "Scott drill," others the "Hardee tactics." The Salem Zouaves wore a fantastic French uniform.

The citizens of Ipswich assembled in the Town Hall on the evening of April 22. Stirring speeches were made by leading citizens, the Pastors of the churches, and by Dr. D. S. Allen of Hamilton, who roused great enthusiasm when he declared, "If I could not defend the flag in the hour of our country's peril, I would bite the dust."⁴ The call for volunteers and for funds to equip them and provide for their families met with a prompt and enthusiastic response.

The original subscription paper circulated at the meeting has been preserved.⁵

Ipswich, April 22^d, 1861.

Whereas it is proposed to raise a Company of Volunteers in this town for the purpose of proceeding South in Supporting the Government of the United States, and to aid in Suppressing insurrection now existing in the Southern and Middle States.

² The Salem Gazette, April 18, 1861.

³ Mass. in the Army and Navy, I: 21.

⁴ Salem Gazette, May 3, 1861.

⁵ Now in the possession of the Ipswich Historical Society.

We, the undersigned, desirous to bear our part of the burthens in our Country's need, and for the purpose of encouraging Enlistment hereby agree and promise to pay the sums set against our names respectively to a Committee to be appointed to receive the same for the purpose of aiding to supply the families of those who enlist in their Country's Service, while they are so engaged and absent from their homes, and to aid in outfitting said Company with necessary supplies, all expenditures to be under the direction of said Committee not to exceed $\frac{1}{4}$ part for outfits.

Augustine Heard	\$500	Rich ^d T. Dodge	60
Dan ^l Cogswell	100	George Haskell	60
A. D. Wait	100	Randel Andrews	50
Geo. W. Heard	200	Sam ^l . H. Green	50
Manasseh Brown	100	John Hodgkins	50
Eben ^r Cogswell	100	J. N. Wellington	20
Eben Caldwell	100	Theodore Andrews	5
Joseph Cogswell	100	John Morris	20
Thomas Brown	100	Joseph Farley	20
James Damon	100	W ^m . Stone	25
Josiah Caldwell	100	Foster Russell	20
Asa Lord	100	William H. Smith	10
Aaron Cogswell	100	Alfred Kimball	20
Joseph Ross	100	W. H. Graves	15
Asa P. Stone	50	J. E. Bomer	10
Gardiner A. Brown	50	John B. Lamson	10
Eron Janes	20	Stephen Baker	10
S. G. Denitt	100	Reuben Daniels	20
John Brown	50	N. R. Wait	20
Robert Jordan	25	F. Willcomb	10
Theodore F. Cogswell	50	G. A. Low	5
A. H. Wildes	100	John Perkins	20
John H. Cogswell	25	Daniel Clarke	10
D. L. Willcomb	20	Geo. W. Ellis	15
Charles Kimball	100	Daniel C. Worcester	5
James Lang	25	Henry L. Ordway	5
Wallace P. Willett	25	Josiah Lord, Jr.	10

T. B. Fall	10	A. F. Brown	25
Darius Dickinson	5	Gilbert Conant	10
John H. Varrell	5	Abraham Caldwell	15
Charles Bamford	5	C. H. Brooks	5
William F. Conant	5	Mark Newman	10
J. Worth	10	Isaac Flitner	10
Robert Farley, Jr.	40	George C. Fitz	5
W. R. Kelley	10	Eben Kimball	5
M. Lindberg	10	W ^m . Heard	50
N. M. Andrews	5	Fred ^k Mitchel	25
Ira Worcester	30	Ebenezer Harris	20
Joseph Spiller	15	Erastus Clark, Jr.	4
Francis A. Wait	10	Eph. B. Harris	5
M. C. Brown	5	Abraham Lord	4
N. R. Farley	5	Benj. Newman	5
T. B. Chapman	5	Will ^m . Newman, Jr.	5
C. W. Chapman	10	Francis Hovey	5
W ^m . G. Brown	50	Sylvanus Caldwell	20
Benj. H. Smith	10	Thomas Morley	10
Webster Smith	5	D. L. Hodgkins	16
S. Coburn	25	Warren Nourse	15
John D. Cross	50	Manning Dodge	5
John Pinder	10	Richard Russell	20
Melzeard Poor	5	James Estes	5
Jacob B. Tenny	5	L. R. F. Hammatt	10
John Birch	10	Mrs. Mary Baker	5
John P. Cowles	25	Dan ^l . P. Nourse	20
John Day	50	Geo. R. Lord	10
Frederick Bray	25	Alvin A. Newton	5
Aaron Kinsman	50	D. M. Tyler	5
John Lowe	5	Ezekiel Peabody	20
W ^m . H. Kinsman	5	Mrs. J. W. Willcomb	5
Joseph Kinsman	25	Daniel Kimball	10
Elizabeth Boardman	20	Henry Wilson	10
Manasseh Brown, Jr.	5	Mary S. Farley	10
Obadiah Lamson	5	John A. Newman	5
Nath ^l Kinsman	20	Robert Stone, from the Ball	7
Willard B. Kinsman	5	Daniel Treadwell	100

Joseph N. Caldwell	30	Moses Kinsman	10
Rebecca Brown	10	Charles Smith	5
Mr. Huckins	20	John Burnham Brown	20
Thomas Low	20	William Kinsman, Jr.	5
William Giddings	15	Albert Brown	5
William Dawson	5	Alfred Manning	5
Jonathan Sargent	5	James Peatfield	38.68
Humphry Lakeman	8		

\$4,377.68

The following receipt is appended to the subscription list.

We, John Hobbs, Nathaniel Shatswell, and Robert Southgate, Jr., Officers of the Ipswich Volunteer Militia Company, acknowledge to have received of Eben Cogswell, Richard T. Dodge, and Aaron Cogswell, the Town Military Committee, sixty-one pairs of pants for the use of said Company.

.....	} Captain First Lieut. Sec. Lieut.
Nath ⁿ Shatswell	
R. S. Southgate	

Ipswich, June 14, 1861.

The men of Ipswich were already moving. Henry F. Dunnels was mustered in to the Navy on April 22. Moses Henderson accompanied Mr. Dunnels to Boston, but being under age was obliged to secure his father's written consent. He obtained it and was mustered in the next day. William Cogswell of Salem, afterwards a Brigadier General, was one of a squad of the Salem Cadets, which escorted the Light Infantry to Boston. Returning home that night, he determined to raise a company and under the authority of the War Department began recruiting on April 20. The new company, called the Andrew Light Guard, went into camp at Camp Webb, on Winter Island in Salem on the 22nd. It was attached to the 2nd Mass. Regiment, and reported on May 14 with 75 men. It is claimed that it was the first company that was enlisted for and served the full period of three years. Charles O. Andrews of Ipswich was enrolled as 4th Sergeant.

In Co. F of the same regiment, Prince A. Andrews, Alonzo Butler, Patrick H. Carr, Thomas J. Downes, William H. Hall, John C. Mayall, Corporal William H. Staten and Thomas M. Todd were enrolled. They were mustered into service on May 25, 1861. On May 23, Joseph E. Kimball of Co. B, 1st Mass. and Corporal George B. Roberts of Co. G, 1st Mass. had been mustered in. Charles A. Hardy, Co. F, 7th Reg. was mustered in on June 15, Marcus Treadwell, Co. D, 12th Reg. on June 26th.

After a brief period of drilling in the Town Hall, the Ipswich company, called the "Heard Guards" in recognition of the generous support of Augustine Heard, Esq. left town on June 24, 1861. A great number of citizens assembled at the depot to cheer the departing soldiers and Gen. James Appleton, who had been prominent in military affairs all his life, made a patriotic speech.

The 14th Mass. Regiment, to which the company was attached, mustered on Boston Common in the afternoon. "The Mugford Guards of Marblehead were first upon the ground. The Ipswich Heard Guards came next."⁶ The Regiment proceeded to Fort Warren in Boston Harbor, where it was mustered into the service of the United States as the 14th Reg. Infantry, Mass. Volunteers. The Ipswich company was Company A.

The original officers at the time the company left Ipswich were:

John Hobbs, Captain
Nath. Shatswell, 1st Lieut.
Robert S. Southgate, 2nd Lieut.
Milton B. Shattuck, 3^d Lieut.
Nathaniel A. Johnson, 4th Lieut.

After it entered the service of the United States, a reorganization was made. The roll of Ipswich men in the company was then as follows:

⁶ Salem Gazette, June 25, 1861.

Nathaniel Shatswell, Captain
 Milton B. Shattuck, 1st Lieut.
 Lee R. Worcester, 2nd Lieut.
 Silas Crane, Sergeant
 William H. Gwinn, Sergeant
 Valorus C. Hobbs, Sergeant
 Edward F. Nichols, Com. Sergeant
 Edward P. Smith, Sergeant
 James Capewell, Corporal
 James W. Goss, Corporal
 Parker McGregor, Corporal
 John W. Noyes, Corporal
 William L. Stone, Corporal
 Henry Terhune, Corporal
 James W. Watts, Corporal
 Daniel M. Whipple, Corporal
 Albert N. Nichols, Musician
 William Patterson, Color Guard

PRIVATES

Hardy M. Beck	Mark Harris
Benjamin Brown	Charles Haskell
Irving Brown	Augustus P. Holt
Tristram Brown	Lorenzo T. Jewett
Pierce Butler	John H. Kimball
Isaac Buzzell	Pike N. Lavalette
William Callahan	Isaac M. Leonard
William P. Crane	Charles W. Lord
William A. Estes	Alexander McGregor
Daniel H. Fellows	Samuel H. Merrill
Jonathan F. Foss	John Murby
John J. Fowler	John O'Connell
George W. Goodwin	Walter Patterson
James Gordon	Washington P. Pickard
Clarendon B. Hardy	David M. Pingree
Freeman Hardy	Benjamin L. Poor

Thomas W. Poor	Timothy J. Thurston
Kendall Sargeant	Thomas Trainer
James Shattuck	Luther Wait
Reuben W. Shirley	Samuel S. Wells
Edwin F. Smith	John West
John H. Smith	

The eager Patriotism of these Ipswich volunteers is evident from their ages. The first levy of troops included men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five, the second included those between thirty-five and forty-five. Seven of the Ipswich contingent were lads of eighteen, Clarendon B. Hardy, John H. Kimball, Pike N. Lavalette, Alexander McGregor, Albert N. Nichols, Reuben W. Shirley and Edwin F. Smith. Seven more were nineteen, William A. Estes, Geo. W. Goodwin, Freeman Hardy, Lorenzo T. Jewett, James Shattuck and Luther Wait. Tristram Brown, James Capewell and Kendall Sargeant were forty-two. William P. Crane was forty-three, Silas Crane and John West were forty-four. Albert N. Nichols was a musician. His associate, a Lynn boy, was only sixteen. The 14th Mass. left the State on August 7, 1861, and was stationed at Fort Albany the rest of the year in the defense of the Capital.

Though disappointed in his desire to lead the first Ipswich company to the front, Capt. Hobbs was too staunch a patriot to sulk at home. He began to raise a new company in September, 1861. A recruiting office was established in the old Probate building and the Salem Gazette of October first reported that his company was filling up rapidly. On October 15, it reported that the ranks were nearly full and that it was expected the company would go into camp at Lynnfield the next week. Col. Kurtz, who was assigned to the command of the 23^d Regiment, was in Ipswich on Friday last, the Gazette further reported, and visited Capt. Hobbs's Company at their barracks. He was so well pleased with the appearance of the men that he decided it should be attached to his regiment as Co. I.

Another interesting item appeared in the Gazette of Friday, October 18th.

Last evening (Tuesday) was a lively occasion in old Ipswich, the streets being alive with gathering crowds to witness the parade and last appearance of Capt. Hobb's company. It formed at headquarters, the Old Probate Building, and headed by the Ipswich Home Guards, accompanied by the Rowley band, marched through the principal streets and after listening to a brief speech by Hon. W. D. Northend (of Salem) proceeded to the Town Hall to partake of clam chowder.

The "Home Guards" was a volunteer company raised chiefly by the efforts of Wallace P. Willett, then a clerk in Boston, who was an active member of a drill club raised by Major Henry L. Higginson. He acted as drill master and captain of the company. The original list of members has been preserved.

Ipswich, May, 1861.

Whereas, there seems to us a necessity for the Citizens of this ancient town to be prepared to meet in every way in their power the exigencies that may arise in this time of our country's greatest peril, and whereas the formation of an organization for Military drill seems most desirable to this end,

We, the undersigned, hereby pledge ourselves to the above purpose and agree to be governed by such *Rules and Regulations* as may be adopted by the members of the Association for its government.

Names

- | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Wallace P. Willett | 8. John E. Kimball |
| 2. Charles A. Kimball | 9. Leverett Brown |
| 3. Edward P. Kimball | 10. Nath. S. Kimball |
| 4. John H. Cogswell | 11. Theodore F. Cogswell |
| 5. R. D. Jewett | 12. Samuel N. Baker, Jr. |
| 6. W ^m . G. Brown | 13. John R. Baker |
| 7. J. H. Mann | 14. Frank Marshall |

- | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 15. Daniel F. Fitz | 27. Zephaniah Kingsley |
| 16. Alfred M. Farley, Jr. | 28. John F. Clothey |
| 17. J. E. Bomer | 29. Eron Janes |
| 18. W. K. Bell | 30. T. A. Waterhouse |
| 19. A. Swasey | 31. John W. Bailey |
| 20. Curtis Damon | 32. Albert J. Perkins |
| 21. W. F. Wade, Jr. | 33. Daniel Wade |
| 22. Albert Russell | 34. S. A. Clarke |
| 23. George Harris | 35. George H. Green |
| 24. William Cogswell | 36. W ^m . K. Worth |
| 25. William D. Lord | 37. James H. Hull |
| 26. George W. Davis | |

The new company went to the camp at Lynnfield on Wednesday, Oct. 16, 1861. The roll included many Ipswich men.

John Hobbs, Captain

Edward G. Hull, Sergeant

Daniel F. Pinder, Sergeant

Thomas L. Jewett, Jr., Corporal

William K. Worth, Corporal

Albert P. Hills, Musician

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| Luther B. Andrews | Frank Howard |
| John A. Barker | George W. Irving |
| Gelois F. Bridges | John H. Jewett |
| John O. Bridges | Dennis Merrill |
| Lewis A. Brockelbank | John H. Montgomery |
| Henry A. Brown | Thomas Peabody |
| Abraham Burnham | William P. Peatfield |
| Joseph H. Chaniel | George Poor |
| James A. Clark | Edward Ross |
| John F. G. Clark | George Rowe |
| Patrick Coughlin | George H. Sargent |
| Charles H. Dow | William W. Shattuck |
| Eben Evans (Fowler) | John T. Sherburne |
| Henry Forbes | George Smith |
| Walter C. Foster | Charles H. Thompson |
| Albert S. Hills | John M. Tozier |

Again the eighteen year lads were in the ranks, Henry

A. Brown, Lewis A. Brockelbank, Charles H. Dow and William P. Peatfield, George Rowe and the musician, Albert P. Hills. The drummer's father, Albert S. Hills, Abraham Burnham, forty-three and James A. Clark, forty-five, were in the ranks with the boys.

The 23^d Mass. Regiment paraded in Salem on Oct. 31 with full ranks, Company I, Capt. Hobbs, turning out 84 men. It was ordered to New York in November and in January it embarked for Hatteras Inlet, Company I sailing in the "Highlander" with the Salem Company A, Capt. Ethan A. Brewster, and Co. B, Capt. Knott V. Martin, the Marblehead Company, and the commanding officers.⁷

The stern realities of War were soon brought home to this community. The embalmed body of young Daniel Potter, the only son of his widowed mother, was brought to Ipswich on Monday, December 2nd. He was a member of the first company, Co. A. 14th Mass., then stationed at Fort Albany in Virginia, where he sickened of typhoid fever. Funeral services were held on Tuesday in the meeting house of the Methodist Church, escort duty being performed by the Home Guards, who fired a volley over his grave.

The 23^d Mass. Regiment was soon under fire. It had part in the battle of Roanoke Island in February, 1862, and private Frank Howard of Ipswich, a member of Capt. Hobbs's Co. was severely wounded in the thigh.⁸ In the attack on Newbern on March 16, Lieut. Col. Henry Merritt of Salem fell. Col. Kurtz wrote, "He was killed by the first shot from the enemy's artillery, while bravely and gallantly executing an order I had given him a moment before."⁹ Capt. Hobbs suffered from an injury in his head, by the concussion of a cannon ball, which obliged him to resign his command and return home in August.¹⁰

⁷ Salem Gazette, Jan. 24, 1862.

⁸ Salem Gazette, Feb. 25, 1862.

⁹ Salem Gazette, March 21, 1862.

¹⁰ Salem Gazette, August 15, 1862.

The 14th Mass. was reorganized on January 1, 1862 and became the 1st Mass. Heavy Artillery. Fifty recruits were added to each company and two additional companies were formed. Capt. Eben A. Andrews of Ipswich was actively engaged in raising a new company in January, 1862. The Salem Gazette of Jan. 24 notes that he had already recruited a company of ninety members of Lancers at Ipswich under authority from the Secretary of War. "The company will be filled up to 101 and then join the regiment at Detroit, Michigan." The original plan of a cavalry regiment failed and the new company was assigned to the 1st Mass. Heavy Artillery as Company L. Another group of young men of Ipswich was mustered into service in Co. L. in February and March, 1862.

Charles W. Bamford	Henry Haskell
Charles P. Batchelder	Alexander B. McGregor
Asher Blake	James W. Noyes
Leander M. Blaisdell	Sergt. John W. Noyes
William H. Burnham	Joshua Turner
William Cash	John F. Whipple
Thomas J. Downes	William H. Winslow
Joshua M. Hardy	Corporal Pardon E. Worsley

In February, George W. Baker, George A. Brown, William Gray and William P. Ross enlisted and were assigned to Co. A. of the same regiment.¹¹

In February, 1862, a company was raised for the purpose of garrisoning the forts in Boston Harbor. It became Co. A. of the 1st Battalion Mass. Heavy Artillery, which was enlarged in the autumn and in 1863 by the addition of other companies. The term of enlistment was three years. The Ipswich men enrolled in Co. A. were:

Amasa P. Bailey	Warren Boynton, Sergt.
Charles H. Baker	Geo. S. Bradstreet
William R. Barton	Richard A. Bridges (Nov. 27,
Charles Boynton	1863)

¹¹ A later enrollment was made in August. See Page 669.

John F. Butler
Philip E. Clarke
Otis S. Holmes
Levi L. Howe
Geo. W. Langdon, Corp.
Geo. W. Otis¹²

Nathaniel C. Perkins
David H. Poor
Asa T. Potter, Sergt.
Edward W. Russell, Sergt.
Charles W. Smith

Early in June, 1862, tidings came of the retreat of Gen. Banks's Division after sharp fighting near Winchester, and of the bravery of the 2nd Mass., which included many Ipswich men. Alonzo Butler was taken prisoner and was exchanged after three months imprisonment at Lynchburg, Va. and Belle Island, near Richmond. Capt. Cogswell wrote,

Williamsport, May 27th.

We took the Martinsburg pike and without a halt marched to Williamsport at 7 o'clock on Sunday night, a distance of 36 miles or more.

The women and citizens of Winchester fired out of the windows upon us, and as we were moving along through, one woman shot a man of mine just before me.

Twenty in my company were killed, wounded or missing. My company did nobly, fighting for about 13 hours and marching over ploughed fields, and we marched 60 miles, not a wink of sleep or rest from 12 o'clock on Friday night till Sunday night at 8 o'clock and scarcely anything to eat.¹³

The 19th Mass. suffered severely in the fighting near Richmond. John J. Tibbetts, Co. C. of this town was wounded badly in the right arm.¹⁴

On July 4, 1862, the President had called for 300,000 troops. Gov. Andrew called for 15,000 on July 7th. The Ipswich allotment under this call was 39 men.¹⁵ On August 4, the reverses of McClellan and Banks led to a new call for 300,000 nine-months troops, to be raised by draft if neces-

¹² Died at Ipswich, Nov. 18, 1863.

¹³ Salem Gazette, June 3, June 6, 1862.

¹⁴ Salem Gazette, June 6, 1862.

¹⁵ Salem Gazette, July 11, 1862.

sary. The seriousness of the situation is evident from the recommendation of Gov. Andrew on Aug. 23, "that business should be suspended in the towns and cities of the Commonwealth for one week in order that the citizens should devote their full time to filling the required quota."¹⁶ The Salem Gazette made the gratifying announcement on August 15, that the full quota of Ipswich men, under the call of July 7, went to Camp Cameron on the day before. No list has been preserved but it probably included the new recruits and re-enlisted men who were mustered in to the service in early August. Part of them were assigned to Co. K. 2nd Mass.

Joseph L. Akerman	Moses G. Lord
John F. Barton	Nathaniel Lord
William Cogswell	Winthrop Low
John M. Dunnels	Daniel Lucy
Thomas F. Ellsworth, Corp.	William O. Nichols
Samuel P. Foster	David Pickard
John J. Jewett	William Stevens
Daniel B. Kimball	David L. Wade
Rufus Knox	Moses Webber
Caleb H. Lord, 1 st Serg.	

Another group was enrolled in Co. A. 1st Mass. Heavy Artillery.

Thomas T. Chapman	Michael Ready
John W. Clark	Edmund Reiley
Sylvester Goodwin	Cornelius Schofield
George Horton	Thomas R. Smith
Cornelius O'Connell	William H. H. Smith
William H. Parker	Henry Stevens

Albert Tenney was mustered in as a member of Co. C. 2nd Mass. and Rufus G. Smith in Co. E. Sergt. William H. Tozier had joined Co. K. 2nd Mass. in April. Joseph S. Peatfield was mustered in on June 4, '62, in Co. I. 23^d Mass.

The 2nd Mass. suffered great loss in the battle of Cedar

¹⁶ Higginson, Mass. in the Army & Navy, I: 71.

Mountain, in the unsuccessful attack by Gen. Banks on "Stonewall" Jackson. Out of twenty-three commissioned officers only eight escaped unhurt, while one-half the non-commissioned officers and nearly one-third of the enlisted men were killed or wounded.¹⁷ Capt. Cogswell was wounded and Sergeant Chas. O. Andrews of Ipswich was wounded slightly in the thigh. Only twenty-four men of the company were left.¹⁸ The regiment was again actively engaged at Antietam, Sept. 17, 1862. It captured a Confederate flag and Lieut. Col. Dwight rode along the front displaying the trophy amid a storm of bullets. Near the end of the battle, he fell, mortally wounded.¹⁹

The camp at Lynnfield was removed to Boxford in August, 1862. Traces of this camp are still visible. In the same month, another camp for the new regiments that were coming into shape was established at Wenham in a great field near the railroad. It was called Camp Fred. W. Lander, in honor of Gen. Lander of Salem, who had died from wounds early in the war. Long rows of wooden barracks were erected at this camp, and two regiments, the 48th and 5th were in camp in September. The 8th Mass. of which Rev. John C. Kimball was Chaplain, was in the Wenham camp in November.

A large number of Ipswich volunteers were members of Co. D. of the 48th Regiment.

William Lord, 4th, 1st Lieut.

John R. Baker, Sergeant

Leverett Brown, Sergeant

Jesse F. Brown, Corporal

Thomas E. Condon, Corporal

Edward Plouff, Corporal

Calvin Andrews

Isaac M. Andrews

¹⁷ Higginson, Mass. in Army and Navy, I: 68.

¹⁸ Salem Gazette, Aug. 22, 1862.

¹⁹ Higginson, Mass. in Army and Navy, I: 73.

Luther B. Andrews	Thomas McGuire
Samuel D. Atkinson	George W. Morley
Richard A. Bridges	Alfred Norman
Edward Brown	John W. Plouff
Walter Brown	William Plummer
Nathaniel Burnham	Daniel B. Scanks
Thomas Caffery	Jacob P. Scanks
Moses Chapman	George W. Sherburne
Charles T. Cotton	Lorenzo R. Stone
William P. Crane	Elbridge G. Sweet
Edwin K. Foster	Jenness Towle
Nathaniel Goodhue	Joseph Wait, Jr.
James H. Grant	Rogers Wait
Joseph Farley Kinsman	Richard Wallace
Perley B. Lakeman	James T. Worcester
Marcus Lindberg	Lee R. Worcester
John McGuire	

Thomas Reedy was enrolled in Co. B, Patrick Coughlin in Co. E, Solomon F. Foster in Co. F. of the same Regiment.

The 48th left the State for New York, Dec. 27, 1862, sailed Jan. 4, 1863 for Fortress Monroe and reached New Orleans Feb. 1st. It was sent two days later to Baton Rouge.

While the men of Ipswich were taking their part bravely in the defence of our Country, the Town itself was doing its best to provide for the families left behind by the soldiers, and to furnish the bounties, which were needed to secure enlistments, as the War dragged slowly along.

A Town meeting assembled on May 27, 1861, to consider an appropriation for the pay of the members of the volunteer company. Gen. James Appleton was chosen Moderator. There was some discussion but no action was taken. The wisdom and necessity of practical measures to facilitate volunteering by providing for the families of soldiers had become evident a few weeks later, and on July 8th, the Town voted:

That the sum of \$3000 be raised and appropriated for the aid of the wife and of children under sixteen years of age, of any inhabitant of this Town, who, as a member of the volunteer militia of this State, may have been mustered into or enlisted in the service of the United States, and for each parent, brother or sister or child, who at the time of his enlistment, was dependent on him for support, agreeably to Section 1st, Chap. 222 of the extra session of 1861.

A further appropriation of \$1200 for this purpose was made on January 13, 1862, and on March 17, the Town voted to hire such sums as were necessary for relief. To meet the call of the President for 300,000 men in the summer of 1862, a Town Meeting assembled on July 21 at 4 P. M., Gen. James Appleton in the chair. It was voted that a bounty of a hundred dollars be paid to every man, who should volunteer and be accepted and mustered in to the service of the United States. Already the men of Ipswich had responded nobly to the nation's need. A hundred and thirty-seven men were then enrolled and in active service.

On August 4, 1862, at a Town meeting called "to see what further action the Town will take in regard to raising volunteers," it was voted, that a bounty of one hundred dollars, in addition to the hundred voted on July 21, be paid to volunteers, and on August 11, \$3900 was appropriated for soldiers' bounties for the Town's quota of the 300,000, and a Committee of seven was appointed to "take into consideration the subject of the new draft which is to be made."

The President had issued a call for volunteers for a nine months' term on August 4, 1862. The Town voted on August 25, that a bounty of \$150 be paid to any who enlisted, and on Sept. 15, it extended this offer of \$150 to any who enlisted, "over and above the required number if any, for nine months." A week later, it was voted that a sum not exceeding \$6600 be hired to pay the bounty of the nine months' men, at a rate not exceeding 5½ per cent.

The 2nd Mass. moved from its camp near Harper's Ferry to Stafford Court House on January 19, 1863. It suffered severe losses at the battle of Chancellorsville, Va. on May 3 and at Gettysburg July 1-3. There were twelve Ipswich men in Co. K. Half the number were wounded at Gettysburg, John J. Jewett and David L. Wade, fatally; Thos. F. Ellsworth, Rufus Knox, Samuel P. Foster and David Pickard less severely.²⁰ Mr. Jewett died on July 5.²¹ Mr. Wade lingered in the hospital several weeks. His body was also brought to Ipswich and funeral services were held in the meeting house of the Methodist Church on Sunday, August 2. The Home Guards and the Engine Company, of which he was a member, were in attendance and the solemn march to the cemetery was headed by the Rowley Band.

During the year 1862, Henry A. Brown had died at Newbern, N. C. on April 21, and John O. Bridges at the same place, April 26. James A. Clark died on May 7, at Hatteras Inlet, N. C. The year 1863 brought a multitude of thrilling and sorrowful experiences to many Ipswich homes, for the husbands, fathers and sons were scattered in many regiments.

The 23^d Mass. was in Gen. Foster's expedition. In December, 1862, it took part in the Goldsboro expedition, participated in the battle of Kinston and was engaged with great loss at Whitehall.²² On the last days of the old year, the sad news came that William Peatfield of Co. I had been killed at Whitehall, that John H. Montgomery had been wounded in the foot and William K. Worth in the hand.²³ The Regiment left Newbern in January, 1863, and had a part in the movement against Charleston, S. C., returning to North Carolina in April, where it remained in camp until Autumn. It removed to camp at Newport News in October.

²⁰ Salem Gazette, July 14 and 17, 1863.

²¹ His body was brought home and public funeral services were held on July 25th.

²² Higginson, Mass. in the Army and Navy, 1: 228.

²³ Salem Gazette, Dec. 30, 1862.

Joseph S. Peatfield, brother of William, died at Newbern, July 31, 1863.

The 48th Regiment took part in the advance against Port Hudson, La. It was engaged on May 21 at Plain's Store or Port Hudson, and suffered severely in the assault on Port Hudson on May 27, providing 93 volunteers from its ranks for the storming party.²⁴ It suffered loss again on June 14 and at Bayou La Fourche or Donaldsonville, La., July 13. Daniel B. Scanks died at Baton Rouge, April 20. George W. Morley died from wounds at Baton Rouge on July 19.

The 48th returned in August and was mustered out Sept. 3, 1863. Wednesday, Sept. 23, was a gala day at Ipswich, when a public reception was given to Company D. A procession was formed and a large cavalcade of horsemen, two engine companies and many private citizens, with the Boston Brigade Band, Capt. John D. Cross, Chief-marshal, escorted the returned soldiers through the principal streets to the Green, in the rear of the meeting house of the First Church, where tables were spread. The afternoon was given to speeches and toasts.²⁵

The Third Unattached company of Mass. Heavy Artillery was mustered into service on January 10, 1863. Other companies were united with it to form the 3^d Mass. Regiment of Heavy Artillery, which was stationed in the defences of Washington during its entire service. In the course of the year, a considerable number from Ipswich enlisted in Co. A. Many had seen service already.

George W. Bowen, Jr., musician	John T. Hovey
George F. Grant	John M. Lefflan, Corp.
John Hall	Benjamin B. Newman
Otis E. Hardy	Charles Porter
Henry A. Hitchcock, Serg.	Asa T. Potter, 1 st Lieut.
	William H. Spofford, Corp.

²⁴ Higginson, Mass. in Army and Navy, I: 286.

²⁵ Salem Gazette, Sept. 25, 1863.

Milton B. Shattuck, Sergeant, reenlisted in Co. G. Co. H. mustered in to the service in November, 1863, had many Ipswich men on its roll.

Jesse F. Brown 1 st Serg.	John W. Noyes
Walter Brown	Henry F. Russell, Artificer
William H. Gwinn	John W. Russell
Leander Irving, Sergt.	Jacob P. Scanks
Washington Irving	John E. Tenney
Joseph Johnson, Corp.	Leigh R. Worcester
Marcus Lindberg, killed by accident Nov. 16, never mustered.	

There were other enlistments and reenlistments at this time, William H. Cross in Co. C, 23^d Mass.; Joseph Flagg, Henry A. Lord and Thomas Murby in Co. A, 1st Mass. Heavy Artillery; Edward Wheldon in Co. M, 2nd Mass. Heavy Artillery; Nathaniel C. Perkins in Co. A, 1st Battalion Mass. Heavy Artillery.

In July, 1863, the long impending draft, to supply the new levies, which could be raised no longer by voluntary enlistment, took place. The total enrollment of Ipswich men between the ages of 18 and 45, liable to military duty was 223. The number called for, with fifty per cent. additional for allowance for exempts, etc., was 67, 45 being the actual requisition. The drawing was made in Salem on July 13 and sixty-seven names of the drafted were published in the Gazette of July 14. Many were classed among the exempts or failed to pass the physical examination. Many others provided substitutes, or paid the commutation money, \$300, which secured their release. Only one Ipswich man, Nathaniel Hayes, entered the ranks as the result of the draft. He was assigned to the Second Company of Sharpshooters. The President called for 300,000 men in November, and Ipswich faced the heavy task of providing 33 more recruits.

The Town debt had accumulated rapidly under the stress

of the continued demands for bounties, and the corresponding increase in appropriations for dependent families. At this juncture, a very generous and opportune gift was made by the four sons of Mr. George W. Heard, John, Augustine, Jr., Albert F. and George F., then in China, conducting the great business of the house of Augustine Heard & Co., and Augustine Heard, the head of the firm.

In Town Meeting assembled, on June 15, 1863, the following Preamble and Resolutions were adopted.

Whereas Mr. Augustine Heard of this town, in conjunction with his nephews, Mr. John Heard, Mr. Augustine Heard, Jr., Mr. Albert F. Heard and Mr. George F. Heard, have placed in the hands of trustees ten thousand dollars to be applied for the relief of such persons belonging to this town as may suffer from sickness or wounds incurred in the service of their country in the present Civil war, and for the relief of such persons as may be deprived of support by the loss of relatives engaged in the like service,

Therefore, Resolved, That the thanks of the citizens of Ipswich, assembled this day in town meeting, be tendered to the above named gentlemen respectively for their munificent donation to so noble a cause, together with our best wishes for their continued health and prosperity.

William H. Graves, William F. Wade and Aaron Cogswell, were appointed a Committee to convey a copy of the Resolutions to the donors.

There was imminent danger of another draft to supply the Town's contingent under the last call for troops. At a Town meeting held on Nov. 2, 1863, the Selectmen were instructed to

proceed immediately to take such measures as may be necessary to obtain the Town's quota of volunteers, and that a Committee of four persons be appointed by the Moderator, to assist the Selectmen therein.

The Moderator appointed Abram D. Wait, Eben Caldwell,

William H. Graves and Josiah Lord, Jr. and on the declination of Capt. Caldwell, the Moderator, John D. Cross, was added to the Committee. A further appropriation of a hundred dollars to the family of each new volunteer was made, and an additional hundred for each additional year he remained in service. Happily the full quota was raised without resort to a draft.

The year 1864 took heavy toll of the Ipswich soldiers. The 2nd Mass., Col. W^m. Cogswell, had an active part in the battle of Resaca, May 13-16, losing five killed or mortally wounded. It was engaged at Konesaw Mountain, where 1st Lieut. Caleb H. Lord of Ipswich was mortally wounded. He died in the hospital near Chattanooga, June 29. The regiment was with Gen. Sherman in his march through Georgia to the Sea.²⁶ Young Henry Cowles, son of Professor and Mrs. Cowles, a student at Oberlin College, not yet eighteen, enlisted on April 15, 1864, in Co. K, 150th Ohio National Guards, and died at Fort Saratoga, near Washington, on July 14, of the same year.

The 23^d Regiment was engaged at Arrowfield Church, and took part in the engagement at Drury's Bluff, Va., on May 16 with great loss. Joined with the Army of the Potomac, it participated in the battle at Cold Harbor, June 3, and the operations before Petersburg, July 20 to 30. Charles H. Dow was killed June 3, 1864 at Cold Harbor, William W. Shattuck at Petersburg, July 20, John H. Jewett died April 5 at Getty's Station, Va., John A. Barker at Philadelphia, Aug. 30, 1864.

The long vigil of the 1st Mass. Heavy Artillery, with many Ipswich men in companies A and L in the fortifications about Washington, terminated in May, 1864. Captain Shatswell had been commissioned Major, Dec. 31, 1862. When the regiment reported to Gen. Meade in May, he placed Col. Tannatt in charge of a brigade. It had a con-

²⁶ Higginson, Mass. in Army and Navy, I: 106.

spicuous part in the great battle of Spottsylvania, May 8 to 18, 1864. Col. Higginson remarks,²⁷

In this prolonged and intermittent battle, the very heaviest casualties of all—including both killed and wounded—came, with one exception, upon the 1st Mass. Heavy Artillery. Its casualties (390) were exceeded only by those of the 1st Maine Heavy Artillery (481), no infantry regiment rising above 301.

Leading the advance at Spottsylvania on May 19, the Senior Major of the regiment was killed at the first fire and the command devolved upon Major Shatswell, who commanded the regiment from that time until the close of the War. It was engaged at North Anna, May 23-27, and on June 2 and 3 at Cold Harbor, the most desperate battle of the Richmond campaign.²⁸ Major Shatswell led his command in a night attack on Petersburg, June 16. On June 18, he was struck by a rifle ball which penetrated a small book filled with papers in the pocket of his blouse and lodged in the cover. Engagements followed at Deep Bottom in August, at Poplar Springs, Oct. 2, and at the Weldon Railroad, Dec. 7 and 11, 1864.

James Gordon and Sergeant James W. Noyes of Co. A, 1st Mass. Heavy Artillery, were killed at Spottsylvania and Charles D. Smith of Co. E, of the 9th Mass. Lorenzo T. Jewett of Co. A, 1st Mass. Heavy Artillery died from wounds received in battle on May 26. Philip C. Lavalette of Co. H, died from his wounds on June 6.

Parker McGregor of Co. A, was killed at Petersburg on June 16, 1864. William Gray died from his wounds received in that battle June 21; William Patterson, Regimental Color Sergeant, from his wounds, July 18; Cornelius Schofield, from his wounds, August 13; Sergeant Peter Crowley of Co. G, died from wounds at Philadelphia on July 12;

²⁷ Mass. in Army and Navy, I: 118.

²⁸ Higginson, Mass. in the Army and Navy, I: 170, 171.

Timothy J. Thurston of Co A, died of disease at Alexandria, Oct. 19, and Daniel M. Whipple of the same company, on Dec. 26, at Washington; Charles P. Batchelder of Co. I. died of wounds at Washington, Aug. 23, 1864; Alexander B. McGregor of the same company was killed by accident at New Haven, Conn., Oct. 26; Pierce L. Butler of Co. A, died of disease, Jan. 22, 1865; Nathaniel W. Chambers, Co. A, of disease at Patrick's Station, Virginia on Feb. 16, 1865. Co. L lost 7 killed and 57 wounded between 2 P. M. and 8 P. M. at Spottsylvania.

Nathaniel Hayes of the 2nd Sharpshooters, wounded at Petersburg, died on July 2, 1864; 2nd Lieut. Asa Smith of the 10th Battery Light Artillery died of wounds Oct. 28, 1864. Saddest of all were the deaths of Ipswich men in the foul prison pen at Andersonville: William A. Estes on Sept. 5, 1864; Pike N. Lavalette on Sept. 21, 1864, and Samuel S. Wells on Nov. 4, 1864, all of Co. A, 1st Mass. Heavy Artillery, and William Cash of Co. L, on Sept. 28, 1864. Richard Moore²⁹ of Co. E, 9th Mass. exchanged from Richmond prison, arrived at Annapolis in September. Gelois F. Bridges, Co. I, 23^d Mass., taken prisoner at Whitehall, Dec. 1862, is said to have died in Richmond prison, May 16, 1864. Second Lieut. James W. Goss of Co. A, 1st Mass. H. A. was taken prisoner in the Petersburg campaign and taken to Libby prison in Richmond. He was removed to Macon, Georgia, and on the approach of Sherman's army, was taken to Charleston and confined in the jail on the water front. When the Union gun boats bombarded the city, loyal citizens warned the Northern navy of too near approach of their shells to the prison, and no damage was done in that quarter. Lieut. Goss with other prisoners was put into cattle cars and carried to a prison in Columbia, S. C., from which he was released, nine months after his capture. During his imprisonment the ration served to the prisoners was five pints of

²⁹ Salem Gazette, Sept. 16, 1864.

cereal and meat once a week, often grossly unfit for human food.

By the Act of July 4, 1864, the President called 500,000 men to the flag. Fifty were needed to fill the Ipswich quota. The Town voted on July 11th, authorizing the Selectmen to pay \$125 for every recruit and chose a Committee "to adopt such measures as they may judge proper to raise money to procure recruits." Apparently a subscription was made by citizens as the Town voted on May 13, 1865,

That the Town Treasurer be authorized to hire the sum of \$635 to reimburse those that subscribed and paid money to raise volunteers during the year 1864.

The final enlistments seem to have been in the Cavalry. The 1st Battalion of Frontier Cavalry was mustered into service on Dec. 30, 1864 and Jan. 2, 1865. It was attached to the 26th New York Cavalry and performed guard duty on the New York frontier.⁸⁰ The Ipswich men were seasoned soldiers in the main.

Co. B. included:

Alonzo Butler, Corp.	Freeman Hardy, Sergt.
Charles T. Cotton	Charles L. Holland
William P. Crane, Jr.	Daniel W. Stone
James O. Grant	

William G. Pickard and John A. Smith enlisted in Co. D. Hiram J. Plummer was mustered in as a member of 3^d Reg. Mass. Cavalry on Dec. 31, 1864, Theodore P. Teague and George Buzzell in the 4th Reg. Mass. Cavalry on the same day.

The end was now near at hand. Sherman's victorious march through Georgia to the sea was completed in December, 1864. Albert Tenney was the only Ipswich soldier in the ranks. The final campaign in Virginia ended in the capture of Richmond April 3, 1865, and the surrender of Gen. Lee's army on April 9, 1865.

⁸⁰ Higginson, Mass. in Army and Navy. I: 168.

For five days the whole North was filled with transports of delight that the War was over. Then in a moment, grief unspeakable fell upon every heart. On the evening of Good Friday, April 14th, President Lincoln was assassinated.

Ipswich had borne a good part in the long struggle. The population in 1860 was 3,300, in 1865, 3,311. The total number of men credited to her quota during the War was 375, a surplus of 33 over the required number.³¹ Fifteen were commissioned officers. Nathaniel Shatswell enlisting as 1st Lieut. was Captain, and Major, and Lieut. Colonel in January, 1865. As has been stated, he was Acting Colonel from June, 1864. Eben A. Andrews was Captain of Co. L, 1st Mass. Heavy Artillery. Thomas F. Ellsworth enlisting as Corporal, became 2nd Lieutenant of Co. K, 2nd Regiment, and 1st Lieut. and Captain in the 55th Mass.

John Burnham Brown enlisted August 1, 1861 in the 16th Mass. as 1st Lieut. In 1862, he was attached to the staff of Gen. Grover as Aide-de-Camp, and remained in that position during the war, though commissions were offered him in his regiment. He was in the battle at Malvern Hill, July 1, 1862, in Gen Pope's Virginia campaign, which ended in the second battle of Bull Run, Aug. 30, 1862, was commended for gallant conduct in engagements at Bunker's Farm, Malvern Hill and Second Bull Run. He was one of the officers who offered to lead the last grand assault, which ended the siege of Port Hudson, May 21, 1863, and was in the Wilderness battles, May 5-9, 1864.

Many families had made precious contributions to the Army and Navy. Fathers and sons were enrolled in the ranks: Tristram Brown, the blacksmith, and his son, Irving; Abraham Burnham and his son, Nathaniel; Patrick Condon and his son, Thomas E.; James A. Clark and his son, John F. G.; Albert S. Hills and his son, Albert P.; Jacob Seanks and his three sons, Daniel B., Jacob and John G.; Richard

³¹ Schouler, 2: 203.

P. Spiller and his son, John S.; William Stevens and his son, William W. Many young lads added to their years to bring themselves up to the recruiting age, but Jacob Scanks stretched the truth to keep his age down. He gave his age as forty-four, but unless his age at death was given incorrectly, he had already passed his forty-ninth year when he entered the service.

Many families gave two, three or even four sons. Four sons of Obed Andrews enlisted in Ipswich, Calvin, John J., Luther B. and Prince A., but two other brothers were enrolled from other towns, a family record almost unparalleled. Three brothers from the family of Richard Bridges, Richard A., Gelois F. and John O.; three sons of George and Eunice Brown, George A., Jesse F. and Walter; three sons of Deacon Philemon Foster of Linebrook, Cyrus, Walter C. and Richard R.; the three sons of old boatswain Morris, Charles H., George and William, also in the Navy; four boys from the family of William F. Nichols, William O., Albert N., Edward F. and Augustus; three sons of Nathaniel Lavalette of Linebrook, Charles C., Philip C. and Pike N.; three O'Connell brothers, Cornelius, John and Michael; Melzeard Poor's sons, David H., George and Thomas W.; three sons of William and Mary Stone, William L., Daniel W. and Lorenzo R., all served under the old flag.

A surprisingly large number of families sent two sons to the front. Amasa P. and Oliver A. Bailey, John F. and William R. Barton, Charles P. and Hiram Batchelder, Charles and Warren Boynton, Isaac and George Buzzell, John Burnham Brown and Leverett Brown, Samuel P. and Edwin K. Foster, John J. and Eben E. Fowler, Nathaniel and Moses G. Lord, Parker and Alexander McGregor, Joseph S. and William P. Peatfield, David and Washington Pickard, John and Edward Plouff, George and Edward T. Roberts, John H. and Edwin F. Smith, Albert and John E. Tenney, William H. and John M. Tozier, Henry S. and Marcus

FRACTIONAL CURRENCY ISSUED BY THE UNION STORE
IN THE CIVIL WAR

Treadwell, Daniel M. and John F. Whipple, James T. and Leigh R. Worcester.

The quiet life of the Town had been stirred to the depths by the new experiences brought by the War. Soldiers, returning from the front on furlough or recovering from their wounds, met with warm welcome, and the tales of their camp life, marches and battles were listened to eagerly by admiring groups in their homes or in the streets. There was a call from the hospitals for bandages and lint, and every family contributed generous supplies of old and soft linen, which was scraped into lint by the women and boys and girls, or made into long rolls for bandages. The making of "Comfort bags," filled with a miscellaneous assortment of needles and pins and many small utilities, furnished opportunity for young and old at home and in the stated gatherings for relief work.

All gold and silver coins disappeared at the very beginning of the War, and resort was made to postage stamps enclosed in small envelopes, containing the sums needful for "small change," hitherto provided by the coins. This extremely inconvenient makeshift had but one redeeming feature in the estimation of the mischievous boys and their unscrupulous elders, who cleaned the slightly marked stamps taken from old letters, and passed them upon old or unwary shopkeepers. But the stamps soon gave place to "shin plasters," issued by storekeepers, paper money in small denominations which passed current in each community. The Government, however, met the situation by the issue of fractional currency in paper. The storekeepers of Salem agreed to discontinue taking "Fractional Checks" or "Private Shin-plasters" after Feb. 28, 1863,³² and at this time the National issue came into general use. They remained in circulation until the resumption of specie payment.

The business of the Town had been greatly quickened. At

³² Salem Gazette, Feb. 10, 1863.

the Willowdale mill in September, 1863, seventy operatives were busy with the manufacture of army stockings, and many of the hand frames may have shared in this industry. The making of army shoes gave work to many hands. Though the prices of the common necessities of life were greatly enhanced, the farm products were sold at a corresponding increase, and general prosperity was the rule. The ample bounties paid to soldiers as they enlisted, and the generous provision for the relief of soldiers' families by the Town and State appropriations and the Heard fund, secured comfortable support for all.

The daily papers were awaited with intense and often anguished interest, for the telegraphic reports of skirmishes and battles brought the first intimation of the possible suffering or death of fathers and husbands, sons and brothers. The less frequent weekly or semi-weekly Salem papers which came to many Ipswich homes in addition to their budget of news, brought with every issue, in their familiar place on the first page, the splendid war lyrics that roused intense patriotic ardor and became enshrined in every heart. For every number of the Atlantic Monthly, the famous New England poets wrote burning war-songs, stirring calls to arms, noble psalms of praise. The newspapers spread them broadcast over the land.

In February, 1862, came Julia Ward Howe's grand and prophetic "Battle Hymn of the Republic."

Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord,
He is trampling out the vintage, where the grapes of wrath
are stored,
He hath loosed the fateful lightning of his terrible sharp
sword,
His truth is marching on.

The June "Atlantic" brought Whittier's "Astraea at the Capitol," inspired by the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, in 1862.

When first I saw our banners wave
 Above the nation's council hall
 I heard beneath its marble wall
 The clanking fetters of the slave!
 * * * * *

But now I see it! In the sun
 A free flag floats from yonder dome,
 And at the nation's hearth and home
 The justice long delayed is done.

The August number had Oliver Wendell Holmes's thrilling
 "Never or Now," read at the dinner of the Harvard Chapter
 of the Phi Beta Kappa Society.

Listen, young heroes! your country is calling!
 Time strikes the hour for the brave and the true!
 Now, whilst the foremost are fighting and falling,
 Fill up the ranks that have opened for you.
 * * * * *

Never or now! cries the blood of a nation,
 Poured on the turf where the red rose should bloom
 Now is the day and the hour of salvation,—
 Never or now! peals the trumpet of doom!

A great patriotic meeting was held in Boston in August,
 1862. Dr. Holmes read his poem, worthy of the occasion:

"Thus saith the Lord, I offer Thee Three Things."

In poisonous dens, where traitors hide
 Like bats that fear the day,
 While all the land our charters claim
 In sweating blood and breathing flame,
 Dead to their country's woe and shame,
 The recreants whisper STAY!

In peaceful homes, where patriot fires
 On Love's own altars glow,
 The mother hides her trembling fear,
 The wife, the sister, checks a tear,
 To breathe the parting words of cheer,
 Soldier of Freedom, GO!

Whittier's "Barbara Frietche" came in September, and attained great popularity. Longfellow's "The Cumberland" appeared in December. The Emancipation Proclamation went into effect on January 1, 1863. A Jubilee Concert in Boston celebrated the event and Dr. Holmes's stately "Army Hymn" found honored place.

O Lord of Hosts! Almighty King
Behold the sacrifice we bring.
To every arm thy strength impart,
Thy spirit shed through every heart.

Whittier burst into song with "The Proclamation," and his triumphant "Laus Deo," struck off under the inspiration of hearing the bells ring on the passage of the Constitutional amendment abolishing slavery.

It is done!
Clang of bell and roar of gun
Send the tidings up and down.
How the belfries rock and reel!
How the great guns peal and peal,
Fling the joy from town to town.

Ralph Waldo Emerson's intense "Boston Hymn" voiced his joy that the slaves at last were free.

God said, I am tired of kings,
I suffer them no more,
Up to my ear the morning brings
The outrage of the poor.
* * * * *
I break your bonds and masterships
And I unchain the slave.
Free be his heart and hand henceforth
As wind and wandering wave.
* * * * *
Today unbind the captive,
So only are ye unbound;

Lift up a people from the dust.
Trump of their rescue, sound!

Gail Hamilton's spirited "Battle Song of Freedom" was published in September, 1864.

Men of action! Men of might!
Stern defenders of the right!
Are you girded for the fight?

Thomas Buchanan Read's "Sheridan's Ride" followed close upon the battle of Winchester, lost and won in October, 1864. When the nation wept over Lincoln's grave, William Cullen Bryant's inspired "Ode for Burial" was read with tears in every home.

Oh! slow to smite and swift to spare,
Gentle and merciful and just,
Who in the fear of God didst bear
The sword of power, a nation's trust.

These and many others were the poems that voiced the nation's need, that roused her youth to self-sacrifice, that comforted the bereaved, that celebrated the great events of the War, and kindled sublime patriotic devotion to the flag. They were read in the homes and at public gatherings. They found place at once in the "Readers" of the public schools. They became the favorite declamations on the platform of the old High School, and all the schools of the land. These sublime sentiments sank deep into the memories of all children, and by their subtle but potent spell, instilled Patriotism and love of Liberty.

But the War Songs, that were sung in the camp, on the march, in the trenches and on the battle fields, that floated back into every quiet village of the North, and were sung with tremendous unction in the family circles and schools and on the streets, played by the bands, whistled by the lads,

hummed by workmen over their tasks, were, perhaps, the most picturesque and thrilling features of these days and years of War.

At its very beginning, old John Brown's determined but hopeless blow for the slave at Harper's Ferry and his death upon the scaffold, inspired a song that was sung with indescribable enthusiasm, with its thrice repeated line,

John Brown's body lies a mould'ring in the grave
and the ringing chorus: Glory, Glory, Hallelujah, His soul is marching on.

Col. Ellsworth leading his zouave regiment of New York firemen to the front in May, 1861, went into a hotel at Alexandria to remove a secession flag from the roof. As he came out he was shot dead by the landlord. His picture was displayed in every shop-window, and the song "Ellsworth's Avengers," sprang into immediate popularity.

Down where the patriot army
Near Potomac's side,
Guards the glorious cause of Freedom
Gallant Ellsworth died.
Brave was the noble chieftain.
At his Country's call
Hastened to the field of battle
And was first to fall.

Chorus.

Strike, freemen, for the Union
Sheath your swords no more,
While remains in arms a traitor
On Columbia's shore.

As the Northern army was gathering for the War, the song, "Marching Along" was a general favorite.

The army is gathering from near and from far,
The trumpet is sounding the call for the War,
McClellan's our leader, he's gallant and strong,
We'll gird on our armor, and be marching along.

Chorus.

Marching along, we are marching along,
Gird on the armor and be marching along,
McClellan's our leader, he's gallant and strong,
For God and our Country, we're marching along.

Another popular favorite was "The Battle Cry of Freedom."

Yes, we'll rally round the flag, boys, we'll rally once again,
Shouting the battle cry of freedom,
We will rally from the hill-side, we'll gather from the plain,
Shouting the battle cry of freedom.

Chorus.

The Union forever, hurrah! boys, hurrah!
Down with the traitor, up with the star,
While we rally round the flag, boys, rally once again,
Shouting the battle cry of freedom.

More quiet meditative lyrics were equally liked.

We're tenting tonight on the old camp ground,
Give us a song to cheer
Our weary hearts, a song of home
And friends we love so dear.

Chorus.

Many are the hearts that are weary tonight
Wishing for the war to cease;
Many are the hearts looking for the right
To see the dawn of peace.
Tenting tonight, tenting tonight,
Tenting on the old camp ground.

The tales of the enormities of the Confederate prisons gave peculiar power to the well remembered "Tramp, Tramp, Tramp."

In the prison cell I sit
Thinking Mother dear of you,
And our bright and happy home so far away,
And the tears that fill my eyes
Spite of all that I can do
Tho' I try to cheer my comrades and be gay.

Chorus.

Tramp! tramp! tramp! the boys are marching
Cheer up comrades they will come,
And beneath the starry flag
We shall breathe the air again
Of the free land in our own beloved home.

The "Vacant Chair" written in January, 1863, on the occasion of the death of a young Massachusetts officer, though melancholy and plaintive, lent itself to the public sympathy for the homes, desolated by the loss of dear ones.

We shall meet but we shall miss him
There will be one vacant chair,
We shall linger to caress him,
While we breathe our evening prayer.

The rollicking strains of "Dixie," an Ethiopian "Walk Around" were always in the air.

I wish I was in de land of cotton
'Cimmon seed and sandy bottom.

Chorus

Look away, look away, away, Dixie Land.

In Dixie's Land whar I was born in
Early on one frosty mornin

Chorus

Look away, look away, away, Dixie Land.

Chorus

Den I wish I was in Dixie
 Hooray! Hooray!
 In Dixie's Land, we'll take our stand
 To lib and die in Dixie,
 !!Away-away-away down South in Dixie.!!

The slave song, "The Year of Jubilee," sung by the negro troops as they entered Richmond on April 3, 1865, won its way to great favor by its grotesque humor and the riotous swing of the chorus.

Say, darkeys, hab you seen de massa,
 Wid de muffstash on de face,
 Go long de road some time dis morning
 Like to gwine to leabe de place?
 He see de smoke way up de ribber
 Whar de Lincum gunboats lay;
 He took de hat an' left berry sudden,
 And I spose he's runned away,
 De massa run ha! ha!
 De darkey stay ho! ho!
 It mus' be now de kingdom comin
 An' de year of Jubilo.

With the close of war in sight another ditty with brisk movement and infectious gayety came into being.

When Johnny comes marching home again
 Hurrah! hurrah!
 We'll give him a hearty welcome then,
 Hurrah! Hurrah!
 The men will cheer, the boys will shout,
 The ladies they will all turn out,
 And we'll all feel gay,
 When Johnny comes marching home.

Sherman's triumphant march from Atlanta to Savannah in the Autumn of 1864 was one of the most remarkable episodes of the War. The song which sang its praises, lightened

the fatigue of the marches of the final campaigns and gained a popularity which still survives.

Bring the good old bugle, boys, we'll sing another song,
Sing it with a spirit that will start the world along,
Sing it as we used to sing it, fifty thousand strong,
While we were marching through Georgia.

Chorus.

Hurrah! Hurrah! we bring the jubilee,
Hurrah! Hurrah! the flag that sets you free,
So we sang the chorus from Atlanta to the sea,
While we were marching through Georgia.

The Town appropriated \$2800 for a Soldiers' Monument on April 12, 1869, eight years to a day from the first gun fired at Fort Sumter. The simple granite shaft was dedicated with appropriate exercises on March 13th, 1871. The inscriptions on the raised tablets are as follows:

[On the east side]

ERECTED
BY THE TOWN OF IPSWICH
IN MEMORY OF HER
BRAVE AND LAMENTED SONS
WHO GAVE THEIR LIVES TO
THEIR COUNTRY IN THE WAR
FOR UNION AND LIBERTY
1861—1865

[On the north side]

Luther B. Andrews
John A. Barker
Henry A. Brown
John O. Bridges
Gelois F. Bridges
James A. Clarke
Henry A. Cowles

[On the west side]

Pierce L. Butler
J. W. Brown
C. P. Batchelder
William Cash
Peter Crowley
Nathaniel Chambers
William A. Estes

Charles H. Dow	William Gray
James Gordon	Parker McGregor
James Harris	A. B. McGregor
Edward Harris	Lorenzo T. Jewett
Nathaniel Hayes	Pike N. Lavalette
John J. Jewett	Phillip C. Lavalette
John H. Jewett	Marcus Lindberg
William H. Jewett	James W. Noyes
Nathaniel A. Johnson	George W. Otis
Caleb H. Lord	Daniel J. Potter
George Morris	William Patterson
Their deeds we cherish.	Our Patriot Dead.

[On the south side]

George W. Morley	J. Albert Smith
William P. Peatfield	Cornelius Schofield
Joseph S. Peatfield	W. W. Shattuck
Samuel R. Pickard	T. J. Thurston
A. C. Richardson	Joshua Turner
Daniel B. Scanks	John M. Tozer
John G. Scanks	David L. Wade
Asa Smith	Samuel S. Wells
Charles D. Smith	Daniel M. Whipple

Their Record. Our Union.

The first appropriation for decorating the graves of soldiers was made on March 13, 1871 and has since been made annually. Gen. James Appleton Post No. 128, Grand Army of the Republic, was organized in 1882. Many of the old soldiers have gone but a goodly number survive, more than fifty years after the last Grand March in Washington in 1865, proud of their part in the great War for Freedom.

CHAPTER XXXI.

SOME PUBLIC UTILITIES, ROADS AND BRIDGES, FIRE DEPARTMENT, WATER AND LIGHT.

The five stone bridges which span the Ipswich river with their graceful arches, are picturesque and interesting. The Willowdale bridge, as it is now known, was built in 1844 or 1845. A petition for a road and bridge by Dr. Manning's mill was filed in August, 1844. The Town opposed its construction but the County ordered the road and bridge built and the work was accomplished.

A little lower down, where the stream narrows in the beautiful gorge between the hills, a bridge, probably of logs, was built by the farmers, whose land abutted on the river on both sides, about 1667. In that year John Adams, Nathaniel Adams, Samuel Adams, Joseph Safford, Nicholas Wallis and Thomas Stace were "freed from working in the common highway for 7 years to come," "upon consideration of there building a bridge over the river at there own expense."

"Sar. Nicholas Wallis," whose farm is now owned by the Brooks heirs, received permission in March, 1686-7 "to improve the water by damming in the river against his own land not exceeding three foot for the building a fulling mill or mills, provided he do it within a year and a half." Sergeant Wallis did not improve his privilege and in March, 1696-7, John Adams, Sen., his son John, Jun. and Michael Farley Jun. petitioned the Town for permission to build a dam, and operate a grist mill and a fulling mill. After a little delay, they received the desired liberty, and built the

THE CALER WARNER HOMESTEAD

dam, with a fulling mill on the north side and the grist mill on the south, in the year 1697.

Caleb Warner, clothier, bought Mr. Farley's interest in 1734, married Elizabeth Brown, the sixteen year old daughter of Benjamin Brown, the deceased miller, who lived close by, in November, 1734, and prospered so well that in 1755, he had gained possession of a large farm by several purchases, and built the large and comfortable mansion that still stands by the river side. Benjamin Brown died in February, 1733-4, and in March, the widow petitioned the Town for an allowance for "cost and charge which hath arisen in building a bridge over the river & for finishing the same for the benefit of passing to the mill." It was a cheap structure of logs without doubt, so cheap that the Town heartlessly refused the petition of the widow, burdened with seven young children, but it answered its purpose for the convenience of the neighborhood. William Warner, 3^d, Capt. William as he was known in later life, succeeded his father in the fulling business, and his son Stephen purchased the property from his brother William in 1829.

The road from the dam to Topsfield road was originally located west of the present highway. The present road was laid out and accepted by the Town in Dec., 1817. In the Spring of 1820, the Warners and others petitioned the Court of Sessions for a bridge. The Town opposed but the Court ordered it built. The Town then petitioned for a discontinuance of the road. Another petition was filed by the Warners in the following year with no better success. Five years then elapsed. The petitioners were as determined as the Town, and in 1829, they secured from the County officials a fresh order to the Town to proceed. The bridge was built, a beautiful three-arched structure of granite, but the Town voted in July, 1832, to employ Rufus Choate "and such other learned and respectable counsel as (the committee) may deem proper," to contest payment of any portion

of the expense. The case went to the Supreme Court, which rendered an adverse decision in November, 1833, and assessed the Town \$1498.

In March, 1829, while the battle for the bridge at Warner's Mills, now owned by the Norwood heirs, was hot and furious, the Town and County began to consider plans for widening the ancient Choate Bridge, which had been built in 1764, and was now too narrow for the great volume of travel which passed through the Town. Nothing was decided and in 1834 Joseph Wait and 194 others came to the Town with a proposition that in addition to the widening of the bridge, the Town should purchase and remove the house, barn and blacksmith shop of Joseph L. Ross, which occupied the slightly eminence on the ledge in front of the Seminary building, and secure the widening of the road up the hill.

The County Commissioners relocated the way over a portion of the Ross land, and paid him \$800. A public subscription netted \$654, the buildings were sold for \$470 and the Committee reported on Dec. 8, 1834, that only \$126 more was needed to cover the expense. The Town voted to raise this sum provided the land be in the highway forever, and petitioned the County Commissioners to include it within the highway bounds. Contentions now arose as to the location of the road and the widening of the bridge. A variety of makeshifts to avoid expense were resorted to by the Town, the most ingenious of which was a Remonstrance to the Legislature in March, 1837, against any Act which would make the Town liable for any part of the cost as Choate Bridge was over tide-water. This clever device failed to carry, and the Town was ordered to proceed. The matter was referred to a Committee, but man after man refused to accept appointment. Finally, Joseph Farley, Daniel Cogswell and Otis P. Lord consented to serve, but the question of widening was indefinitely postponed. Again

in 1838 the County demanded action, the Town postponed indefinitely. The bridge was widened and the Town's portion (\$1037.50) assessed in January, 1839. Legal advice was again sought but in vain. The most amusing feature of the affair was that the sum assessed was nearly two hundred dollars less than the \$1200 the Town had agreed to pay in 1836. The battle of the Stone Bridge had surpassed in virulence the battle of Warner's Mills.

The readiness with which the Town proceeded to build the other stone bridges is in singular contrast with the belligerent opposition to the earlier schemes. In December, 1860, Ira Worcester and others of Ipswich, Hamilton, Wenham and Essex, addressed a petition to the County Commissioners. At that time, Cross Street, as it was called, terminated at Green Street, and all travel toward Hamilton passed up Green Street, down the hill and over Choate Bridge. The petitioners characterized this route as "very circuitous and hilly and otherwise inconvenient," and affirmed that "vast quantities of heavy material such as granite, coal, timber, lumber, lime and hay" passed over this roundabout road. They asked that a way be laid out over the land owned by the County and the Treadwell estate, and then by a bridge over the river to Mill Street, as the road by the meeting house of the South Church was then called. The County Commissioners laid out the new road on March 5, 1861:

across said river and over land of the Dane Manufacturing Co. to a bound near the easterly corner of the present mill bridge, thence over said bridge and land of said Dane Co. and land of heirs of Daniel Ross and over the landing so called to a bound standing by land of Zenas Cushing

The Town voted on March 11th to build the road and bridge.

The extension of Green Street to Turkey Shore was con-

sidered at the March meeting in 1880, and after due consideration, the Town voted on October 12, 1881, to build a wooden bridge. Singularly enough the men living on Turkey Shore had petitioned for this very privilege on March 27, 1719.

The inhabitants of the Lower End of the Town on the South side of the River petition the Town for liberty to build a bridge over the river at their own charges & cost from . . . Lane to Foster Lane, convenient for horse and men to pass over.

Philemon Dane
Thos. Hovey
W^m. Howard
Sam. Howard
Dan. Hovey
Simon Wood
W^m. Hunt
W^m. Hunt, Jr.
Jacob Boarman
Thos. Hodgkins

The desired privilege was granted, provided the river be not obstructed, but was never improved.

The wooden bridge built in 1881-2 soon decayed and the Town voted on May 4, 1894, to replace it with a bridge of stone.

In 1832, when the Anderson map of the Town was made, Washington Street was called Gravel St. from the two gravel pits, which furnished the road material and the street extended no farther than Liberty Street, the name Gravel St. being retained until it reached High St. Mineral Street was called Back Street. The only house on Back Street was the small John Wise house, which still remains. The Stocker house, recently torn down to allow the building of the Burke store house, was the only building in Gravel Street, between the present railroad crossing and Gander Hill, where the school house now stands.

THE OILS FROM GARDEN

See page 708

Loney's Lane was then in use from the Town Pound, back of the Hotel and adjoining lots, to North Main Street, between the land of Miss Lucy Slade Lord, and that of Charles W. Brown. The section of County Street, between East and Green Streets was called Cross Street, the section from the meeting house of the South Church to the old mills, as has been noted, was called Mill Street in 1860.

The "New Road," so called, was laid out through the Joseph Horton farm in Candlewood to the Hamilton road in 1847. All the labor on the highways at this period was done by the men of the various sections of the Town. A wage scale was adopted in March, 1850, for a man, a dollar a day; a horse, fifty cents; a yoke of oxen, seventy-five cents; a cart and wheels, thirty-three cents. Eight hours, from eight to twelve and two to six o'clock, constituted a day's work.

Central Street was laid out in 1870, and in March, 1871, the Selectmen were authorized to proceed to build it. Cogswell, Sawyer and Wainwright Streets were accepted in 1873, Manning Street in 1882.

FIRE DEPARTMENT.

The danger from fire was ever present. At the beginning of the settlement, many houses had chimnies, built of splints of wood covered thickly with clay, and thatched roofs, which needed but a spark to set them in a bright flame. The heavy beam over the fire place, charred by the great winter fires, after smouldering for hours might set fire to the house while the household was asleep. Hence there was need of constant watchfulness and careful inspection of chimnies, and the regulation adopted on Feb. 17, 1641 was very wise and seasonable.

For as much as much hurt hath been done by fire through the neglect of having Ladders in readiness at mens houses and

also by the insufficiency of Chimnies and due cleaning of them whereby damage is not only done to the owners but consequently to the Towne also. It is hereby ordered that every house holder shall p'vide and constantly have in readiness a sufficient Ladder of 20 foote longe at his house. Also it is ordered that Robert Lord shall seasonably from tyme to tyme survey all suspected Chimnies and if he shall finde any defectiveness soe as the same be indangered to be fired for that the timber or wood wanteth sufficient covering or for want of cleansing he shall make speedy report thereof to the Towne to the end such offenders be fined according to the quality of the offence to the utmost extent of the power of the Towne.

Another source of danger was the practice of storing grain or hay within the house or stacking it in close proximity and an Order was adopted on October 8th, 1649, to prevent this risk.

Whereas complaynt hath been made of the great danger that may accrue to the Inhabitants by reason of some men setting stacks of hay near to there dwelling houses if fire should come.

It is therefore ordered that whosoever in this Towne hath layd any haye or English corne in the straw within there dwelling houses or have set any hay stacks within 3 rods of there dwelling house shall remove it within 6 dayes after notice hereof, under the penalty of twenty shillings. Afterward that men might be put to as little trouble as may be having already set there haye stacks the 3 rods was made but 2 rods for their dwelling house.

Thomas Smith was complained of in 1670 for having a chimney, dangerous both for himself and the Town, and it was ordered that he mend it forthwith within one week, under penalty of 20 shillings.

For many years thereafter there is little mention of fire regulations. A more substantial type of houses with brick chimnies and shingled roofs had supplanted the earlier style,

and dependence could always be placed on the neighbors or all the men in Town if necessary, to hurry on the alarm with buckets, to save the goods and fight the fire. But in 1785, Fire-wards were chosen, for the more systematic direction of the struggle. Ten men were elected, Capt. Ebenezer Lord, Capt. Abram Dodge, Mr. Enoch Pearson, Capt. Daniel Goodhue, Capt. John Heard, Col. Nath. Wade, John Choate Esq., Col. Jon. Cogswell, Doctor Whitney and Mr. Joshua Giddings.

They were all men of mature years, some of them trained to coolness and self command on the battlefields of the Revolution, and as six lived in various sections of the Town, two in Chebacco and two in the Hamlet, the whole community was well guarded.

Fire clubs were organized about 1800. Every member had two leather buckets, which always hung in the front entry or other convenient spot. On the alarm, he seized his buckets and a large canvas bag and hurried to the fire. The bags were used in saving the small articles of the home furnishing. The members of the Club and the citizens generally formed two lines one passing the full buckets from the nearest well, the empty ones returning by the other line. Every bucket bore the name and number of the owner, so that they could be identified after the fire was extinguished.

A fire engine was bought in 1803 by subscription in the First and South Parishes and the Parishes provided an engine house. Four fire hooks with chains were provided by the Town in 1808, two for the body of the Town, one for Chebacco and one for Linebrook. The Selectmen were instructed on March 13, 1821, to furnish a fire engine and a suitable house, wherein to deposit the same with other necessary appendages. The engines of that day were of diminutive size and had no suction hose. Water was poured into the "tub," as it was always called, by hand buckets, and a small length of hose led the stream to the fire. Another

engine had been provided by 1830. Complaint was then made that the engine houses were only $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide and $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, affording scant room for the engine and its appendages and requiring the companies to meet out of doors or in a public house. No place was provided for cleaning and drying the hose. The Town voted to enlarge the houses by an addition 9 ft. 6 in. by 12 feet. A By-Law with regard to chimnies was also adopted.

Anyone owning or occupying who does not cause to be swept or burnt each smoke, in which fire shall be kept once in three months, shall forfeit not exceeding two nor less than one dollar.

As Engine No. 1 was out of repair in 1832, the Town instructed its Committee to sell it and buy a new one, with about 60 feet of extra hose, at a price not exceeding \$300.

The State Law, allowing all who served as enginemen to have their poll taxes abated, was adopted in 1834. New engine houses were provided for by an appropriation of \$300 in 1837, and the South Eight district, now known at Candlewood, petitioned for an engine in March, 1839, which was duly filed.

A Committee was appointed on August 18, 1845 to repair the old engines and purchase a new suction engine; on Dec. 28, 1846, another Committee was chosen to build an engine house on Town land near the Town House, large enough to allow for hooks and ladders. The report of the Committee, read at the March meeting, 1848, included an interesting summary of the resources of the Fire Department.

new suction engine, complete	\$550.00
repairing No. 1,	118.00
repairing No. 2,	112.33
3 new hose carts @ 45	135.00
3 new elastic pipes	30.00

2 new long pipes	17.50
4 new buckets	8.00
615½ ft. new hose @ 56 cents	344.68
14 sets Boston screws fitted on	42.00
repairing old hose	22.45
new ladder wagon	83.00
5 new ladders	11.64 }
ironing and painting	8.25 }
new fire hooks, chains, sockets and painting	19.89
services of Committee	16.37
freight of engines	50.00
	20.87
	<hr/>
	1570.09

A shilling an hour from the time the engines were taken out was voted as the compensation of the engine men. In 1863, the Selectmen were authorized to replace one of the old machines with a new one, and in the following year, they were instructed to consider the expediency of purchasing a steam fire engine. The By-Laws adopted at that time imposed a fine of a dollar for neglect to sweep or burn a chimney once in three months.

The need of a proper water supply began to be considered in 1872. The fire engines were dependent on the river, whenever it was within reach, or the large fire cisterns, filled with surface water, located at convenient places in the more thickly settled portions of the Town, and on wells, where no larger source of supply was available. The wells were quickly exhausted and the cisterns afforded only a limited supply. A Committee was appointed on March 18, 1872, to investigate the practicability of taking water from Baker's Pond, so called, constructing a reservoir on Town Hill and laying a pipe to the foot of the hill on High Street, of sufficient capacity to supply branch pipes, connecting with small reservoirs at other localities. An appropriation of \$200 was made to provide for the expense of surveys. No further action was taken and the scheme undoubtedly proved impracticable.

A vote of thanks to Gen. William Sutton was passed by the March meeting in 1873 for his munificent gift of a Hook and Ladder Truck, "which with characteristic liberality he has recently presented to this his ancestral town." New fire cisterns were ordered in 1875, and the expense of an artesian well was inquired into in 1879. In April, 1886, a thousand dollars was appropriated for the Barnicoat Engine, and the same sum was voted in 1888 for an engine and house in Candlewood.

WATER AND LIGHT.

The need of a proper supply of water for the Town for all purposes had become so evident that by vote of the Town on March 4, 1889, the Selectmen were instructed to petition the General Court for permission to take water from Hood's or Pritchett's Pond, which was amended on April 22 to include any source from which water might be obtained.

The Legislature passed an Act, giving the Town authority to proceed, which was accepted on Sept. 14, 1889, and a Committee of seven was appointed to examine various sources. Their report in favor of a system of driven wells was rendered in March, 1890, and was adopted. A new Water Act was passed by the Legislature on May 23, 1890, but the Town meeting called to consider its acceptance on Sept. 15, voted that any action be indefinitely postponed. Another meeting was called on Sept. 29th and a vote was taken by ballot, using the check list. It resulted in 139 Yea, 106 Nay, but failed to secure a two-thirds vote.

Another meeting was called on Jan. 26, 1891, which cast 182 votes in favor, 174 against. On May 9th, 1892, the Town voted on the acceptance of the Water Act, the polls being open from 8.30 to 10.30 P. M. The ballot, 242 Yes, 123 No, showed a decided gain in favor of acceptance, but

failed of the necessary two-thirds by two votes. On May 20, 1892, 314 votes were cast in favor and 177 against, showing an increased public interest, but failing again by fourteen votes. Again on Nov. 28th, 1892, 327 voted Yes, 186 No, lacking fifteen of the requisite number.

As the time for acceptance under the provisions of the Act of 1890 had now expired, the Town voted on Jan. 31, 1893, to petition the Legislature to continue the Act in force for three additional years. No further action was taken until Feb. 19, 1894, when ballots were cast on the acceptance of the Act passed by the Legislature on March 29, 1893. Opposition had ceased almost entirely, as 550 votes were cast, 472 being in favor.

At the Town meeting on March 19, 1894, shortly after the destructive fire in Central Street, it was voted that the Town buy a steam fire-engine and \$3500 was appropriated. Water Commissioners were chosen on April 23, 1894, Everard H. Martin for three years, William S. Russell for two years, Walter E. Lord for one year. Dow's Brook, with an emergency use of Bull Brook, was decided upon as the source of supply. The work of construction was pushed rapidly and was so far completed that an exhibition of the power and adequacy of the hydrant service was made on Thanksgiving Day, 1894. The water proved to be of excellent quality for domestic use, and the supply has proved equal to the public need in the driest seasons.

The municipal water plant proved so satisfactory that in a few years the question of municipal light began to be agitated. A private Gas Light Company had been incorporated in the Fall of 1877 and pipes were laid and business begun early in the following year. Only a limited area in the center of the Town was covered and a few streets were lighted. Notwithstanding the plant was enlarged in 1890, the provision for street lighting remained very inadequate, though the churches, shops and many residences were well

supplied. The question of constructing a municipal electric light plant at the Pumping Station was decided affirmatively by the Town on May 27, 1901, and the enabling Act of Legislature was accepted by a vote of 205 Yes, 90 No, on Sept. 23, 1901. On April 18, 1903, the Town voted 307 Yes, 68 No, to build the plant and issue the necessary notes.

A Committee to construct the plant was chosen on April 18, the Selectmen, George A. Schofield, Charles E. Goodhue and Charles G. Hull, and two citizens, Charles A. Campbell and Walter E. Lord. On Wednesday night, November 18, 1903, the dynamo was started and the streets throughout the Town were brilliantly illuminated. A single Board of Water and Light Commissioners was chosen on April 23, 1904, William H. Rand for three years, George H. W. Hayes for two years, George A. Schofield for one year. Mr. Schofield had been the foremost and constant advocate of the public water supply, and had rendered valuable service in the construction of the lighting system. Upon the expiration of his long term of service as Selectman and Chairman of the Board, he became the Chairman of the Water and Light Commission. The administration of these great public utilities has been so satisfactory and so beneficial to the Town that the original Board of Commissioners has been continued uninterruptedly in office.

THE RESIDENCE OF MR. A. STORY BROWN



CHAPTER XXXII.

ALONG SOME OLD ROADS.

PREFATORY NOTE.

[In Volume One of Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, published in 1905, a detailed study of Houses and Lands was made, beginning with the original grants, and illustrated with photographs of many interesting dwellings. The out-lying neighborhoods were not considered in that Volume. Since that date, several of the Publications of the Ipswich Historical Society, "The Old Bay Road from Saltonstall's Brook," "Candlewood," "The Old Argilla Road," "Jeffrey's Neck and the Way Thereto," "Ipswich Village and the old Rowley Road," have continued this study. As these Publications are easily available for any one who wishes a complete pedigree of the lands, a reprint in this volume seems unnecessary. But many beautiful modern dwellings have found place beside the comfortable old homes along these roads. This Chapter therefore, will sketch the history of these ancient highways briefly, and will reproduce their present appearance so far as possible by photographs of the homes which are located there.]

"The Bay Road," or "The Road into the Bay," as it was called, was laid out by order of the General Court in the year 1639. At the session beginning Oct. 7, 1640, the surveyors reported that they had laid out the highway from Rowley to Salem,

from Mr. Nelsons dwelling house pale by the end of Musies Hill to the newe bridge over the North Ryver & so to the newe bridge over Muddy Ryver & so by the comon fence to Ipswich towne & so along by Mr. Saltonstalls house over the falls at Mile River & by marked trees over Mr. Appletons meadow called Parlye Meadow & from thence by Mr. Hubbards farm house and so upon the east side of Mr. Smiths house then over the ould planters meadow and so to the two ponds usually dry in summer near wch ponds the way doth branch one whereof is easterly of the said ponds leading through the old planters field to the Salem ferry according to

the marked trees and the other way is westerly of the ponds leading to a great creek at a landing place westerly of Mr. Scrugs house.

"The Worshipful Richard Saltonstall, Esq.," as he was frequently styled, received a fourteen acre grant and built his dwelling on or near the spot occupied by the old "Merri-field house." His lot extended across the brook, then known as "Saltonstall's Brook" and included the land now owned by Mr. Henry Brown. His friends and neighbors, Rev. Nathaniel Ward and Dr. Giles Firmin, son-in-law of Mr. Ward, located their homes on the other side of the street. The Giles Firmin lot was afterwards owned by Capt. John Farley. The tannery buildings, he operated on a portion of his land, were used in later years by the Worths and Stackpoles as a soap factory. The locality became very unsightly and in 1906, the land and buildings were bought by private subscription. The purchasers formed an Association and proceeded at once to remove the buildings and lay out the lot as a park or garden, named after the original owner, The Giles Firmin Garden. An ornamental parapet with inscribed slabs was erected over the brook, substantial stone posts were built, lawns and shrubbery beds established, hedges and trees planted. The Garden is maintained by the subscriptions of the proprietors and has become a very attractive feature of the locality.

Beyond the brook, Nathaniel Rust, a glover by trade, had gained possession of a part of the Saltonstall land and established a tannery as early as 1685. Here very likely he made the four dozen pairs of gloves ordered for the funeral of Rev. Mr. Cobbet on Nov. 6 of that year. Mercy Rust, the glover's daughter, became the bride of Thomas Norton, also a tanner, perhaps an apprentice to her father, and in March, 1699-1700, Mr. Rust sold him an acre of land on the road, with the benefit of half the brook, with tan-yard and buildings, and in June, 1701, he conveyed his remaining

THE RESIDENCE OF MR. HENRY WATSON

seven acres of planting and pasture land. Mr. Rust sold his dwelling which stood on the site now occupied by the meeting house of the South Church, to his two sons-in-law, Capt. Daniel Ringe and Thomas Norton, in March, 1710. They sold in 1723 and by that time it would seem, Mr. Norton, grown prosperous, a Deacon of the Church and leading citizen, had built the fine mansion, beneath the great elm tree, where he spent the rest of his life. He bequeathed it to his son Thomas, Harvard graduate and teacher of the Latin Grammar School. In 1791, the House of Correction was established here and the dwelling was utilized as the house of the Keeper until 1828, when a new jail and prison were built on the present County land. The old house, still stout and strong, one of the finest of the old land marks, most picturesque in its location, was torn down in 1903.

Asa Brown bought the house and land of the County in 1828. Nine years later, when the South Parish was about erecting the new meeting house, Mr. Brown bought the old Rust-Norton dwelling and removed it to the ancient tan-yard site, where it was remodeled and became the slightly dwelling now owned and occupied by Henry Brown.

Beyond the large Saltonstall grant, the land on the west side of the highway was divided into six acre lots, reaching from the road to the river, which were allotted to the original settlers. Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, Pastor of the Ipswich Church, owned two of these six acre lots, next to the Saltonstall land, which were inherited by his son, Rev. John Rogers, President of Harvard, and in due time, by his son, Rev. John Rogers, Pastor of the Ipswich Church for more than fifty years. Thomas Burnam's lot adjoined the Rogers land, and south of this was the lot of Rev. William Hubbard, the famous historian, also Pastor of the Church.

Madame Elizabeth, widow of President John Rogers, bought the Hubbard lot, which passed to her son, Rev. John, who purchased the intervening Burnam lot and became the

owner of four lots, containing twenty-four acres. These lots are all included in the estate of the late Mrs. Anna P. Peabody, who purchased the Rogers Lower Pasture in 1903 and 1904 and transformed the bare pastures into the beautiful estate, to which she gave the name, Floriana.

Rev. Nathaniel Rogers owned also the land on the road, opposite his "Lower Pasture." His grandson, Daniel, son of President John Rogers, sold to Jonathan Wade, who bequeathed "the pasture I purchased of Mr. Daniel Rogers, commonly called Gravel Pit Pasture" to his three granddaughters. A brick powder-house of the familiar conical shape was built in the pasture by the Town in 1792. As late as 1871, the right to keep the powder-house was reserved to the Town. Unfortunately the Town felt no interest in the picturesque structure and it fell into ruin and disappeared. The dwelling was built by Michael Brown apparently some time prior to 1841, and it has been affirmed by old residents, that the gravel pit had extended into the hill at that time, just far enough to allow room for the house. Mr. Albert S. Brown purchased the estate in 1889 and it is still owned by his heirs.

Beside his "Lower Pasture" and the lot, afterwards known as "Gravel Pit Pasture," Rev. Nathaniel Rogers had his "Upper Pasture" on the summit of Windmill Hill, which was inherited by his son, President John, and by his son, Rev. Nathaniel Rogers of Portsmouth, who sold to his brother, Rev. John Rogers, Pastor of the Ipswich Church. He, in due time, bequeathed the great pasture to his two sons, Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, his colleague and successor in the Ipswich pulpit, and Rev. Daniel Rogers of Exeter. The Daniel Rogers lot was acquired with adjoining land on the north, by Capt. Symmes Potter, and is now owned by his nephew, Wallace P. Willett.

The ten acre lot, inherited by Rev. Nathaniel Rogers in 1745, came into the possession of the Potters, who owned the

FLORIANA. THE SUMMER HOME OF MR. HENRY L. DAVES

THE RESIDENCE OF MISS CLARA BERTHA DOBSON
Wind Mill Hill

land beyond. Daniel Potter Jr. bought the lot with a house, barn and joiner's shop in May, 1769. He was a chair maker and many of the fine "ladder-back" and Windsor chairs, which adorned the old time Ipswich parlors and are prized as heirlooms, and the plain, substantial kitchen chairs, which still remain, came very likely from his work shop. Isaac F. Dobson bought the house and land in Oct., 1881, and it is now the home of his daughter, Miss Clara Bertha Dobson, who has made very tasteful enlargements and improvements in the house and grounds.

In the year 1641, a grant to John Hoyt was recorded, "six acres of planting ground at the Mile Brook having the Mile Brook on the South, Ipswich River on the Northwest, a planting lott of John Danes on the northeast and the Comon of the Towne of Ipswich on the Southeast." His heirs sold to Anthony Potter in December, 1661, "our dwelling house & other out housing with the orchard & a parcel of upland & meadow containing sixteen acres." The same bounds are given, but the six acre grant of wild land has become a sixteen acre farm, due perhaps in part to the very generous measure allowed by the "lot-layers" in staking out the grant.

Mr. Potter purchased adjoining lots of John Appleton and Deacon William Goodhue and became owner of the land now owned by George E. Barnard and Charles Bohlen. A mill privilege on the Mile Brook was already improved by Major Samuel Appleton, but the rapid descent of the stream admitted of another dam lower down. Edmund Potter, Abraham Tilton Jr. and Anthony Potter petitioned the Town for leave to "set up a dam and grist mill on Mile Brook, near the house of Thomas Potter, not to damnify Col. Appleton's saw mill." The privilege was granted in March, 1696, and the mill was built. The dam and a mill building of no great age still remain.

The Anthony Potter farm, passing through several genera-

tions, came to Richard Potter in 1762. He had married the widow Lydia Symmes in 1760 and their daughter, Sarah, was baptized on December 28th, 1760. She lived to be 89 years old. In her old age she used to tell very interesting stories of her childhood, and the exciting tales she had heard from the old people, which are remembered by her grand-nephew, Wallace P. Willett. The old farm house was near the river. In her childhood, a heavy growth of oaks and hickories yet remained on the river bank, and from the neighboring swamp the cries of wolves and other wild animals were plainly heard at night.

One episode of the early days was particularly thrilling. The original dwelling served as a "garrison house" for the neighborhood, and was surrounded by a log stockade, with loop holes for musket fire in case of Indian assault. The Indians were friendly and came frequently to the house for food and tobacco. But suspicions of their attitude arose, and the dwellers in the lonely house began to plan for their safety in case of an attack. The cellar was built up with logs. Removing some of these, they dug a little cave or closet, which was cleverly concealed by replacing the logs.

One day, when the men were at work in the fields, and the mother of the household was busy with her dinner, her little girl discovered Indians landing from their canoes in war-paint and fully armed. The mother saw that it was impossible to give the alarm. Hurrying the children into the cellar, she threw open the gate of the stockade, and dropped her hood and shawl as though they had been lost in the flight of the family, then, rushing back, she opened the log shelter and hid with her children.

The cunning ruse deceived the Indians. They entered, helped themselves to the dinner, and smoked at their leisure, doing no damage, however, to the house or furniture. Finally two or three sought the pork barrel in the cellar, and the poor children nearly died from fright, lest the slightest

RIVERSEND. THE RESIDENCE OF GEORGE E. BARNARD

noise should betray their presence. But the Indians had no suspicion, and having helped themselves from the friendly barrel they withdrew, and the whole band returned to their canoes.

This ancient tradition of the early days is a true picture of the anxiety and fear which beset every family on the outskirts of the villages for many years. The statement that it was a garrison house is very interesting. The committee for Essex County reported in March, 1675-6, that Ipswich was well defended with its fort about the meeting house and the garrison houses. The location of the latter is not given, but it is very probable that the scattered families dwelling in this neighborhood would have had at least one well defended house for common refuge.

Jonathan Potter inherited the farm from his father, Richard, and built a new dwelling. The Potter ownership terminated in 1857, when it passed into the hands of Asa Wade, who sold to Charles A. Campbell in 1894, and he conveyed to George F. Barnard in October, 1899. Under his hand, the house has been greatly enlarged, the grounds have been regraded, the great expanse from road to river has been transformed into an elaborate and beautiful garden, with an imposing rockery overlooking lawns and flower borders and the winding river. The name, Riverbend, has been chosen very happily for this fine estate.

On the east side of the Bay Road, the great tract of pasture, tillage land, meadow and swamp, bounded by the Bay Road, Essex Road, the Candlewood Road, Fellows Lane and Lakeman's Lane was a part of the Common land of the Town, and when the great area of Common lands was divided into Eighths in 1709, it became part of the division known as the South Eighth and was known as The Inner Common of the South Eighth. About 1726, the proprietors of the Inner Common apportioned individual shares, division lines were run and individual titles were then established.

Francis Crompton, the inn-keeper, was assigned the sightly lot on which the imposing Benjamin Stickney Cable Memorial Hospital is now being erected. The corner, where the Essex Road turns from the County Road, was then known as the "Parting of the way leading to Chebacco," and "y^e parting of ye paths." This quaint name, suggestive of narrow roads through the woods, was in vogue within the memory of our oldest people. Seventy-five years ago, the great field was utilized by the Ipswich Market and the weekly sales of cattle, sheep and swine drew a large gathering on market days.

Ten acres adjoining the Crompton lot were assigned to Rev. John Rogers, Pastor of the Ipswich Church. The land on which the dwelling of Francis H. Richardson stands, was included in this lot. The twenty acre lot now included in the estate of the late Charles A. Campbell, on the corner of Lakeman's Lane, was allotted to Thomas Manning. Mr. Campbell acquired adjoining lots and erected his picturesque dwelling on its sightly knoll in 1900. The beautiful prospect which is commanded by the windows well suggested the name, Fairview.

Beyond the water course, known as Mile Brook,¹ now Mile River, lay the great Samuel Appleton Farm. The record is:

Granted Mr. Samuel Appleton by the company of freemen a farme containing foure hundred and sixty acres more or less medow and upland as it lyeth bounded by the River commonly called the Mile brook on the Northeast and by the great River on the Northwest on the West in part by the Land of William Warener and by a swamp on the Southeast and partly also at the same end by the Land of Hugh Sherrat to enjoy all the sayd Landes to him his heirs and assigns forever. Entered into the Town booke folio 16 the 20th of December, 1638.

¹ Nathan Matthews Esq. explains the names, Mile Brook, Two Mile, Three Mile Brook etc. by the distance up the river from the Town to the place where the streams entered the river.

FAIRVIEW. THE RESIDENCE OF MRS. CHARLES A. CAMPBELL.

1

THE SUMMER HOME OF MRS. DANIEL FULLER APPLETON
Built by Samuel Appleton in 1794. Enlarged by Daniel Fuller Appleton

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The farme further bounded from the Land of William Warener by markt trees and a water course and then [] markt trees to the gate standing upon the high [] leading to Salem from thence as the fence runs [] the aspes and soe with a strayt line to the brook.

Dec. 20th, 1638, it will be noted, is the date of the entry of the grant in the Town Book, not of the grant itself. Allusion to Appleton's farm occurs in an entry made in 1636. It may have been assigned him upon his arrival with his family in Ipswich. With the exception of a sixteen acre lot, which John, the son of Samuel, sold to Anthony Potter in 1664, the whole of this great farm came into the possession of Major Samuel Appleton, son of Samuel. Here he made his home in his declining years. His public services had been great and arduous, as a military commander, an Assistant, and an uncompromising opponent of Gov. Andros. He owned a house in the Town but preferred the farm. He had a saw mill which abutted on the south east corner of the bridge, known sometimes as Saw Mill Bridge or Mile Brook Bridge, and the mill pond flowed the low ground over several acres. The name "Appleton's Bridge," was also in use. On May 13th, 1762, the Town voted that "Col. Choate, Capt. Farley and Capt. Baker be a Committee to take a view of Appleton's Bridge & consider the expediency of building sd bridge into a stone bridge etc." This name has been very fitly inscribed on the parapet of the new bridge erected in 1907, when the State Highway was built.

Major Samuel Appleton died in 1696, leaving his farm to his four sons, Samuel, John, Isaac and Oliver. He had conveyed a goodly portion of land with a house to his son, John, and a similar portion to Isaac, without a dwelling, in 1688. The farm allotted to Isaac has continued in his direct line to the present day. He bore the title of Major and had a part in the military operations of his time. His son Isaac succeeded in the ownership and bequeathed to his son Sam-

nel. The old house built by Major Isaac was replaced by the present building on the same site by Samuel in 1794. The will of Samuel divided the farm and assigned a half to his son, Samuel Gilman, and the other to his son Timothy.

Gen. James Appleton, their brother, removed from Portland after Samuel Gilman's death in 1852, and bought the interests of the surviving heirs. His life had been active and conspicuous. His military career began while he was residing in Gloucester, during the war of 1812. He rose through all the grades and became Brigadier-General of the Massachusetts militia. As business affairs promised well in Portland, he removed thither and became prominent in public life. He was an influential member of the State Legislature, where he introduced the Prohibitory Law, although the credit of its inception has been given to Neal Dow, and became an enthusiastic leader in the Temperance work. He retired from public life on his removal to the ancestral farm, but retained his interest in public affairs, and made a memorable address to the Ipswich company, at the depot, when it started for the front, at the beginning of the Civil War.

Gen. James Appleton died Aug. 25, 1862 and his son, Daniel Fuller Appleton, acquired the interest of the other heirs, and made his summer home at the farm until his death in 1904. His son, Francis Randall Appleton, succeeded him in the ownership of the ancient domain. Rev. John Cotton Smith, D. D., who had married Harriette Appleton, daughter of Gen. James, built a summer cottage near the homestead, which received the name, Briar Hill. It is still occupied by the heirs.

The John Appleton farm, at his decease, passed to his son, then to Daniel Dane, and his son, Nathan, the Professor of Law at Harvard, to Daniel Safford and in 1816, to Benjamin Patch. Mr. D. F. Appleton acquired by purchase the scattered portions of the farm and his son, Francis R. Appleton, now holds the title.

SUNSWICH, THE SUMMER HOME OF MR. BAYARD TUCKERMAN

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NEW HOUSE. THE SUMMER HOME OF MR. FRANCIS R. APPLETON

The homestead farm of Major Samuel fell to his eldest son, Col. Samuel, who had an active part in the campaign in Nova Scotia and elsewhere, and at his death, to his son, Samuel, the fourth of the name in successive generations. He died in London of small pox in 1728. His estate proved to be insolvent and the farm was sold to Captain Isaac Smith, who had an active part in the French and Indian War. His son Samuel succeeded in the ownership and while in his hands, the farm was sold by piece meal to many owners.

One portion of it, sold originally to Manasseh Dodge, was acquired by Daniel Fuller Appleton, who sold to his son, Francis R. in 1891. On this lot he built his dwelling, to which he has given the name "New House." Another fifteen acre pasture lot was sold to David Dodge in 1814, and passing through many hands, was purchased in 1890 by Bayard Tuckerman. Mr. Tuckerman built his summer home on the slightly eminence and gave it the name Sunswyck. He had married Annie, daughter of Rev. John Cotton Smith, D. D., and his wife, Harriette, daughter of Gen. James Appleton, and the ancient Appleton pasture now returned to its own.

The remainder of the Samuel Appleton farm with the old mansion was sold by Samuel Smith to Samuel Obear in 1818, who sold to Hamilton Brown in 1821. It remained in his possession and that of his son, Albert S. Brown, until 1889, when it was purchased by Mrs. Helen K., wife of Randolph M. Appleton, son of Mr. D. F. Appleton. The old house was removed from its original location under the great elms and made a part of the new mansion which was built near by. The name Waldingfield was given to the new estate, as Little Waldingfield in Suffolk was the ancestral home of the Appletons, from which Samuel migrated to the new land. The house was almost wholly destroyed by fire Dec. 13, 1915.

Oliver Appleton received from his father, Major Samuel, the saw-mill, the ox pasture and other lands. He built his

dwelling on the corner of the Bay Road and Waldingfield Road. His estate was divided between his sons, Nathaniel and Oliver. The heirs of Nathaniel sold to Ruth Appleton Tuckerman, wife of Charles S. Tuckerman, daughter of Mr. D. F. Appleton, in 1901, and the remainder to Francis R. Appleton. The Oliver Appleton house and land, which had been acquired by Henry Wilson, was sold by his heirs to Francis R. Appleton. Mr. Tuckerman purchased an eleven acre field from his brother-in-law, Mr. Appleton, removed both the Wilson and the Underhill houses from their original foundations to a new site on the hill and combined them in one large mansion. The estate bears the name, Applefield.

Returning to "Parting Paths" there were no dwellings in early times until we reach the old Burnham farm and the ancient dwelling, now owned and occupied by Carl Caverly. Beyond this was the farm, which was included in the large landed estate of Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, which passed into the possession of the Burnhams, then to Capt. John Kinsman and his heirs, and through many successive owners to Herbert W. Mason, who acquired a large acreage and built his very attractive summer home.

The next farm, now owned by the heirs of the late Alonzo B. Fellows, was originally part of the great farm granted by the Town to John Winthrop Jr. It covered the whole area between the Argilla Road and the Essex Road. Deputy Governor Samuel Symonds, the next owner, sold a small tract to his former servant, Edward Bragg, in 1658. He acquired adjoining lots by later purchase and built his dwelling well back from the road, in the rear of the large barn of the present Fellows farm. In his old age, Mr. Bragg conveyed his estate to his son Timothy, by an instrument which bound Timothy to plough an acre for his use, care for the fenced garden spot before the door, provide firewood at the door, a horse, 60 sheep, 60 bushels of Indian corn, 20 bushels of

APPLEFIELD. THE SUMMER HOME OF MRS. CHARLES S. TUCKERMAN

malt, 15 bushels of rye and wheat "called Messling," 4 bushels of wheat, 6 barrels of good cider, 10 bushels of winter apples and summer apples as needful every year during his own and his wife's life time.

The Indenture further stipulated,

He shall improve fifty rods of land yearly for flax which Timothy is to plough yearly also if sd Edward's now wife see good to live half a year at sd now dwelling house after ye decease of sd Edward sd Timothy shall carry her to meeting on Sabath and Lecture days if she desire it. Dated June 26, 1699.

In his will, proved on Aug. 23, 1708, he devised "to the church of Christ in Ipswich, of which I am a member, £3 in money to be layd out by my overseers in a piece of silver plate for y^e use of sd church forever."

The Bragg farm included the land now owned by the Fellows heirs and William G. Horton. The Horton farm also includes a second section of the original Argilla farm, which was owned by Elisha and Benjamin Brown. Another section of the Argilla farm was owned by John Choate and his heirs and later by Nathaniel Kinsman and his heirs. The large and modern buildings were erected while the farm was in the tenure of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Marshall.

On the Candlewood road, leading toward Hamilton, large tracts of farm lands were granted to the first settlers. John Fawn's 25 acre lot, on the east corner of Essex Road and Candlewood Road, was sold to Robert Kinsman in 1652. He married Mary Boardman and proceeded to build his house and barns on the lot thus acquired. He was in the Narraganset campaign and had a prominent part in the resistance to Gov. Andros in 1687. His five daughters and four sons were born here, and here the Quarter master died Feb. 19, 1712, at the age of eighty-three. Generations of his family line dwelt in the old homestead, but in due time, the farm passed into

the hands of strangers, and the buildings disappeared many years ago.

Adjoining the Kinsman farm, Thomas Howlett, one of the earliest settlers, acquired by grant and purchase a hundred acre farm. Thomas Bishop was in possession as early as 1652, and when his executor gave title in 1677, there were two dwellings, two barns and other buildings. A farm of 60 acres with house and barn was conveyed to John Brown, and 36 acres with house and barn to Sergeant John Choate in 1684. John Brown bequeathed his farm to his sons, James and William in 1721. The heirs of James held the farm, and his daughter Elizabeth, wife of Capt. Robert Perkins, gained possession, but in December, 1779, their daughter, Elizabeth, became the wife of Joseph Brown, of the same family line, who built a new house on the farm. His son, Gardiner A. Brown, acquired possession, and bequeathed to his son, A. Story Brown, the present owner. During the two hundred and forty years which have elapsed since John Brown bought the farm, it has continued in the direct family line.

The William Brown land also passed by inheritance through successive generations and is now held by E. Newton Brown and the heirs of Manasseh Brown.

The great stretch of hill and valley reaching from Choate Road toward Hamilton, originally a part of the Common land of the South-Eighth, was divided into two great pastures early in the 18th century, Gould's Pasture, owned by a number of proprietors, included for the most part in the farm of E. Newton Brown, and the Wilderness Hill Pasture on the slope of the noble hill, which was called by that name from the earliest times. James Brown owned a large portion of the latter before 1741 and it has continued in the hands of his descendants to the present owner, A. Story Brown. The original pasture included also the homestead

THE COTTAGE. THE RESIDENCE OF MISS RHODA F. KINSMAN

THE FREEMAN KINSMAN HOUSE
BUILT IN 1740

lot of John W. Mansfield and a lot now owned by Miss Rhoda F. Kinsman.

While a large portion of the land in this great Candlewood district was included in the Common land, known as the South Eighth and The Inner Common of the South Eighth, a large area, better adapted to tillage probably, was granted to individual owners at the very beginning of the Town. The present Horton farm was granted apparently to John Andrews, who sold to William Fellows in 1659, and it was owned by his heirs, and by Kinsmans and Boardmans, until purchased by Joseph Horton in 1846.

John Fuller owned the next farm to the south in 1659, but it was acquired by Quarter master Robert Kinsman, who bequeathed it to his heirs. Stephen Kinsman gained full ownership in 1714, and gradually became owner by purchase of a large tract adjoining, which was known as Walker's Swamp and Walker's Swamp Island and was held by many proprietors. He built a dwelling on the Island in 1752, according to a family tradition, which passed to his son Jeremiah and his heirs, and is now owned in remodeled form by Miss Rhoda F., daughter of the late William H. Kinsman. Jeremiah Kinsman or his son, William, probably built the "cottage" as it is called, near the homestead, which is also owned and occupied by Miss Kinsman. Stephen Kinsman, brother of Jeremiah, inherited the farm which until recently has been owned by Frederick G. Cross.

In the ancient way, now known as Fellows Lane, Richard Saltonstall owned a forty acre ox pasture, which extended to Mile Brook. Thomas Firman owned a large pasture adjoining Saltonstall's, which he sold to Thomas Low and Edward Bragg in 1647. Joseph Fellows, son of William, began to purchase land here in 1681, and in due time acquired the Saltonstall and Firman pastures, and land owned by Nathaniel Jacobs. His son, Joseph, greatly enlarged the farm, until it included most of the land on both sides of the

road. Generations of the Fellows line had their homes on various portions of this great domain, and Alonzo B. Fellows and his sisters were still in occupancy, when James H. Proctor began to purchase in 1899.

Mr. Proctor secured from them and from other owners a large portion of the old Joseph Fellows farm, and land originally owned by Richard Jacobs on the south side of Mile Brook. Some seventy-five acres were purchased and here Mr. Proctor built his stately home and surrounded it with beautiful lawns and gardens. In ancient times, a road was built and a bridge over Mile Brook constructed to afford access to the Jacobs Farm. The old approaches were utilized when the new bridge was built by Mr. Proctor on the site of the original structure.

On the Argilla Road, one of the most interesting locations is that now occupied by the large dwelling, owned until recently by Gustavus Kinsman. Here was the "town house" of Mr. William Hubbard, a substantial citizen of the earliest days, as early as 1638. His son, Rev. William Hubbard, a member of the first class which was graduated from Harvard in 1642, became the colleague of Rev. Thomas Cobbet, Minister of the Ipswich Church, in 1656, and succeeded him in the pastorate. He married Margaret, daughter of the Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, took up his abode in the homestead and in due time became its owner. He continued in the ministry until 1703, when infirmity compelled his retirement, and died in the following year in the eighty-third year of his age. He attained great reputation as an historian, and his history of the Indian Wars is still an authoritative standard.

The worthy minister had no thrift in the handling of his financial affairs. He was always in debt and the burden became so hopeless that he mortgaged the fine homestead in 1677 and gave a deed of sale in 1684. The latter years of his life were spent in a dwelling on Turkey Shore.

THE RESIDENCE OF MR. JAMES H. PROCTOR

One grotesque remembrance of Mr. Hubbard, in his better days, is revealed by the Records of the old Ipswich Court. The good man seems to have been the prey of his servants and their friends, but their peculations came at last to naught. On the 25th March, 1673, they were brought to the bar of the Court. Peter Leycross, Jonas Gregory and Symon Wood, "for stealing and useing five gallons of wine from Mr. Hubbard's," were judged to pay him £5. Peter Leycross and Symon Wood were also arraigned for stealing one gallon of wine from Mr. Hubbard, and Peter Leycross, again, for stealing three quarts. Peter and Jonas were also convicted of stealing a sheep and selling it, and Jonas alone was called to account for "a fatt weather" stolen from the minister's flock. These were all sentenced to be whipped unless they paid their fines. Nathaniel Emerson and Richard Emerson and Richard Pasmore were convicted of being at Jonas Gregory's, and having part in the revels over the stolen wine.

Poor Mr. Hubbard was little profited by these sentences, for Peter was his own servant, and on the 5th of May, in the following year, the Court ordered,

"Whereas, Mr. William Hubbard hath disbursed £8 for his servant Peter Laycross, in satisfaction of the sentence of Court for his thefts," it is ordered that said Peter shall serve him two years for it after his time is out.

The sightly residence of Moritz B. Philipp crowns the rugged eminence known in Mr. Hubbard's day and from the earliest times as Rocky Hill. The earliest name associated with the Hill is that of Humphrey Griffin. He was a man of humble birth seemingly and with small store of worldly goods, when he knocked at the door of the little settlement. He found little favor, as the matter of his coming was debated in Town meeting in 1639 and the result was, "The Town doth refuse to receive Humphrey Griffin as an Inhabitant, to provide for him as inhabitants formerly received, the Town being full." Nevertheless, though the Town re-

fused him a house lot and planting ground, it did not shut the door of entrance absolutely, and he was allowed to build his simple dwelling among the ledges on this rough hill side.

This persistent man prospered so well at his trade as a butcher, that he was able to buy Daniel Denison's house in 1641, when the latter removed to another location. He was a picturesque figure, despite his laxity in moral character. The Grand Jury list of 1647 reveals the infelicity of his married life.

We present Widdow Andrews for cursing and reviling her son-in-law Humphrey Griffin. We present Humphrey Griffin for reviling his wife's mother.

He was so indiscreet as to work on the Sabbath and was sentenced to pay a fine of ten shillings for unloading barley on the Sabbath day before sunset in the year 1657; and so unfortunate as to be fined another ten shillings the next year for his daughter's violation of the law by wearing a silk scarf.

Rough and rugged Rocky Hill carries the reason for its name on its face, but its neighbor, majestic and beautiful Heart Break Hill, gives no clew to its pathetic name. To be sure, a century ago some prosaic souls dared affirm that it was really Hard Brick Hill, because of some old brick yard somewhere on its slopes. But it was Heart Break in the very earliest records of our ancient Town. Under date of 1635, the registry of land grants notes, "Likewise a six acre plantinge lott on the Hill (commonly called Heart breake Hill)," and again and again, it is repeated, "the Great Hill commonly called Heart breake Hill." Every other of our fine hills, Turner and Mussey, Turkey and Pigeon Hill, Wilderness, Red Root, Bush and Town Hill, owed their names to the chance ownership of an original settler, or a probable abundance of wild fowl or some simple every day fact. Heart Break breathes an air of mystery. Some heavy

hearted, home sick dweller perpetuated his or her trouble in the suggestive name, and revealed the same melancholy in the name of the creek, Labor-in-vain, which crosses the road a mile beyond. There is a suggestion of the same sensitiveness in musical Argilla, the name of the road and the old Winthrop farm, in Sagamore and Castle, the names of the noble hills on the lower road, and the Indian name, Chebacco, happily preserved. Celia Thaxter's well known poem, totally unhistoric but a very pleasing idyll, is an ingenious guess as to the origin of the name. A cynical critic might suggest that Castle Hill would have been a more likely spot for the mythical vigil.

In Ipswich town, not far from the sea,
Rises a hill which the people call
Heart-break Hill, and its history
Is an old, old legend known to all.

* * * * *

It was a sailor who won the heart
Of an Indian maiden, lithe and young;
And she saw him over the sea depart,
While sweet in her ear his promise rung;

For he cried, as he kissed her wet eyes dry,
"I'll come back, sweet-heart; keep your faith!"
She said, "I will watch while the moons go by."
Her love was stronger than life or death.

So this poor dusk Ariadne kept
Her watch from the hill-top rugged and steep;
Slowly the empty moments crept
While she studied the changing face of the deep,

Fastening her eyes on every speck
That crossed the ocean within her ken;
Might not her lover be walking the deck,
Surely and swiftly returning again?

The Isles of Shoals, loomed lonely and dim,
 In the north-east distance far and gray,
 And on the horizon's uttermost rim
 The low rock heap of Boone Island lay.

* * * * *

Oh, but the weary, merciless days,
 With the sun above, with the sea afar,
 No change in her fixed and wistful gaze,
 From the morning red to the evening star!

Like a slender statue carved of stone,
 She sat, with hardly motion or breath,
 She wept no tears and she made no moan,
 But her love was stronger than life or death.

He never came back! Yet, faithful still,
 She watched from the hill-top her life away,
 And the townsfolk christened it Heart-break Hill,
 And it bears the name to this very day.

The dwelling was built by George Haskell, lawyer and prominent citizen, who made many experiments in grape culture on the lower land, across the road. The present owner, Samuel S. Gray, has greatly improved the large, white mansion, which stands amid the trees on the hill side, and beautified the grounds.

George Giddings received a grant and built his dwelling about 1635, which he sold to Thomas Burnham with twelve acres in 1667, and the land remained in the family until Mrs. Sally Burnham, widow of the last Josiah, sold it to its present owner. The present dwelling may not be identified with the original but has been built probably two hundred years or more. The attractive residence of Theodore Wendel, the artist, stands on the forty acre lot which the Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, Pastor of the Church, acquired by grant or purchase, in addition to his other generous holdings already noticed.

Crossing the creek of depressing name, Labor-in-Vain, we come to the great 300 acre farm, which was granted to John Winthrop Jr. when he led the little company to the new settlement. His title to the farm and to the site of the Town was beyond dispute and it redounds to Mr. Winthrop's credit that he subsequently made terms with the Indian Sagamore, whose dominions had been appropriated by the English. The original document by which the Indian transferred the land is reproduced in a Sketch of John Winthrop, the Younger.²

This doth testify that I Maskonomet did give to Mr. John Winthrop all that ground that is betweene the creeke comonly called Labour-in-Vaine creeke & the creeke called Chybacko Creeke for w^{ch} I doe acknowledge to have received full satisfaction in wampam peage & other things; and I doe heerby also for the sume of twenty pounds to be paid unto me by the said John Winthrop, I doe fully resigne up all my right of the whole towne of Ipsw^{ch} as farre as the bounds thereof shall goe, all the woods, meadowes, pastures & broken up grounds, unto the said John Winthrop in the name of the rest of the English there planted, and I doe bind my selfe to make it cleere from claimes of any other Indians whatsoever.

Maskonomett — his marke

Witnesses to this:

Gyles Ffyrmin

Adam Winthrop

Hugh Hillard

his marke

Deane Winthrop

A subsequent deed dated 28 June, 1638, states that the money had been paid. In 1637, he conveyed the farm to Samuel Symonds, who became Deputy-Governor of the Colony, and was an eminent Judge and man of affairs. When Mr. Symonds bought it there were no buildings, and his first care was to erect a house for himself. He gave such minute

² Publications of the Ipswich Histor. Society, VII.

directions to Mr. Winthrop, who assumed charge of the building, and the letter is so characteristic of the man and the times, that a considerable portion of it is of lasting interest and value.

To John Winthrop Jr.

To the Right Worshipfull his much honored brother, John Wentthrop of Ipswich, Esqr. Speed this I pray.

Good Sir:

I have received your lettre, I thanke you for it, it hath bin my earnest desire to have had an opportunity longe ere this to have bene with you againe, but was hindered by the weather

. . . .

Concerneinge the bargaine that I have made with you for Argilla, my wife is well content, & it seems that my Father Peter^s hath imparted it to the Governor, who (he tells me) approves of it very well, alsoe soe I hope I shall now meeete with noe rub in that businesse; but go on comfortably accordeing as I have & daily doe dispose my affaires for Ipswich.

Concerneinge the frame of the howse, I thanke you kindly for your love & care to further my busines. I could be well content to leave much of the contrivance to your owne liberty vpon what we have talked together about it already.

I am indifferent whether it be 30 foote or 35 foote longe, 16 or 18 foote broad. I would have wood chimnyes at each end, the frames of the chimnyes to be stronger then ordinary to beare good heavy load of clay for security against fire. You may let the chimnyes be all the breadth of the howse if you thinke good; the 2 lower dores to be in the middle of the howse one opposite to the other. Be sure that all the dorewaies in every place be soe high that any man may goe vpright under. The staires I thinke had best be placed close by the dore. It makes no great matter though there be noe particion vpon the first floore; if there be, make one bigger then the other. For windowes let them not be over large in any roome, & as few as conveniently may be: let all have current shutting draw-windowes, having respect both to present & future vse.

I think to make it a girt howse will make it more charge-

^s Rev. Hugh Peter of Salem, who married Elizabeth, widow of Edmund Reade, and mother of Martha, the second wife of Symonds.

able then neede; however the side bearers for the second story being to be loaden with corne etc. must not be pinned on, but rather eyther sett into the studds or borne vp with false studds & soe tenanted in at the ends. I leave it to you and the carpenters. In this story over the first, I would have a particion, whether in the middest or over the particion under, I leave it. In the garrett no particion but let there be one or two lucome windowes, if two both on one side. I desire to have the sparrs reach downe pretty deep at the eves to preserve the walls the better from the wether. I would have it sellered all over, and soe the frame of the howse accordingly from the bottom. I would have the howse stronge in timber though plaine and well brased. I would have it covered with very good oake-hart inch board, for the present to be tacked on onely for the present, as you tould me. Let the frame begin from the bottom of the seller, & soe in the ordinary way upright for I can hereafter (to save the timber within grounde) run vp a thin brick work without. I think it best to have the walls without to be all clap boarded besides the clay walls. It were not amisse to leave a doreway or two within the seller, that soe hereafter one may make comings in from without, & let them be both vpon that side which the lucome window or windows be. I desire to have the howse in your bargaineing to be as compleatly mentioned in particulars as may be, at least so far as you bargaine for, & as speedily done alsoe as you can. I thinke it not best to have too much timber felled near the howse place westward etc. Here are as many remembrances as come to minde. I desire you to be in my stead herein, & what euer you doe shall please me.

I desire you would talke with Mr. Boreman & with his helpe buy for me a matter of 40 bushells of good Indian corne of him or of some honest man to be paidd for now in ready money & to be deliuered at any time in the sumer as I please to vse it. I would deale with such a man as will not repent if corne rise, as I will not if it fall. Thus acknowledging my bouldness, I desire to present our respectfull love to you, my sister, & your little one, not forgetting my daughter, I cease, committing you to him that is mercy & wisdom it selfe & soe rest.

Yours—ever

S. Symonds.

A lengthy postscript is appended which is omitted here. The letter bears no date, but was written, evidently, soon after the purchase of the Argilla farm, as it was called even in Winthrop's time, sometime before the spring of 1638.⁴ Its quaint and labored phrasing does not obscure the meaning. We can see the stout farm house, with its overhanging eaves, and small oblong windows, with clapboarded sides, and roof of inch oak boards, and huge chimneys, one at either end, built with wooden splints well daubed with clay, standing in a clearing, which is bounded by the natural forest on the west, only a little way from the door.

Here, in the wilderness, far removed from neighbors, sat this lonely farm house, a little to the south east of the present dwelling. Here the worthy magistrate and Deputy Governor spent many restful days, when he could escape the burdens of his official life. He had a house and three acres of land, where the old Seminary building and adjoining residences stand to-day, but he loved his farm and farm life as his letter reveals. In the time of Philip's War in 1675, the General Court voted that a guard of two soldiers should be stationed here at public expense to guard his house, because it was so remote from neighbors and he was so much in the country's service.

Judge Sewall notes in his Diary:

May 24 [1695] Friday. Walk to Argilla and visit Madam Symonds,⁵ who sits up in her chair but is weakly.

After the death of Madam Symonds, the farm was divided among the heirs, but Thomas Baker of Topsfield, who had married Priscilla, one of the Deputy Governor's daughters, secured a large portion by purchase from the other heirs.

⁴ The origin of the name, Argilla, is unknown. Gradually it was extended to the whole vicinity, and the road has been called by the same name for generations. The letter is in the Mass. Historical Soc. Collections, Fourth Series, Vol. VII, p. 118.

⁵ Mrs. Rebecca, 3d wife and widow of Dep. Gov. Symonds, died July 21, 1695. For the story of his Irish servants see pages 221, 222.

THE BROWN HOMESTEAD ON THE ARGILLA FARM

His son, Col. John Baker, inherited, and his son, Allen Baker, built the substantial hip-roofed house that still stands, early in the nineteenth century. Ephraim Brown bought the farm, which he bequeathed to his son Thomas, and his daughter, Mrs. John J. Sullivan, still owns. An older house was located a little east of the present dwelling.

Jonathan Wade, one of the most prominent of the early settlers, received a grant of two hundred acres of the rich land, south-east of Mr. Winthrop's. He sold to Henry Bennett, and he in turn, to Col. John Wainwright in 1697. His son, another Col. John, sold 65 acres to Pelatiah Kinsman in 1753, and the farm enlarged by later purchases, is still owned by his direct descendants.

Adjoining Jonathan Wade's was Samuel Dudley's grant, which he sold to Mr. Richard Saltonstall. When his son, Nathaniel of Haverhill, was about marrying Elizabeth, daughter of Rev. John Ward of Haverhill and grand-daughter of Rev. Nathaniel Ward of Ipswich, Richard Saltonstall gave the goodly one hundred and fifty acre farm at Chebacco or Little Chebacco, as it was still called, as a wedding present in 1664. The Saltonstall heirs sold to Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, Pastor of the Ipswich Church in 1731. The good man was not averse to a bargain when it came in his way. He purchased the farm for £1850. Two years afterward, he sold eighty-four acres, with the dwelling and barn to John Day tenant for the Saltonstalls, for £1696-10s and nine years after this sale, in 1742, he disposed of the balance of the land on both sides of the highway, to Stephen Smith, for £1250, excepting the way from Col. Denison's farm on the hill to the road. After several generations of the Days, Asa P. Stone acquired possession and his heirs sold to Roger Sherman Warner in Nov., 1915. The farm buildings have been remodeled and a new dwelling has been built by Mr. Warner.

Stephen Smith built his house on the lot on the north side of the highway and bequeathed the whole farm and dwelling to his sons, Adam and Zebulon. They were acquired subsequently by John Day Jr., and by Albert Burnham, who sold the lot on the south side of the road to Persis M. Mallory in 1901. This lot passed by several conveyances to Arthur A. Shurtleff and Dr. Wm. B. Robbins. The quaint and picturesque cottage and wind mill, built by Mr. Shurtleff, and the summer home of Dr. Robbins occupy the eastern end of the ancient Saltonstall farm. After Mr. Burnham's death, the old Stephen Smith dwelling was sold to Rees Jenkins. It was wholly destroyed by fire in the summer of 1916.

Daniel Denison, the soldier of the Town, was fortunate enough to receive a grant of 150 acres on the slope and breezy summit of the hill, which very strangely never was honored with a name. His townsmen had such supreme appreciation of his value as a military leader in the stormy times, when Indian assaults were always dreaded, that a popular subscription of £24 7s was raised annually for his benefit. He attained high honor as the General in command of the Colonial troops, and filled many important public offices in the Town and Colony. The highland farm remained in the Denison family for more than a century. Two-thirds of the farm, about 138 acres, were sold by John Denison in 1743 to Francis Cogswell, a tanner by trade, who was then a tenant.

The farm passed from generation to generation of the Cogswell line and was sold to Herman H. Story, April 11, 1884. He conveyed it to Dr. Herman F. Vickery on March 3, 1902, who occupies the Cogswell homestead on the slope of the hill, now Island Hill, as his summer home. He sold a portion on Sept. 30, 1903 to Dr. Francis B. Harrington, who erected his fine residence on the very summit, commanding a broad and beautiful landscape. When the winding road was being built, an ancient Indian burial place was disclosed. The skeletons soon fell to pieces upon exposure

THE SUMMER HOME OF MRS. FRANCES B. HARRINGTON

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to the light and air, but some very interesting copper ornaments of an Indian woman were still in place and a large bronze vessel, the treasure some Indian brave had acquired from the English, which had been buried with its owner.

Thomas Wells began to acquire land adjoining the Denison farm in 1644. He divided his farm, which included a portion at least of Sagamore Hill, to his sons, Nathaniel and Thomas. Nathaniel added to his portion another fifty acre farm on the south side of the road, which Daniel Epes had sold to Samuel Rogers in 1664, with house, barns and out buildings, and Mrs. Martha, widow of John, son of Samuel, sold to him in 1695.

Part of the Wells farm was sold by Nathaniel Wells in 1809 to Oliver Cogswell, who built his dwelling about 1815. It was owned later by Mr. Alvin Story, and is now owned and occupied by Dr. Joseph L. Goodale of Boston, who has improved the plain farm dwelling tastefully and made an attractive summer home. Another large portion was sold by Thomas and Nathaniel Wells to Abraham Tilton Jr. His heirs sold to Jacob Smith, the farm including land on both sides of the road. He bequeathed his large estate which included "two mansion houses," to the three sons of Adam Smith, his kinsman, Joshua, Asa and Bemsley. Joshua received the farm which he bequeathed in turn to his son Joshua, and he to his son, Charles, whose heirs sold to the late Dr. James B. Ayer of Boston. They conveyed the land on the south side of the road, once occupied by the Samuel Rogers farm, traces of the old well still remaining, to Mrs. Joseph Lord, and Miss Rhoda F. Kinsman. Mrs. Lord has erected an attractive house and established her summer home here.

Asa Smith and Bemsley came into possession of the eastern portion, including the Tilton homestead, which disappeared long since. Its location is remembered, a little way from the present farm house. An immense willow stands near

the ancient cellar. The Asa Smith portion of the Tilton-Smith farms was owned later by John Low and then by John A. Burnham, who sold to Augustus N. Rantoul. His large and imposing brick dwelling occupies a breezy site near the farm house, and the ancient farm is now called "Thatch Banks."

The Caverly farm, recently purchased by Richard T. Crane, was originally part of the Tilton farm. The heirs of Samuel Wainwright conveyed it to John Patch, who gave it to Capt. Tristram Brown, who built the present farm house, since owned by David Story, who sold to Mr. Caverly. It is said that Daniel Webster frequently came to this house for lodging, while he enjoyed the gunning on beach and marshes. Dr. Charles W. Townsend's summer home, Merula Farm, and the house built by Dr. Mark Richardson are located on the eastern end of the same great Tilton farm.

A little way beyond the by-road to the Caverly farm and Sagamore Hill, a bridge crosses the ancient canal. As early as 1652, a move was made toward cutting a passage way for boats through the marshes, from Ipswich River to the River of Chebacco, to avoid the long and sometimes dangerous passage by the mouth of the river. In that year the town voted:—

Granted Thomas Clark and Reginal Foster, that when they shall have cut through a passage from this river into Chebacco river, of ten feet wide and soe deepe as a lighter may pass through laden, and to make a ford and foot bridge over, that then the town have given unto them £10 toward said passage.

Evidently the canal was not completed, as in 1692 it was

Granted to any one of the inhabitants to perfect cutting the cut, that comes up to Mr. Eppes' bridge, if they will submit to the selectmen yearly the setting of the toll for those who pass through and who do not help cut it.

But still the work was incomplete, and in 1694 it was

THE SUMMER HOME OF MRS. JOSEPH LORD

See page 753

Granted that such persons of Ipswich as will may have liberty to cut the cut through on the hither side of Castle Neck; and if any pass through, who do not help do it, they shall pay for a passage as the selectmen set the price.

Whoever will cut the cut through the marsh by Mr. Eppes sufficient for boats to pass through laden, shall have liberty. Such as pay about 5^s toward doing it shall pass free. Such as pay nothing shall be charged 3d in money for a cord of wood or load of hay, or ton or other loading.

Despite these liberal terms no one seems to have had enterprise or capital to complete the work, and it was not till 1820 that a stock company was formed, which dug a navigable canal from Fox Creek to Chebacco or Essex River. Felt, the historian, says that \$1100 was expended, but the tolls on traffic were sufficient to pay nearly six per cent on the investment. Much ship timber was brought down the Merrimac, through Parker river and the canal, for the Essex ship yards.

Mr. Felt records the tariff rates:

Oak timber seventeen cents and pine fourteen cents a ton. Oak sawn stuff of an inch thick, forty cents M., and of other thicknesses in proportion. Pine sawn stuff of one inch thick, thirty cents M.; hard wood thirty cents and pine twenty cents a cord. Hogshead staves seventy-five cents, and barrel staves forty cents M. Hogshead hoop-poles one dollar, and barrel hoop-poles seventy-five cents M. Clapboards, forty cents, and shingles ten cents M. Each light gondola five cents, and every ton of loading fifteen cents.

The ancient cooperage industry and the commerce with the West Indies, which made business for the old canal, have long since disappeared, and the railroad furnishes more expeditious means of transport for building material. Only an occasional gundalow laden with salt hay now floats up the canal with the tide.

Crossing the bridge we reach a broad expanse of hills, islands and beaches, picturesque with its sand dunes and marshes, originally well wooded, a choice and coveted region from the earliest times.

At a meeting houlden the 5 day of January, 1634, ytt was ordered

That the Neck of Land wheareupon the great Hill standeth, wch is known by the name of the Castle Hill, lyeinge on the other side of this River towards the Sea, shall remayne unto the comon use of the Towne forever.

John Winthrop Jr. had accepted a commission from Lords Say and Brook to begin a plantation in Connecticut, and went to Saybrook for a time in the year 1636. In 1637, there were depressing rumors of his final removal from Ipswich. Rev. Nathaniel Ward, Rev. John Norton, Richard Saltonstall and more than fifty other prominent citizens set their names to a letter^a addressed to Governor Winthrop on June 21, 1637, making a pathetic appeal that their leader should not be appointed commander of the Castle in Boston Harbor. Further expression of the anxiety of the people to retain him is manifest in the generous vote of Jan. 13, 1637-8.

Granted to Mr. John Winthorpe Castle Hill and all the meadow and marsh lying within the creeke provided y^t he lives in the Towne, and that the Towne may have what they shall need for the building of a Fort.

Notwithstanding this kindly pressure to remain, Mr. Winthrop removed his residence about 1639, apparently to Salem and then to Connecticut, and sold Samuel Symonds, who had already purchased the Argilla farm, the Castle Hill grant by two conveyances in 1644 and 1645. The Deputy Governor sold the same, some 300 acres with its islands and marshes, to his son-in-law, Daniel Epes, in 1660.

^a Reproduced in Publications of Ipswich Historical Society, VII.

THE SUMMER HOME OF DR. JOSEPH L. GOODALE

See page 733

The grant to Winthrop included the "Island," as it was called, on which Dr. Eugene A. Crockett's residence is located, but did not embrace the upland and sandy beaches, known as Castle Neck, including Wigwam Hill. This was still a part of the Common lands of the Town. On Feb. 16, 1664, the Town voted to divide Plum Island, Hog Island and Castle Neck, and division was made accordingly to the Commoners. Castle Neck thus became the property of many proprietors, each owning a small lot of upland, or marsh. As a canal had been cut through Capt. Epes's marsh the residue, 55 acres, which was not allotted, was granted him.

At that time, there was a valuable growth of pitch-pine timber covering a considerable portion of the Castle Hill farm and the adjoining Castle Neck. The Town still held title to this woodland. Ensign Burnham, a carpenter, received permission from the Town in 1677 to fell some pitch-pine trees at Castle Neck for summers,⁷ beams, plates and principal spars for a dwelling on Mr. Brown's farm. The Town ordered that no tree should be cut, which did not measure a foot at least in diameter near the ground. It was ordered in 1682, that all the blacksmiths should have liberty that year to fell trees to make charcoal for their fires at Castle Neck and nowhere else.

An interesting episode in the quiet life of Captain Epes and his family is revealed in a Deposition⁸ made by him at Court. In the year 1669, a company of Indians from the neighborhood of Lake Winnepesaukee made their appearance at Castle Hill and built their wigwams. Among them was an old squaw with her daughter-in-law, who brought her children, a little boy, two or three years old, and a babe of three months. They said that the "Moquages" had lately killed the old squaw's husband, and one of her sons, the

⁷ The great central beams in ancient rooms.

⁸ Essex Co. Court Files: XLI, 127. June 24, 1684.

husband of the younger woman. Not only were they completely destitute, but the younger squaw was suffering from a swelling on her knee, which soon disabled her completely and caused her much suffering. Captain Epes allowed them to have a wigwam near his house and provided kindly for their needs. The poor mother died about six months later. A few weeks before her death, Captain Epes narrates that he and his young son, Lionel, went to the wigwam to see her.

The younger Squa was very thankfull to me for all my Charge & trouble about them and did earnestly desire me to take care of her eldest sonne; which I then called by the name of Daniel, and hath bin ever since. And she further sayde I give you my younger Sonne, which she intreated me to accept of (whoe was then scarce three quarters of a yeare old) which I promised I would, my Sonne Lyonel being by, he sayd unto me, father pray let his name be called Lyonel, which I told him it might. Soe my Sonne Lyonel named him by which name he hath bin called ever since.

Captain Epes left the little Indian baby in charge of the grand mother and for years looked after them, providing a wigwam in the thick woods in winter to secure shelter from the wind, and food and clothing. When the child was about five or six years old, he wished to take him into his family, but as the old squaw was frequently sick, he left the little lad with her as company and helper. Eventually the old squaw went away with her son, Robin, an idle and worthless fellow, and Lionel lived in his family. But when he was about twelve years old, Robin came one day, when Captain Epes was away from home, took the Indian boy and bound him as an apprentice⁹ to Henry Bennett, a neighboring farmer, during his minority, to satisfy a debt he owed him.

It was a thankless return for the great kindness of Captain Epes and his good wife, and it is gratifying to know

⁹ For the Indenture of apprenticeship, see pages 223, 224.

THATCH BANKS, THE SUMMER HOME OF AUGUSTUS N. RANTOUL.

See page 734

that he carried the case into Court, and though the lower Court found for the defendant, he appealed to the Court of Assistants, which reversed the decision and ordered the boy to be returned to him.

Captain Epes added some small lots on Castle Neck to his farm and sold to John Ring in 1674, a marsh island of about twenty acres, which is still known as Ring's Island. Dr. Robert B. Osgood now owns and has erected his cottage in a secluded nook.

On the death of Captain Epes, his eldest son, Daniel, the Salem school-master and a younger son, Major Symonds Epes, received Castle Hill, and the Major bought his brother's interest in 1701. Henry Bennett had purchased several lots from the original proprietors on Wigwam Hill and built a house there. He sold the dwelling and marsh lots to Isaac Fellows in 1680. Major Epes bought the house with the twelve acres of upland and eight of marsh of Fellows in 1694, and in 1730 secured Ring's Island. He died¹⁰ at his home in the Hamlet in 1741, leaving the great farm to his son, Samuel, a young man of brilliant promise. He was graduated from Harvard at the age of seventeen, was elected a Representative at twenty-five, and was a Major as well in the Colonial militia. He died in Cambridge in July, 1760, after a lingering illness with consumption. He bequeathed £20 to the South Church for communion plate and some of the cups bear his name.

In the year before his death, young Samuel Epes sold the estate to John Patch, the 3^d, who had been the resident tenant for some years previously. During the Revolutionary War, a guard was kept on the hill. A flag-staff was erected, and tar and other combustibles were provided, so that an alarm might be given by day or night. Mr. Patch was prominent in Town affairs and it is said that his ventures in the privateers proved very profitable. He enlarged the

¹⁰ See his Obituary, page 150.

estate by the purchase of the farm on Sagamore Hill in 1785. He died in 1799, leaving twelve children, but only one son. He divided his property by will, the Sagamore Hill farm to his grandson, Tristram Brown, who built the present dwelling; the "Island" as it was called, to his son Nehemiah; the homestead farm on Castle Hill and Pine Island to his daughter Elizabeth, wife of Stephen Choate Jr. and the Wigwam Hill farm to his daughter Mary Lakeman.

The Island farm passed to John, son of Nehemiah, then to his son John and later to Dr. E. A. Crockett. The Wigwam Hill farm continued in the Lakeman family. The pine woods still remained and there was a considerable area of orchard, tillage and pasture land. Very unfortunately, Capt. Lakeman cut down the pine grove. The loose sands, driven by the winds, moved irresistibly over the fields, no longer sheltered by the friendly wood. The orchard was submerged to the very tree tops and great dunes grew up on the planting and pasture land until nothing remained but the cranberries which still clung to protected spots.

The Castle Hill farm passed through the hands of many owners to Manasseh Brown in 1843, and then to his son, John Burnham Brown. He made a large outlay with conspicuous taste on the buildings and roads. Fine landscape effects were secured by the planting of trees and shrubbery. Mr. Brown was much engaged in the development of his estate until his death. After his decease, Richard Teller Crane Jr. of Chicago purchased the property January 10, 1910.

Upon the summit Mr. Crane has erected his splendid summer home, with a beautiful sunken garden, rose garden, lawns and terraces, commanding a marvellous view of land and sea, of Agamenticus and Boar's Head and the low-lying Isles of Shoals on the distant horizon, Bar Island and the long bar with its many lines of white breakers, sand dunes and the level beach near at hand. Mr. Crane has purchased

THE SUMMER HOME OF RICHARD T. CRANE, JR.
Castle Hill

INCLINING THE MINIMUM FROM THE 10TH 4 YEARS TO 10/10/10

as well, Wigwam Hill and the great tract of picturesque dunes, the old Castle Neck, with the exception of the small tract owned by the United States, on which the light house was built in 1837. He has acquired also the Sagamore Hill farm.

Thus, on the long stretch of this beautiful Argilla Road, once lined with farms, on which the farmers wrung a modest living from the soil, from Heart Break Hill to the ocean, today a series of inviting summer homes affords rest and recreation to the busy physicians and men of affairs, who love to exchange the hot and crowded city for the cool and quiet of their homes on the hills.

A similar change is gradually coming on the old road to Jeffrey's Neck. A large estate, comprising the farms of generations of Perkinses and Treadwells, was acquired by the late Charles P. Searle. Leaving the great bare farm house of the Treadwells and the other dwellings intact, Mr. Searle chose a site on a rise of ground well back from the highway and built his noble dwelling. Inglisby is the new name he chose for his home in the old fields and pastures which had witnessed such strange transformation.

At a very early date, Robert Paine, the Elder of the Ipswich Church, a citizen of great importance, purchased the farm reaching from the road to Ipswich River, including Diamond Stage and other small islands. He conveyed it to his son Robert in 1689, a Harvard graduate of 1656, a minister for a time, but apparently retired from his profession, when he attained regretful prominence as foreman of the Grand Jury that brought in the indictments in the witchcraft trials in Salem in 1692. Daniel Smith and Elizabeth Paine, daughter of Robert, were married on June 29, 1702 and on Jan. 19, 1702-3, Mr. Paine conveyed the farm to the young couple.

Five children came to them. Eight days after Dorothy was born, the mother died, May 13, 1717, in her fortieth

year. Mr. Smith married Deborah Willcomb five years afterward and five more children were born in the old homestead. His son Moscs inherited the farm. He was thrice married. Elizabeth Wallis, still in her twentieth year, came to the farm as a bride in 1746. She died in Nov., 1753, at the age of twenty-eight. Ruth Little of Hampstead came as the second wife in Sept., 1754. Abigail, the youngest of her seven children, was ten years old when she died in Nov., 1777, in her fiftieth year. The third wife, the widow Hodgkins, survived her husband.

Another Moses, the eldest son, acquired most of the farm. He married Ruth Jewett in April, 1770. Like his mother, his bride was only twenty when she took up the long burden that was before her in the old homestead which had witnessed the passing of three generations of the descendants of Robert Paine, the builder of the house a century before. Eleven children came to them. Moses Smith died in March, 1829, in his eighty-second year, but his widow, despite the toil and care of her earlier married life, and the sorrow over three of her children who died in mature years, lived to the great age of ninety-four and died Dec. 24, 1844, in the old home. Daniel and Elizabeth, both unmarried, received the farm, and spent all their quiet lives in the old homestead, to a good old age. Elizabeth was eighty when she died in December, 1863. Daniel died in 1870 at the age of eighty-seven. The farm then passed to their nephew, Thomas S. Greenwood, who built a new dwelling but spared the old Paine home. His heirs sold the estate to Major Guy Murchie, who sold to Robert G. Dodge of Boston. The sale to Major Murchie was the first departure from the family line of Elder Paine.

On the old Topsfield road, the Bracket farm and large tracts adjoining, including Turner Hill and its near neighbor, Little Turner, have been purchased by Charles G. Rice. He has erected an imposing mansion on the hill slope, so

THE ROBERT PAINE HOMESTEAD
Now owned by Mr. Robert G. Dodge

completely hidden by the forest growth that it is invisible from the highway. Under the direction of a skilled superintendent, great orchards of apple and pear trees have been planted and cared for so systematically that the fruit is of the finest quality and marvellous beauty. The substantial stone walls on each side of the highway and the well-kept grass borders give the road the appearance of a driveway through a beautiful park.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

IPSWICH, THEN AND NOW.

During the life time of our middle aged citizens, great and surprising changes have taken place in our home life, in Town affairs, in methods of business and travel. The contrast between the Ipswich, when our old men and women, who have passed the four score mark and more, were children, and the Ipswich of today, is startling.

The quiet old homes have been completely transformed. The old time housekeeper, kindling the morning fire in the great fire place, if no hot coals remained under cover of the ashes, took down the primitive tinder-box and with deft strokes of a bit of flint upon a piece of steel, lodged a spark in the tinder and applying a home-made splint, tipped with sulphur, and blowing vigorously, coaxed a blaze. But in 1833 or 1834, the phosphoric friction match came into use and the tinder-box was put away forever. The story is told that Capt. Nathaniel Emmons, a retired whaling captain, slightly daft, who ferried passengers over to Plum Island in his dory, clung so tenaciously to the old ways, that he was wont to drop his oars in mid-stream, and light his pipe with the flint and steel he always carried. By the time the pipe was lighted, the strong Parker River tide had swept his boat far from its course.

Candles, often home-made, provided a weak and wavering light. Britannia lamps and tall glass lamps, in which whale oil was burned with an open and smoky flame, gave better results, and small hand lamps of glass, in which camphene was used. The great "solar lamp", with its circular wick, glass chimney and globe, was the crowning device for lighting the

home and the church pulpits. Petroleum was discovered in 1859 and the rapid introduction of kerosene provided at once a cheap and brilliant light for houses and public buildings.

Anthracite coal began to be used in Ipswich about 1832, and in 1839 advertisements of coal stoves appeared in the Ipswich Register. But it is remembered that the first full cargo of coal did not arrive at the wharves until the early forties. The ill-fated brig, "Falconer", laden with bituminous coal, was wrecked on Ipswich beach, December 17, 1847. Seventeen of the passengers and crew were lost, twelve of whom lie buried in the High Street Cemetery in one common grave. The use of coal was then so little understood that David Harris brought home from the beach a great lump and put it in the fire-place and marvelled that it would burn no better than a stone.

It is a singular circumstance that the invention of the quick and sure friction match was coincident so nearly with the discovery of the new and wonderful fuel which revolutionized the ancient method of heating and cooking in the home. Sheet iron stoves in which billets of wood were burned had been in use many years. Two of them were set up in the meeting house of the South Church in 1819, and they may have attained some degree of use in sitting rooms and chambers. But in the kitchen, the great fire place, cheerful and romantic indeed, but very hard and inconvenient for the housekeepers, who had to handle the huge and heavy kettles, the long handled frying pans, the tin-kitchens and all the rest of the cooking paraphernalia, was still in common use, though the wood-burning kitchen stove was coming into vogue. The cavernous ovens were heated once a week at least for the brown bread and baked beans, the Indian puddings, pies and cake, and they held their own for many years at Thanksgiving time, when the old fashioned housekeeper must bake scores of pies for the Winter, as well as the numberless delicacies for the great feast.

Indeed the brick oven was so highly esteemed that it was built in modern houses as late as 1860 and perhaps longer. Nor could any meat be more savory than that which was roasted slowly before the open fire. Nevertheless, the little, homely, cast-iron cook stove was hailed with delight by the good women, with its pots and kettles so small and light, its small but effective oven, labor-saving, economical of fuel and prodigal of heat.

But wood held its own as a popular and convenient fuel for many years, and great loads from the Linebrook wood lots came into Town daily, and waited purchasers, standing in line on Market Street. Peat, too, was much used. The High Street folk owned lots in the great turf meadows back of the Rice farm, and in Linebrook, the ancient West Meadows. As soon as the meadows were dry, the surface was removed, and then the long turf spade was thrust down three and four feet into the dense, black peat. The long bricks were dried and stored in the peat houses, as soon as they could be handled. In the Fall, they had become dry and solid and were carted home for winter use in stoves and fire places. The pungent "peat-reek", which pervaded the houses and the neighborhood, is well remembered.

That the open fire continued to hold considerable place in the economy of Ipswich homes is evident from the By-Law adopted by the Town in April, 1864.

Section 5. Any person or persons occupying any building . . . in which there is any chimney or chimneys, who shall neglect to sweep or burn . . . each smoke in which fire shall be kept in such chimney, once in three months, shall forfeit and pay one dollar for every such neglect.

The bringing in of the kitchen stove was only the first step toward the modern kitchen. Steel knives and two or three-tined forks remained in common use, and required frequent scouring with a cork and ashes or Bristol brick to keep them

bright. Cheap and bright silver plated ware was not in common use before 1870. The well in the door-yard was still the common source of the water supply, usually equipped with a pump, but frequently retaining the clumsy well-sweep, and it was a trying task in bitter winter weather to bring the water for washing and for daily use, especially if a frozen pump had to be thawed as a preliminary. The better sort of kitchens drew their "soft" water for domestic sources from a great cistern in the cellar, which stored the rain-water from the roof. There was another domestic revolution in 1894, when the public water supply was brought in, and the turn of a faucet gave unlimited supply of pure water.

With the passing of the open fire went the warming-pan, a luxurious pre-requisite for warming the big feather beds in the cold sleeping rooms. The deep, soft beds remained popular for many years, however, supported by an under bed, filled with straw, which overlaid the square meshes of the bed cord. With the coming of warm weather, the harder straw bed changed places with the feather tick, but the feathers were welcomed back with the first frost. Spring cleaning was no light affair when the heavy bedsteads, with their turned posts and big head and foot boards of maple or other hard wood, were taken apart and set up again, and the long bed cord woven criss-cross and set taut with the wrench and wooden pin used for this purpose. The "cot-bed", a collapsible frame covered with heavy canvas, which was kept rigid by an adjustable head board, was in common use, and was a very comfortable bed, despite its extreme simplicity.

Any room was good enough for a bed room. Many small rooms, secured sometimes by the removal of a great, central chimney, with no means of lighting but the door or a small window, opening into another room, mere dark and dismal closets of a larger size, were in constant use. The normal capacity of any sleeping chamber was doubled by the use of the "trundle-bed" for children, a low affair, which could be

pushed under the high bedstead by day and concealed by the valance. Another device for sleeping accommodation was the "press-bed", a clumsy, many-jointed bedstead, which was folded back in the morning into a shallow closet, closed with large doors. These broad closets are still found in the living rooms of old homes. The spring bed began to be used about fifty years ago, and this brought its accompanying firm mattress, now in universal use.

The Ipswich parlors of a half century or more ago have suffered equal change. The floor was covered with a heavy woolen carpet of huge, geometrical patterns and gay colors. To make it soft to the tread, a liberal coating of second crop hay was often used under the carpet, which absorbed moisture and gave a very musty smell to the tightly closed room. On the center table, the great solar lamp, with its fringe of tinkling pendants, held the place of honor, attended by the few choice books. Samplers still held place on the walls, though the fashion of making them was no longer in vogue, and family portraits, painted by some strolling artist perhaps, for the daguerreotype was not known before 1840. Wreaths deftly wrought from the hair of deceased members of the family were common, and sometimes the coffin plate was inserted as a center piece. The black hair cloth upholstery impaired the beauty of the fine mahogany furniture and added distinctly to the funereal aspect. In the days of great families, such a prim and well-ordered room may have been a necessity for the periodic pastoral call, or the convenience of the young man "keeping company" with the daughter of the household. Happily, in the new order of things that holds today, the woolen carpet is yielding to rugs and hard wood floors, and the traditional parlor is fast coming to be a thing of the past.

When the older men of Ipswich were boys, they wore long-legged, copper-toed boots, which were treated frequently with heavy coats of mutton tallow to keep out the wet, and could

be removed only by the help of a boot-jack or the agonized effort of a friendly helper. Paper collars were much in vogue and a small shield shaped "bosom", and boys wore short, close fitting jackets, with a row of brass buttons up and down the front. Their fathers wore high "dickeys", their sharp points rising each side the chin, and a rigid "stock" of black satin, which had supplanted the long neck-'er-chief, which swathed the necks of the oldest men with their heavy folds.

Elderly men frequently wore a huge cloak, styled "Tom and Jerry" in Winter, which reached below their knees. Their ample folds flapped wildly when the wind was high and required skill and strength to wrap them close to the person. The cloak and a stove-pipe hat were the proper garb, especially for ministers. Grand-mothers wore snowy muslin caps, which covered the whole head like a hood and were tied under the chin with strings in broad bow-knots, and white kerchiefs, folded over the breast. They sat in deep easy-chairs engaged in endless knitting, to the accompaniment of the loud ticking of the tall, seven-day clock. Girls crowded their loose locks into hair-nets, which hung like a bag at the back of the head. Their mothers wore their hair over small cushions, "water-falls", and were victims of that extraordinary vagary of fashion, which required huge, balloon-like hoop-skirts of steel wire, grotesque and unwieldy. Quaint Shaker straw bonnets were in vogue with some old fashioned folk and growing girls.

A beneficent revolution in home life, greater even it may be than that produced by the kitchen stove, followed the invention of the sewing machine by Elias Howe in 1846. As in the case of every other invention, the first machines commanded a high price, prohibitive of general domestic use, but in a few years they were sold at so reasonable a figure that almost every household could afford one, and the age-long task of hand-sewing was lightened marvellously. The com-

panion work of knitting was also greatly relieved by the development of machine-made hosiery.

On the farms, hand labor was still the only fashion. The fields were mowed with scythes. The hay was turned and raked by hand. The work was hard, the day was long. But just before the Civil War the mowing machine came in and in its train have come the horse-rake, tedder and loader, the machine plough, the disk harrow, the wind-mill to pump the water for the barn, the gasoline engine to saw the wood and cut and store the ensilage. No wonder the old farmer likes to tell of farming as he knew it in his boyhood, as a rebuke to the farmer of today, who has a machine for all his work, and an automobile for his pleasure.

In the old Ipswich homes there were a few pianos. They were beyond the reach of the every day family, which contented itself with a violin or the humble Jews-harp. About 1835, reed instruments, the seraphine, the melodeon, accordions and concertinas, and the simple harmonica began to be common, and twenty years later the Mason and Hamlin cabinet organ achieved great popularity. These melancholy instruments gave way in turn to the lower-priced pianos, and today the piano is at a discount and the wonderful phonograph, invented by Thomas A. Edison in 1877, has outstripped all rivals for the popular favor, and makes its way into the humblest homes.

For the common sicknesses of children, and the older folks as well, there was much reliance upon household remedies, salts and senna, rhubarb and castor-oil, squilla, snake-root and saffron, administered in nauseous doses. But Dr. Manning had to be called in extreme cases. If a tooth must be extracted, he had an instrument of torture, still preserved in the cabinet of the Historical Society, resembling a miniature "cant-dog" or a large cork-screw, with a loose hook which was forced under the tooth. A nervous child might have been thrown into hysterics at the first sight. The inestimable

blessing of painless operations was not known until 1846, when ether was first used to produce unconsciousness. The range of operative surgery was consequently very narrow.

There was no appreciation of the value of fresh air and cold water in sickness. The fever patient, shut up in a close, hot room, suffered sorely from thirst, but a drink of water was not allowed. One of our ladies remembers a sickness of her mother many years ago. Her nurse, obedient to her sense of duty, refused to bring her a draught of hot water, as her patient desired. At last, driven to desperation, she frightened her attendant by declaring that unless she got it, she would get out of bed and bring it for herself. The water was brought and a generous draught taken. The fever was soon relieved and Dr. Manning, at his next call, was much gratified at the improvement in his patient and ordered a continuance of the simple remedy. Consumption was regarded as incurable and its slow ravages were mitigated in very slight degree. The germ theory of disease had not been discovered. There was little regard for what are now regarded the prime essentials for overcoming disease and preventing infection.

There were some sports and games which have been forgotten. Thanksgiving Day was the occasion of turkey raffles, which still retain a covert place, and turkey-shoots, but the chase of the greased pig and climbing the greased pole have wholly lapsed. The last two were companion sports. The contestants, dressed in their worst cast-off clothing, gathered in a large field on North Main Street. A small pig was well coated with slush and let loose. The frightened animal was then chased by the hooting crowd. Breaking loose from any handhold upon leg or tail, he was not caught until some one threw himself bodily upon him, hugged him about his neck and held him fast. The smooth pole was well greased also, and the prize was taken by the one who climbed the highest.

By common consent, Thanksgiving week was the special

occasion, when men "pitched coppers", with the huge copper cents then in use, out of doors and "shook props" in the little shoe-shops. Four shells filled with ceiling wax were used. Bets were made from a quarter of a dollar upward on the turn of the shells, two or four of a kind counting "nick", the odd numbers "out." "Lou" was a popular gambling game, played with cards.

Foot-ball was in vogue with the boys at this season, a rough and tumble game, in which there was equal kicking of a home-made ball, made from old boot-legs, inflated with an ox-bladder, and the shins of the contesting players. Base ball was the universal favorite. The first preliminary was "choosing up." The leaders of the opposing sides settled the first choice of players from the anxious group by a hand over hand on a bat. The sides were then chosen. A soft ball was used, which was thrown at a player while he ran the bases. The modern game, "New York", as it was first called, with its hard ball and very elaborate rules, began to be popular about 1866. Hop-scotch was a popular children's game. The player hopped on one foot, kicking a small stone through the various compartments of an elaborate geometrical drawing, marked on a broad, smooth side-walk. "Cats-cradle" beguiled heavy intervals in-doors. Boys and girls both sewed patch-work, and worked set patterns in perforated card board with bright colored crewels. "God Bless our Home" was the favorite motto, which was honored with a frame and glass, and hung in a conspicuous place.

On the main streets, in the childhood of our oldest citizens, the most exciting sight was the dashing stages, drawn by four horses, which galloped through the Town on their daily trips between Boston and Newburyport and Portsmouth. Mr. Felt, the Ipswich historian, writing in 1834, remarks upon the great facilities for travel which were then enjoyed. He observes that wagons drawn by horses began to be used about 1800, and at the period of his writing had

almost completely superseded riding on horse-back among the farmers, who formerly went to market with their produce stored in saddle-bags and panniers. In the earlier days, social parties going out on a holiday excursion knew no other conveyance than an ox-cart. The horse-wagon furnished ideal convenience for transportation of merchandise and for travel.

Mr. Felt indulged in the reflection:

Should the improvements in journeying be as great for two centuries to come as they have been in the two already elapsed, posterity will as much wonder that we are contented with the present degree of such improvements as we do, that our ancestors were satisfied with their mode of travel.

That which was unimagined and undreamed of in 1834 has come to pass, not only in methods of travel, but in every realm of human experience. Only five years after Mr. Felt's dream of possible advances in two centuries, the first railroad train rolled into Ipswich amid the cheers of the people on a December day in 1839, with its uncouth little engine and queer cars. Wood was the common fuel, and a journey was broken at intervals by a stop at a "wooding station", where a fresh supply of billets was taken on. The locomotives had huge smoke-stacks like an inverted tunnel.

Though the great volume of stage travel ceased at once upon the building of the railroad, it is not to be thought that the streets were left vacant, nor that the Sabba' Day quiet was broken only by the bell of the Town Crier, proclaiming his notices of auctions, panoramas, and bargain sales, or the rattle of the doctor's two-wheeled chaise, swung high aloft on long leather thorough-braces. The springless farm wagons were much in evidence. Huge loads of hay passed constantly through the Town, drawn by a yoke or two of oxen, led by the family horse. After oxen fell into disfavor, long tandem teams of horses, sometimes five or six in line, hauled the great loads, weighing five and six tons,

the driver perched upon a board projecting from the load. It is a family remembrance that Joseph Horton made forty-five round trips with hay to Boston in a single year, bringing back groceries and supplies of every kind for the Ipswich shop keepers.

Grass did not grow in the streets. Indeed, there was such solicitude for decorous travel that a By-Law was enacted in April, 1864:

No person shall ride on horse-back or drive a horse or horses . . . through any of the streets of the Town, within one mile of Choate Bridge, faster than at a rate of six miles per hour, under penalty of three dollars for each and every offence.

The prim and proper spirit of the Town is further revealed in another By-Law of the same series.

Section 4. Any person who shall hereafter smoke or carry any lighted cigar . . . or light or smoke any tobacco in any of the streets, lanes or public lands within the Town of Ipswich, between sun-set and sun-rise shall forfeit and pay for each and every such offence the sum of one dollar.

The commission of any of the foregoing offences on the Lord's day or evening preceding or following shall be considered as an aggravation thereof and be treated accordingly.

After a series of quiet years, the streets began to be enlivened in 1878 with the bicycle, a most ungainly looking novelty, with the rider perched above and riding astride a wheel five or six feet in diameter, followed by a diminutive little trailer, on which he flashed along at incredible speed. Clubs were formed and flocks of gay riders on long Sunday tours, their bugle sounding and banners waving, dashed through the Town. In a few years, this dangerous type of bicycle was superseded by the safe and useful pattern, which is still in use.

In 1895, came a double invasion of the Ipswich streets. The first "horse-less carriages" began to appear, forerunners of the innumerable host of automobiles, costly and cheap, beautiful and common-place, that pass in endless procession through the Town on summer Sundays. The laying of the rails of the electric street-railway was finished and the cars came from the junction of the Beverly and Gloucester line at Crooked Lane Hill to the head of Central St. Another line was soon built from the Newburyport and Georgetown trolley line at Dummer Academy to the railroad crossing on High Street, and when the danger of passing over the tracks had been eliminated by the construction of the over head bridge, the two lines were united and Ipswich was brought into direct connection with the great system of trolley lines, which cover the Commonwealth.

The telegraph came into practical use about 1843, and the introduction of the wires brought Ipswich into close contact with the whole country, and when the Atlantic cable was laid successfully in 1866, the whole world was bound together. Prior to that date, all newspapers carried the head lines, "Ten Days Later", "Five Days", "Three Days", as steamships arrived with fresh batches of European papers, and these papers had been printed some ten days before. The ocean telegraph brought the current happenings on the very day of their occurrence. The telephone was first exhibited at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876, and some Ipswich people may have seen it there. It was regarded as an ingenious toy, but it soon established itself as a marvellous aid to the business world. It was not till 1897 that the New England Telegraph and Telephone Co. extended its lines to our town. The old, leisurely methods of business were revolutionized, and friendly gossip was made possible to the remotest homes, regardless of wind and weather. Last and most marvellous, the Marconi wireless telegraph was invented, and the long gridiron of wires, stretched between the

tops of school buildings, connect the students with the mysterious sound waves surging through the upper air.

The Electric Light system was established in 1903 and the streets and public squares were brightly illuminated. Some favored sections had enjoyed a fair degree of light from the gas street lamps, other sections had the privilege of a few kerosene street lights, but the darkness of the rural roads had been wholly unrelieved. The whole Town received the benefit of the new system.

Reverting again to the good old times, the ancient office of Tithingman had a nominal existence as late as 1875, Francis H. Wade and the sextons of the churches being chosen in due form at each Town meeting. Homely nick names were still in vogue, Hog Town and Hog Lane, Goose Village and Gander Hill, New Boston, Old England, Goshen and "Puddin Street." Labor-in-Vain and Turkey Shore Road still abide, but the rest have been outgrown as the neighborhoods have changed and any original reason for the nickname has ceased to be.

With the passing of "Puddin Street", there have passed as well the quaint and suggestive nicknames which were necessitated in a way by the prevalence of the same name, with no distinguishing initial. The family of Lords colonized largely in the ancient street, and the formal Samuel, John and Nathaniel were commonly distinguished, Hatter Sam, Tory Sam, Cape Ann Sam, Mackerel John, Militia John, India John and Captain John, Squire Nat, Hatter Nat, Handy Nat and Captain Nat. There was also a Gunner Bill. The Caldwell brothers bore the metallic surnames, Silver Nat, Golden Joe, and Copper Dan, with Brass Joan to complete the quartette. Golden Joe was a dealer in hogs. He drove his herd, sometimes a full hundred, about the streets and while he dickered with a customer and weighed the hog he had chosen by a rope hitched to its body, disturbing the peace of the whole neighborhood by its frightened squealing,

the rest of the pigs rooted at will by the roadside. The old pig-merchant suffered the rebukes of conscience in his old age, because he had sold the rope so many times with the pigs to his customers.

Old industries have passed away as well. "Cooper" Kimball, as Mr. John Kimball was always called, plied his trade for many years. The Stanwoods were wool pullers. The Turkey Shore tannery was the last in that line. The fine work of sawing veneers and turning bed posts at Smith's Mill, the Willowdale Mill with its varied output, the shoe-maker making boots and shoes by hand in his little shop, the hand frame weavers, producing nets, cardigans, underwear and hosiery, the Choate shipyard, are only things of memory.

Great shoals of alewives came up the river in the Spring and were seined at night by the light of torches under the arches of the old Stone Bridge. A line of dories intercepted their passage over the dam at the foot bridge, and great quantities were taken with a dip net. Fishing craft brought their fares to the wharves. Schooners sailed in with their freights of lumber, coal and merchandise. The ancient clam fishery is still pursued, but the picturesque fleet of dories, scudding before the wind with their white sails, has disappeared, but has been more than replaced by the larger fleet of motor boats, used for business and for pleasure. The last vestige of the porgy fishery was the "porgy house", that was the only building of any sort on Little Neck sixty years ago. The tents of a few camping parties were the forerunners of the crowded village of summer houses, which grow more pretentious and elaborate each year. The old "Carlotta", forced out of trade by the shoaling of the channel and the competition of cheaply run motor boats, disappeared a few years ago.

Another old-fashioned institution was the Town Liquor Agency. Capt. Richard Sutton was the first Agent under the Agency Law. William Haskell filled that office in 1856, in the old Probate building. In 1860, William Treadwell

had his shop at John Lummus's on High St., and Jeremiah Henderson succeeded him there. Luther Lord, Stephen Curn and Andrew Geyer were the Town Agents in later years.

Newspapers have risen, run their course and ceased to be. The Ipswich Journal, issued weekly by John H. Harris, a most interesting paper, began its career in July, 1827, and ended in August, 1828. The Ipswich Register, an admirable sheet, well edited by Eugene F. W. Gray, appeared on June 2, 1837. The final issue was on January 24, 1840. The Ipswich Clarion, edited by Timothy B. Ross, was published fortnightly from December 8, 1849, until May 11, 1850, twelve numbers. The Ipswich Bulletin, published once in two weeks by John S. E. Rogers of the Gloucester Telegraph, began its issues on October 12, 1866, but was suspended in the following year.

The Ipswich Advance, Edward B. Putnam, editor, began publication July 3, 1871 and continued until March 16, 1872, when it was purchased by Edward L. Davenport and Frederic M. Goodwin, who changed the name to the Ipswich Chronicle. Mr. Goodwin sold his interest to his partner in January, 1873, who sold to Lyman H. Daniels. He assumed charge on January 6, 1877. Mr. I. J. Potter became a partner with Mr. Daniels January 1, 1881, and purchased his interest June 4, 1881. The large folio sheet was changed to quarto form in September, 1882. The Chronicle Publishing Company purchased the paper April 13, 1891, and Mr. George A. Schofield assumed control as Manager. The Ipswich Independent was established Sept. 10, 1886, by Mr. Charles G. Hull. It passed into the hands of Mr. Lewis R. Hovey, who removed to Haverhill and incorporated the paper with other publications.

Some old customs are still observed. It was voted in 1777 that the ministers take turns in opening Town meeting with prayer, and no annual Town meeting has been held since that day without this reverent exercise. The curfew bell was

THE JAMES APPLETON MEMORIAL FOUNTAIN

rung at nine o'clock in 1769, and the noon bell began to be rung in 1827.

Until the year 1859, the various burying grounds were owned by the several Parishes, and their condition was often one of deplorable neglect. In that year the Town took ownership, the Parishes relinquishing their claims, and proceeded at once to improve the grounds, rebuild the walls and repair the fences. The iron fence at the ancient High Street yard was erected in 1861. In 1895, the "Episcopal Cemetery", so called, adjoining the burying-ground on the South Side, which had been purchased and held by Rev. John Cotton Smith and others, was conveyed to the Town. A notable improvement in all the cemeteries has resulted. The grass is mowed, flower beds have been installed, and the ancient stones provided with metal caps and otherwise cared for.

The South Green, a low, unsightly spot, was filled and graded at the expense of the Town in 1892. A fine lawn was established, and after a short interval of maintenance by the South Side people, the Town assumed the expense. Under the charge of the Town Park Commissioners, the perfectly kept lawn, with a few bright flower beds, bordered with the splendid elms, has become a spot of rare beauty.

At the northern end of this Green, a beautiful and imposing drinking fountain of Tennessee marble was erected in the summer of 1916 by Francis R. Appleton and members of his family, in remembrance of his deceased son. The large memorial tablet bears the inscription:

IN MEMORY OF JAMES APPLETON, 1899-1915

Below this is a quotation from Longfellow's "Killed at the Ford."

. THE BEAUTIFUL YOUTH,
THE HEART OF HONOR, THE TONGUE OF TRUTH.

HE, THE LIFE AND LIGHT OF US ALL,
WHOSE VOICE WAS BLITHE AS A BUGLE CALL,
WHOM ALL EYES FOLLOWED WITH ONE CONSENT,
THE CHEER OF WHOSE LAUGH AND WHOSE PLEASANT WORD,
HUSHED ALL MURMURS OF DISCONTENT.

Beneath the tablet, a "bubbler" has been installed, and on the marble base below it, appear the lines, found on an old fountain at Shanklin, Isle of Wight:

DRINK OF THIS FOUNTAIN
PURE AND SWEET.
IT FLOWS FOR THE RICH AND POOR THE SAME,
THE CUP OF WATER
IN HIS NAME.

A few feet in front of the shaft, with its inscribed tablets, a large, oval fountain for horses is installed, on the edge of the much travelled State Highway. This monumental fountain, the bronze memorial tablets on the triangular Green, erected by Mr. Appleton for the Historical Society, the noble Greek front of the meeting house of the South Parish, the stately and historic family mansions close at hand, the ancient elms over arching all and the long vista of the Green, blend in perfect harmony and with impressive dignity and beauty.

A little beyond the Green and the old Training Field, the small but attractive Giles Firmin Garden forms a striking foreground to the wooded slopes of Heart Break Hill in the distance.

On the breezy summit of Windmill Hill the Benjamin Stickney Cable Memorial Hospital is now in process of erection. The Ipswich Hospital Corporation was incorporated July 28, 1910. An ambulance was contributed by Mr. James H. Proctor, and for several years it was used in transporting sick and injured to the hospitals in Salem and Beverly. The ultimate end of the Corporation was to build a hospital. Funds

THE BENJAMIN STICKNEY CABLE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL

were being collected, tentative plans for a building had been secured, and a Committee was moving to procure a suitable lot. Mr. Richard T. Crane, Jr., one of the Trustees and actively interested in the hospital plans, while entertaining his friend, Mr. Benjamin Stickney Cable, met with a severe automobile accident, which resulted in the death of Mr. Cable. In memory of his friend, Mr. Crane proposed to the Trustees that he would build and equip the hospital, and the Trustees gave cordial assent. The large and conveniently located lot on Windmill Hill, where the old "Parting Paths" turns from the Bay Road, was purchased and work was advanced sufficiently by mid-summer for the laying of the corner stone by Mr. and Mrs. Crane, with appropriate exercises on July 22, 1916.

The "Meeting House Green", with its rugged ledges, well-kept grass plots, with flower beds and monuments, is a very attractive civic center. The summit of the hill is crowned by the fine steeple of the meeting-house of the First Parish, which had a narrow escape when it was struck by lightning on the afternoon of August 8, 1916, and set on fire at the very top. The ancient weather-cock, if not the whole structure, seemed doomed to destruction, and the Town held its breath for a heavy half hour, until the fire was checked before serious damage was done.

Near the meeting-house are two public institutions of great value to the community. The Public Library was planned by Augustine Heard, Esq. and Prof. Daniel Treadwell, independently of each other, and each made provision for it by generous gift. Mr. Heard proceeded, however, to erect the building and established the library. The exercises of dedication occurred on March 9, 1869. Prof Treadwell, in his will, made a large addition to the endowment. The Trustees of the two funds have administered the Library in very liberal fashion, and it rarely happens that, in a town no larger than this, there is such free access and such large privilege to the public.

The Coburn Home for the Aged is a benevolent enterprise of great and far-reaching value. Miss Abby A. Coburn, daughter of Stephen Coburn and Lucy B. (Smith), died in 1891, bequeathing the homestead to Trustees, to be used after the death of her sister Lucy C. Coburn, as a Home for worthy and needy persons of both sexes, not under sixty years of age, natives and residents of Ipswich. She provided that it should be called, in memory of her mother, "The Lucy B. Coburn Home for the Aged," and endowed it with a fund of nearly \$60,000. Her sister died in 1906, making a bequest of \$40,000 to the Trustees, and in addition, the residue of her estate, providing that any unused balance of income from this source might be used in supplying the poor of Ipswich with medical attendance, nurses and medicines.

The Coburn Charitable Society was incorporated in February, 1910, and took over the funds held by the Trustees. The dwelling has been remodeled and provides convenient and attractive accommodation for the occupants. Here, too, the district nurses, supported by the Coburn Trustees, make their home. Their daily ministries to the sick and needy are of inestimable value, not only for the immediate relief afforded, but for the instruction they impart by their skilful care and their wise suggestions.

The Ipswich Historical Society was organized on April 14, 1890. After a number of years of migratory existence, it established itself in the old Probate Building in January, 1896, and began a collection of articles of antique interest and a library. Two years later by the contributions of members and friends, it was able to purchase the ancient Whipple House, repair and restore it. Here the Society has made its home, and the extraordinary interest of the interior architecture, the fine collection of old furniture and relics of the olden times, and the numerous Publications have brought the Society into wide notice.

When the Whipple House was purchased, the corner lot adjoining was not included. An old and dilapidated house on this lot, with its outbuildings, was a menace to the safety of the old mansion, and impaired the artistic value of the work of restoration. By the generous kindness of Mrs. Loring, wife of Judge William C. Loring of the Massachusetts Supreme Court and daughter of the late Amos A. Lawrence, the owner of the Ipswich Mills, who contributed \$1800 for the purpose, the Society was enabled to purchase the corner in 1899, remove the buildings and lay out an attractive garden. Mr. Lawrence frequently came in to the old house and had often expressed the wish that it might be preserved. A bronze tablet in the garden bears the inscription,

1899

THIS GARDEN WAS GIVEN TO
THE IPSWICH HISTORICAL SOCIETY
IN MEMORY
OF
AMOS ADAMS LAWRENCE
OF
BOSTON

For many years the Historical Society has desired a new fire-proof building, to serve as a memorial of the Andros Resistance and other notable events in Ipswich history, of noteworthy citizens, and the arts and industries of many generations. In this building, a hall for the use of the Society and rooms for the museum and library would be secured, and in the ancient House, opportunity would be afforded to reproduce as nearly as possible a seventeenth century interior. Mrs. Alice Cogswell Bemis, daughter of Daniel and Mercy Cogswell of Ipswich, wife of Judson M. Bemis of Colorado Springs, Col. a Life Member and generous supporter of the Society, has made a notable gift of \$10,000 as a contribution to the building fund.

The Post-office in Stephen Coburn's day is well remem-

bered by many, a humble affair in the corner of his store in the Coburn Building, with a diminutive set of private boxes. He was the eighth Postmaster. The Post-office was established on May 4, 1775 with Dea. James Foster as Postmaster. Daniel Noyes succeeded him on Oct. 5, 1775, and after twenty-five years of continuous service, gave place to Joseph Lord, who received his appointment November 25, 1800.

Isaac Smith was appointed on July 1, 1805 and Nathan Jaques on Sept. 14, 1807. Mr. Jaques owned the building, afterwards occupied by William Willcomb as a shop for confectionery, and the Post-office was located here, it has been said, for the eleven years he administered its affairs. Capt. Ammi Smith succeeded him, Oct. 5, 1818, and as he was in possession of the Woolen Factory building, later known as the Coburn Building, at that time, it is very probable that the office was removed to that location. James H. Kendall was the Postmaster for three years, beginning Aug. 10, 1829, and then came Mr. Coburn's long tenure from Aug. 28, 1832 to April 18, 1861. During his term of office, postage stamps were introduced, the five and ten cent in 1847, the one and three in 1851, and stamped envelopes in 1853. He was succeeded by John H. Varrell. Joseph L. Akerman received his appointment July 20, 1865 and on January 3, 1868 John H. Cogswell was commissioned.

The Office was then located in the old Probate Building. After eighteen years, Mr. Cogswell was succeeded by Edward P. Kimball, on Aug. 2, 1886. The volume of business had increased so greatly that larger quarters were required and removal was made to the present location. Luther Wait was commissioned Postmaster July 23, 1890; George A. Schofield, August 16, 1894, who resigned after three years to avoid conflict with his duties as Selectman; George P. Smith, May 4, 1898. Mr. Smith died April 23, 1900, and his widow completed his term, receiving her commission Dec. 10, 1900.

Luther Wait was re-appointed May 8, 1902. J. Howard Lakeman, the present incumbent, was appointed May 1, 1914.

Within a few years, the Office has been enlarged, and delivery of mail by carriers has been established, as well as a rural delivery for the convenience of outlying districts. The reduction of letter postage from three cents to two, the use of postal cards, the adoption of the cheap money order system, the parcel post, and the postal deposit for savings have enlarged very greatly the convenience and utility of the Post-office system.

Coincidentally with the development of the Post-office, the banking system of the Town has been correspondingly enlarged. The first local institution was the Ipswich Bank. It was incorporated March 25, 1833, with a capital of \$100,000, George W. Heard, President, Joseph Lord, cashier. It was located in the dwelling next north of the Manning house, now in the possession of Ernest E. Currier. It ceased operation many years ago.

The Ipswich Savings Bank was incorporated on March 20, 1869. For a long time, while Theodore F. Cogswell was Treasurer, the bank business was carried on in the counting-room of his country store. He erected the building, now occupied, in 1892, and the Savings Bank was installed there in the same year. In the forty-eight years of its existence, the deposits have grown to the grand total, \$1,080,483.54, in its last statement, May, 1917.

For many years, business transactions had been hampered by the necessity of making deposits in a National Bank in some city, upon which checks might be drawn. To remedy this need, the First National Bank of Ipswich was incorporated July 12, 1892 and began business in rooms in the Savings Bank Building on July 25th. Its capital was \$50,000. It has met with gratifying success. A Bank Building, valued at \$20,000, has been erected. Its surplus and undi-

vided profits exceed \$50,000. Its individual deposits, subject to checks amount to \$251,593; its total demand deposits payable to its eight hundred depositors are \$305,449.

As an incentive to the building or acquiring of homes, a Co-operative Bank was established a few years ago, and has met with gratifying success.

Fraternal orders flourish and abound. Most venerable of all, Unity Lodge of Freemasons was organized on March 9, 1779, with a charter granted in the State, but held no meetings after 1829. John T. Heard Lodge was chartered Aug. 26, 1864. The Agawam Lodge of Odd Fellows was instituted Nov. 13, 1844, dissolved Feb. 2, 1854, reinstated Dec. 11, 1854, charter surrendered Nov. 30, 1858, again reinstated Feb. 18, 1865. The Order of the Eastern Star, an organization of women, is affiliated with the Masonic Lodge, and the Daughters of Rebecca with the Odd Fellows. Syracuse Lodge Knights of Pythias was instituted Nov. 1, 1888. A Pythian Sisterhood has also been organized. Massasoit Lodge, Ancient Order of United Workmen, was organized May 4, 1886, Chebacco Tribe of the Improved Order of Red Men in 1889, Carrollton Council, Knights of Columbus, in 1900 and the affiliated Daughters of Isabella in January, 1908, Agawam Aerie, Fraternal Order of Eagles, March 17, 1907. The French citizens have their societies, La Société des Artisans, organized April 7, 1902, and the Society St. John Baptist of America, Champlain Council, organized Sept. 5, 1909.

To these must be added, Gen. Appleton Post, Grand Army of the Republic, organized in 1882, the Relief Corps, Ipswich Grange, Patrons of Husbandry, and the Woman's Club, organized in 1898.

Always abreast of the times, Ipswich welcomed the moving picture. The "Kinetoscope", as it was called by its inventor, Thomas A. Edison, was patented in 1891. Some years later, it was exhibited here. The cozy theatre in the Opera House

is now the home of the "movies", which enjoy great popularity with young and old. The daily exhibitions, the low price, the great range of the pictures in variety and quality, have made this new device for the entertainment of the public a distinct feature of modern life.

Various and numerous and revolutionary as these changes in the old Ipswich are, the most striking certainly remains to be noted, the great and constantly increasing change in the character of the population. Until the year 1822, the people of Ipswich were almost without exception native Americans and invariably Ipswich born. The migration of the English lace and hosiery makers, which then began, introduced an alien element, which was scarcely recognized as foreign, because of the identity of race and language, and the sympathetic union which was easily made. The opening of the cotton factory in 1827 wrought no essential change. The operatives were largely residents of the Town, and the rest were country girls from rural New England communities. Thirty years ago, a large portion of the help in the hosiery mill was still native born. Many girls came from quiet homes in Maine and the neighboring British Provinces, and found ready welcome in the homes, the churches and all social circles.

The first variant element was the incoming of the Irish, driven from their homes by oppressive land laws, the failure of crops, which resulted in severe famine, and general unrest. They adhered, naturally, to the Catholic religion, but they spoke our language, and were readily assimilated as citizens. A priest from Newburyport ministered to them spiritually until 1871, when Rev. Wm. H. Ryan of Beverly took charge. In 1873, they had increased sufficiently in numbers and strength to erect a church edifice which was dedicated Nov. 9, 1873. Rev. John M. Donovan has been the Parish Priest for many years.

Gradually more diverse elements have found place among

us. A migration of French speaking Canadians was the first of an alien language to appear. They found employment in the hosiery mill, and soon took the places of the girls from New England towns and the Provinces. Within a few years, a large influx of Greeks, Poles, Russian Jews, and some of other European nationalities, compelled to leave their native land by unjust oppressions or unsatisfactory conditions, have been attracted by the industrial opportunities offered by the Ipswich Mills and the large heel-factory of Frank H. Burke and Son.

They all hold loyally and rigidly to their religious faith.

The Polish Catholics have become so numerous that they erected in 1908 a large church edifice, the Church of the Sacred Heart, and a rectory adjoining for their Priest, Rev. T. Charles Ryc. The French speaking Catholics have built their church and rectory more recently. Their Priest is Rev. G. Stanislas Vermette.

The Jewish residents have established their synagogue, that they may worship with the rites and ritual of their ancient religion. The Greeks, devoted members of the great Eastern Church, have their house of worship, erected in 1907, St. Mary Greek Orthodox Church. Their Priest, full bearded, garbed in his striking priestly dress, brings a touch of color to our streets.

Greek shops for food supplies and dry goods, Greek barbers, tailors, cobblers, the Greek Club House with its conspicuous sign in the Greek language, Polish shops, as well, Jewish department store and clothing shops, Jewish junk-dealers, the Italian cobbler, the Armenian florist, scores of unpronounceable names in the Poll List, the street talk in Greek and Polish and other unknown tongues, have completed the transformation of the old New England town. Though the population by the last census was 6272, the English speaking, American born, constitute probably a steadily decreasing fraction.

Great and regrettable as many of these changes are, Ipswich has not lost the great traditions of her Past. The generous love of learning, fostered by the old Grammar School in its best days and the Ipswich Seminary, is manifest still in the steady improvement of her free public schools, at an annual expense which has increased constantly until the great maximum of \$43,000 was voted cheerfully and without debate at the Town Meeting of 1917. Year by year, the pupils pass on to higher institutions of learning. Thirty-seven young men and women of Ipswich have taken College honors within the past twenty years. Some of our Ipswich scholars are occupying positions of distinguished honor and usefulness in the field of letters or in art.

Arthur Wesley Dow, after completing his studies in the Putnam High School, Newburyport, and with Prof. John P. Cowles, began the study of Art in Boston and continued his studies in Paris, as a pupil of Boulanger and Lefebvre. He was an Instructor in Art at Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, 1895-1904, and taught Composition at the Art Students' League, New York, 1897-1903. Since 1904, he has been Professor of Fine Arts, Teachers' College, Columbia University. For several years he was Curator of Japanese Art at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. He exhibited in the Paris Salon in 1886-7, received Honorable Mention in Paris, 1889, and a Medal at the Buffalo Exposition. Professor Dow's "Composition", published in 1898, has been received with great favor and has passed through five editions. His Summer School of Art in Ipswich was conducted with fine success for several years, drawing large numbers of students and teachers of Art from all sections of the Country.

Harry Walter Tyler was graduated from the Manning High School, and from the Institute of Technology in 1884. He was a student at the University of Gottingen, 1887-8, and gained his degree of Ph. D. at the University of Erlangen in 1889. He became an Assistant in the mathematical depart-

ment at the Institute upon his graduation, and attained a full professorship in 1893. Since 1901 he has been the head of his department. Prof. Tyler is a member of many learned societies, and has published "Entertainments in Chemistry," 1886, and monographs and articles in technical and educational journals.

Arthur Smith Kimball was graduated from the New England Conservatory of Music, Boston, in 1879, and was in charge of the musical department at Buchtel College, Ohio, 1880-1883. From 1883 to 1892, he was Instructor in Singing, Oberlin Conservatory, and has held his position as Professor since 1892. He was a student at Berlin in 1886, at Berlin and Florence, 1887-8, at London, 1892 and at Paris, 1909-10. Prof. Kimball received the honorary degree of Master of Arts at the Oberlin Commencement in 1915. The "characterization" of his work was of notable interest.

Another member of the Conservatory faculty, Mr. President, a graduate of the New England Conservatory of Music, has for more than thirty years been instructor and professor of Singing in this institution. While performing the duties of this position always in the most admirable fashion, he has for many years greatly enriched the community life on the musical side by the rare taste and skill with which he has directed the great chorus choir of the Second Congregational Church, and he has achieved an enviable success in the field of painting. I present to you, Mr. President, Arthur Smith Kimball, master already of more arts than one, for the honorary degree of Master of Arts.

Ipswich women too have attained high place in the ranks of educators. Louise Manning Hodgkins and Harriet Stanwood have been noted.¹ Elizabeth Hatch Palmer, graduating from the Manning High School in 1883, entered Wellesley College and received her degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1887. After a graduate year at Wellesley, she became an Instructor in Latin at Wheaton Seminary, Norton, upon the

¹ Pages 572, 574.

recommendation of Professor and Mrs. Cowles. After ten years of service at Wheaton, she was a graduate student at Yale University in the classics, 1898-1900, and was an Instructor in Greek at Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1900-1901. She became an Instructor in Latin at Vassar, 1902, received the degree of Ph.D. at Yale, 1905, and was appointed Associate Professor of Latin at Vassar, 1905, which position she still holds. Professor Palmer spent a year, 1909-10, at the American School of Classical Studies at Rome, and four summers since in Italy and Germany. She published an article, "Roman Coins as Illustrative Material in Art and Archeology", in April, 1917.

Many other Ipswich scholars, College graduates, have entered the so-called learned professions, the ministry, law and medicine, or are engaged successfully in teaching, or in business pursuits. A very interesting group of artists, not Ipswich born but resident for many years, contribute to the artistic tone of our community. Theodore Wendel spent a year at Munich, as pupil of Duveneek, one of the most famous of American artists, several years at Florence and Venice and studied later at the Julian Academy in Paris. He received a bronze Medal at Munich for drawing from life, a gold Medal, the Jennie Sesnan Prize, for the best landscape at the Exhibition of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts at Philadelphia in 1909, a bronze Medal at the Buenos Ayres International Exposition, 1910, and a silver Medal for landscape at the Panama Exhibition, 1915.

Henry P. Kenyon went to Paris in 1884 and was there three years in Julian's and the Beaux-Arts, then a few years in France and Italy. He has exhibited in the Salon, the Chicago Art Institute, Boston Art Club, the New York Academy of Design and elsewhere. John W. Mansfield studied at the Academy of Design, and was four years at Paris, in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, the pupil of Bonnat and Daubigny. Francis H. Richardson began his art studies

with William Morris Hunt in Boston, and in Paris was pupil of Boulanger and Lefebvre. He exhibited in the Salon, receiving Honorary Mention, and in Munich. He received a Medal at the exhibition of the American Art Association at Philadelphia. He has exhibited at the Academies of Design in New York and Philadelphia, the Chicago Art Institute and other Exhibitions. Miss Alice Heard and Mrs. Kenyon have done excellent work as portrait painters, especially of children.

Coming with the early Summer and tarrying until late Autumn in their country homes, entering intimately into the life of the community, the Summer dwellers bring a valued civic and social element. To the ancient Appleton Farm, granted originally to Samuel, the immigrant, the home of every generation of his descendants, migrates the family group, loyal to the ancestral acres, Francis R. Appleton, lately an Overseer of Harvard University, President of the Harvard Club in New York City, Vice-President of the Waltham Watch Company, and Director of the Cape Cod Canal Corporation, his sons, Francis R. Jr. and Charles L., his brothers, James W. and Randolph M. Appleton, and his sons-in-law, Clarence L. Hay and William G. Wendell, all Harvard graduates; Bayard Tuckerman, Harvard graduate, man of letters, author of a History of English Prose Fiction and Lives of Gen. Lafayette, Peter Stuyvesant, and Gen. Schuyler; Roland Cotton Smith, D. D., Rector of St. John's Episcopal Church, Washington, D. C. and William G. Thayer, A. M. and D. D., Head Master of St. Mark's School, Southboro, since 1894, both Amherst graduates and welcome preachers in mid-summer in the Episcopal Church.

On the crest of Town Hill, George F. Swain has his summer home, Professor of Civil Engineering in the Graduate School of Applied Science at Harvard University, Chairman of the Boston Transit Commission, member of many learned societies, and expert authority on all engineering problems.

The Argilla neighborhood, famous from the earliest times for the distinguished character of its land-owners, draws to itself a unique group of the finest quality. Here are the homes of Joseph L. Goodale, Instructor of Laryngology in Harvard Medical School since 1908, author of many papers on diseases of the throat, Herman F. Vickery, Instructor for many years in clinical medicine in the Harvard Medical School, J. Dellinger Barney, Eugene A. Crocket, James M. Jackson, Robert B. Osgood, William B. Robbins, Edwin W. Taylor, and Charles W. Townsend, all graduates of Harvard or its Medical School or both, and all practising physicians or specialists in Boston; Augustus N. Rantoul, the architect, Arthur A. Shurtleff, the landscape architect, Roger S. Warner, the lawyer, another Harvard group, and Richard T. Crane, Jr., graduate of the Yale Scientific School. Henry N. Berry, Charles Bohlen, George L. Deblois, Robert G. Dodge, Herbert W. Mason and James H. Proctor, of our Summer Colony, are graduates also of the ancient College, to which Ipswich gave John Rogers, one of its earliest Presidents, and sent William Hubbard to be graduated in her first class.

The love of the beautiful is stimulated by the splendid gardens of George E. Barnard and Richard T. Crane Jr., many fine estates and attractive homes, and the well kept Greens. The finest philanthropy is evident in the numerous agencies for the care of the poor, the relief of sickness, the welfare of children, the elevation of the home.

Ready to respond to many wars in her long Past, Ipswich is now girding herself for the World War, in which America is now engaged. On June 5, 1917, the Registration Day, 671 young men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one inclusive, enrolled their names, 347 aliens and 324 native born, naturalized or intention declared. Of these 214 claimed no exemption from military service. The soldiers of the Na-

tional Guard, seasoned by their peaceful campaign of 1916 on the Mexican border, are awaiting the call to arms.

A local Branch of the Red Cross has been organized and active work has already begun for providing funds and supplies of many kinds. The Liberty Loan found liberal subscribers among the rich and poor, native and foreign born, and the fine total of \$218,000 was realized. The call of the President for a hundred million dollars for the Red Cross, to be collected during the week June 18 to 25, following close upon the Liberty Loan, met with willing and free handed response, and the contribution of \$15,000.

The pressure of the great War is manifest in the high prices for food supplies, which have now increased more than a hundred per cent above the normal in some instances. Private gardens have been planted very generally, and several large areas have been ploughed and divided into small plots for co-operative cultivation. The wages of the man with the hoe, the mill operatives, and the workers in many industries have risen as well, perhaps in proportionate degree. The most careful conservation of food is being urged by the National Government and preparations are being made for the canning of fruits and vegetables in every household to meet the threatened scarcity of food in the coming Winter. Economy and Thrift are popular by-words. Proud of her Past, the Ipswich of today is facing the unknown to-morrow, hopefully, calmly and bravely.

APPENDIX I

A LIST OF SOLDIERS AND SAILORS CREDITED TO IPSWICH IN THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.

(Mr. Felt, in the Appendix to his History of Ipswich, mentions some names which are not found in the Rolls which I have examined. These have been included in the List but are credited to him.—T. F. W.)

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* Benj. Burnham, s. Benjamin and Jane, was bapt. June 5, 1737.
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APPENDIX II.

NARRATIVE OF THE WRECK OF THE SHIP "DORCHESTER" CAPT. EBEN CALDWELL.

The *Dorchester* left Liverpool on the 28th of November (1845) about noon. We had good weather in the channel and cleared the land in about sixty hours from port. The wind prevailed westerly and south westerly, after that, keeping us to the North, but allowing us to make pretty good progress to the westward.

On Wednesday, December 11th, I found myself by observation at noon, in lat. 50° N. and long. $23^{\circ} 30'$ West. (I write from notes made after we were taken from the wreck, having lost log-book, journal, and all other records). The wind was then south-west with fresh breezes and the ship under double reefed topsails. We were making a good course and good progress toward home, and towards the loved ones gathered around the family table and family altar. We were used to blue water and rough weather and we thought not of danger. We deemed not how soon some of us were to be called from the scenes of this world to the solemn realities of eternity.

The barometer was standing at noon at 29.50. It was not again observed until a little after 4 P. M. when it had fallen to 28.75 or three-fourths of an inch in about four hours. As this was an unusually rapid fall, all hands were immediately called to take in sail and prepare for a contest with the mighty elements; a storm was evidently at hand. Our topsails were close reefed, courses, jib, spanker, etc. were well furled, for the barometer told us plainly that the gale would be a heavy one. By half past six P. M. we had furled everything but the close reefed fore and main top sails and fore-topmast stay-sail. The barometer had fallen 28.50 and continued falling and the storm had already commenced. At 8 P. M. the gale was very heavy, attended with incessant flashes of lightning in the eastern board and raining in torrents. The wind had veered to S. S. W. by compass, or about S. by E. true course.

At 10 P. M. the fore top-sail and fore top-mast stay-sail were taken in, and very soon after the wind changed to west, and the gale was so terrific that I did not dare to loose any canvass to wear ship. The barometer had fallen to 28.25, that is a quarter of an inch lower than I had ever seen it before at sea. [Note.—In the great gale at Liverpool, Jan. 13, 1843, the barometer fell to 27.87, the lowest known in England for about fifty years]. The watch were all the time employed during the night, securing the sails to the varas by putting on extra gaskets. It was blowing so hard that it was with difficulty men could go aloft or hold on when there, and it took four or five to do what one could easily have done in moderate weather.

Thursday, Dec. 12, at last dawned upon us and the ocean presented one of the most grand and awful spectacles that the eye of man ever beheld. Lashed into fury by the tremendous force of the wind, it was one clear broad sheet of angry foam as far as the eye could reach. At one moment we were walled in between two immense heaps of water, which seemed ready to engulf us. At the next, we were upborne to the very summit of one of these same watery mountains and looked down into the valleys on either side. Everything about deck was made as snug as possible. Extra lashings were put upon spars, boats, etc. and every precaution taken to prevent damage and the men were cautioned to be on deck only when duty called them there. The *Dorchester* was an excellent sea-boat, and as strong a ship as ever was built. At thirty minutes past noon, the clew of the main top-sail gave way and the sail blew into ribbons. Our ship continued tight and strong and made no complaint and scarcely a bucket of water had been shipped on deck for the day. Even after the loss of the main top-sail she continued to make good weather.

At 3 P. M. the spencer was set. At about half past three P. M. as I was standing in the companion way, the man at the wheel sung out "look out, look out, there." I immediately closed the companion door and stepped down one stair; by the time I had done so, the sea was upon us, bringing in the companion doors and carrying me with them to the cabin below. The crash on deck was loud and long, tremendous beyond the power of conception. It seemed as though the ship must be broken to atoms. If she had been lifted fifty feet in the air and dropped on a ledge, the concussion could not have seemed greater. The water continued pouring down upon me so long that I thought the ship was sinking. I had lost my breath and was completely exhausted before it ceased. As soon as I could I dragged myself on deck. Who, my friend, can describe to you the spectacle that met my sight, or who describe my emotions on beholding it! Mast gone, bulwarks on one side nearly gone, boats stove, houses stove and gone, and the whole surface of the water around covered with things from the ship and fragments of the wreck.

One man only was to be seen on deck. He had secured himself to the wheel by a bowline around his body and made fast to windward. Of him I inquired if all the rest of the watch was lost. He said Mr. Hooper (second officer) was and he believed the carpenter; he did not know about the rest. I looked around for these men but nothing could be seen of them. Mr. Hooper had sailed with me from the commencement of his sea life. He was my nephew, a good officer, and a smart sea man, beloved and respected by every one on board. Judge then what my feelings were to lose him at such a time. Nothing, however, could be done for the dead, and my attention immediately reverted to the living.

Forty-five living beings yet remained on board, and the question for me then to solve was, "what can I do to save them." Orders were instantly given to cut clear of the spars. We now found the main and misen-mast, with all the spars attached, were on the weather side of the ship, hanging by the lee rigging which led down under the keel. Strange as it may appear, the ship had been carried over her spars. Probably the great leak in the ship was in her bottom, caused by striking against these spars when she went over them, or before we could get clear of them. The order to clear the wreck was no sooner given than obeyed. Axes, hatchets and knives were put in requisition, and men went to work in perfect order, but with an earnestness and a resolution which seemed to say, if our lives depend on our exertions we will save them. By the time we got clear of our spars it was dark. The pump was sounded and two feet of water found in it, while as much more was awashing about between decks. "To the pumps, men, to the pumps."

The pumps were set to work. I now had a moment for reflection, if one could reflect in such a scene.

I was in the middle of the ocean, about 700 miles from the nearest land, about 100 north of the usual track of vessels crossing the Atlantic, all my spars gone by the board, my boats stove in, my ship broken down amid ships, and leaking so fast that I did not expect to keep her afloat until morning; old ocean's angry surges seemed ready to swallow us up every moment; the blackness of darkness was around us; the wind was roaring and howling on deck; men were groaning, women screaming and children crying below. Such was our situation and such our prospects on the night of the 12th of December—a night I shall not soon forget—a night long and dreary. At daylight on the morning of the 13th of December, we had eight feet of water in the hold. Our ship would but just swim, and it was evident that unless we could find and stop a part of the leaks, a very few hours would terminate our earthly pilgrimage.

On examination we found twelve chain bolts drawn from the lee side of the ship, leaving of course, as many holes, of about one and a quarter inches diameter, through the ship's side. These rolled deep under the water at every roll of the ship, so deep that men were unwilling to risk themselves over the side to stop them. An attempt was made to stop them by driving long plugs through from the inside. In this we failed, and I determined to try the outside. Short plugs of pine about six inches long and sharp at one end were prepared, when one of the men, with a rope made fast around him, got over the side, with a plug in one hand and top-mall (large hammer) in the other. Watching his opportunity, he would stick in the plug, and if possible strike it once with his top-mall, and then look out for himself until another roll of the ship allowed him to drive it in tight. In this way we succeeded in plugging all the bolt holes.

We had accomplished that much by 11 o'clock A. M. Both pumps were kept going three men pumping at a time at each pump, being relieved every half hour. We had now been without food since noon the day before, or twenty-three hours. We had had no sleep during the night;

wet to the skin all the time, and hard at work for our lives, we were very much exhausted. We had no time to make a fire and could not have made one if we had. Some bread, cheese and cold meat were given to the men, and a tablespoonful of brandy was given to each. Both pumps continued all that day and all that night and all day on Saturday, the 14th.

This day, Saturday, we succeeded in making a fire and boiling some beef and making some tea. The water continued swashing about so as to extinguish the fire several times while doing this, and it was with difficulty that the men could keep themselves at the pumps, even with the aid of bowlines. This day got up one of our chains and let it go overboard to lighten ship. At 2 P. M. saw a ship some six or seven miles off but she took no notice of us. At eight P. M., having had no sleep since Thursday morning, one watch were permitted to go below and at twelve o'clock midnight, the watchers were changed so as to give each watch four hours rest. At four A. M. on Sunday, a request was made to permit each watch to have two hours more rest. I was inclined to grant it, but on sounding the pump we found that the water had gained six inches in the last eight hours and all agreed that we must rest no more for the present.

At six A. M. the passengers, men, women and boys were sent for from the steerage, to go to work to lighten the ship by passing goods up through the cabin. One woman said as she came into the cabin, that when coming along the deck, she did not know whether she was overboard or not. All seemed dejected and desponding, but something to do is a sovereign remedy for such maladies. No sooner were they fairly at work, than their countenances began to brighten and they became quite cheerful. Before noon the girls made themselves merry, joking each other about selecting wedding dresses from among the printed muslins and other fancy goods we were throwing overboard. On opening a package of Highland shawls all the women selected one each. As they were all wet, and had no dry clothes for a change, I made no objection, only telling them they must not be difficult about the pattern, nor spend much time in the selection as we had no time to lose. This forenoon succeeded in making hot tea, which with bread and cheese refreshed us again very much. One watch while resting from the pumps, got one anchor off the bows and let it go overboard and hove over all the water casks and everything about deck except spars, in order to lighten the ship. Thus all hands, men, women and children, who were able, were kept at work.

At about 3 P. M. a sail was seen by one of the men, who immediately gave notice by the usual cry of "Sail ho!" A more joyful sound never vibrated on my ears. I was below at the time, breaking open boxes of goods. Taking my spy-glass in my hand, I hastened on deck. The distant sail was but a speck above the horizon, but as she bore east of us, I was confident she was bound westerly and would pass near enough for us to be seen by those on board, if night did not too soon draw her dark veil over us.

All hands kept steadily at work while I watched the approaching stranger. It was an hour of the most intense anxiety. Is she a small or a large vessel? If small, will she be able to take us all off? Small or large can she take us off as the weather is? Will the master have resolution enough to make the attempt? Will she see us before dark? These and a thousand similar questions arose to the mind in quick succession. One thinks fast at such a time. Before we could decide anything as to the size of the vessel approaching, one of the crew came to me and put the following question: "If she should prove to be a small vessel, and the captain can not or will not take all, who shall go first?" Without a moment's hesitation I answered "the women and children." To this he gave his hearty and cheerful assent and added, "We (the crew) have been talking about it and we will stick together—all or none." I only mention this to show the perfect good order and good feeling among the crew.

But the speck above the horizon soon increased in size to our vision and in about three-fourths of an hour we made her out a large ship. Soon she came near enough for us to see her hull as she rose on top of the sea; but she continued on her way and it was evident she had not seen us. As she was steering she would have gone about four miles from us. All were still at work pumping and lightening the ship, but every eye was turned toward the stranger. All had been done that we could do to attract the attention of those on board; still she pursued her undeviating course and every countenance began to wear the gloom of despondency. The men began to tell each other of having passed wrecks at sea when their captains would not go near them. But now when we had begun to despair, the noble ship, following the impulse given her

by her rudder, swung boldly round, turning her head directly for us. Her yards were braced round, light sails taken in, and all doubts as to her coming to our rescue entirely ceased. Orders were given for every one to leave work and prepare a small bundle of clothes in readiness for leaving the ship.

It was by this time so dark that a lantern was hung up as high as we could get it, that we might not be lost sight of. Soon the ship came as near as the captain thought safe, and hove to with her main sail to the mast. After a short time (which to us however seemed long) a boat was seen close to us. It was so dark that she could not be seen when she left the ship. I hailed her and asked if they would take us off. The officer answered "Yes we will try to save all lives, but my orders were not to attempt to save any baggage." This may seem like an unkind order—I confess it seemed to me so at first, but a moment's reflection convinced me of its perfect propriety. To understand this it will be necessary to consider the circumstances under which it was given. It was dark. The barometer was standing at 28.40, low enough for a hurricane at that very moment; the weather was squally; black and angry looking clouds were hanging all around us and no one could tell that we should not have a gale the next minute and there was quite as much sea running as a boat could live in.

All must see that life was the first object, and that it was no time to keep men in a boat to save property. We had, besides the ship's company, 29 passengers, mostly women and children. Our ship was rolling so much (and the same might be said of the other ship) that a boat would be stove and swamped in a moment, if hauled alongside so as to come in contact with her. How, then, were these women and children to be transferred from the ship to the boat? To do this at such a time was no children's play. A single wrong movement might prove fatal, not only to the person we were putting on board, but to all in the boat, and by the loss of the boat, fatal to all in our ship and by weakening the other ship's crew might endanger her safety. To accomplish the transfer, a rope was prepared some twenty yards long, with a bowline in the middle, sufficiently large to admit of its being put over a person's head, and down under the arms, the loop being under the waist. When a child was to be transferred, the loop was made smaller.

When the boat came she was manned with five men. One man being stationed in each end, a rope was thrown to either, to enable them to hold her parallel with the ship's side, while two others with their oars kept her from coming too near. One end of the bowline was given to the other man in the boat. Everything being thus ready, a person was put into the bowline and put over the side of the ship. Watching a good opportunity, orders were given to lower away and to the man in the boat to haul at the same time. Sometimes the drop was rather quick, but it was no time to think of small bruises.

When all was prepared, I went to the cabin for a woman who had four children. She thanked God and rejoiced much. But when she came on deck and saw how dark it was, and how much sea there was and a little cockle shell of a boat knocking about long side, one moment close to the ship and the next, ten or twelve feet off, her courage entirely failed her. She said she could not and she would not go. It was no time to argue the question. She was put into the loop and safely transferred to the boat, but it took two men to break her hold of those who put her over the ship's side. Her children were next put into the boat and care was taken throughout not to separate families, especially not to separate mothers and children, for it was very uncertain, when a boat left us, whether the wind would continue long enough for her return.

So very uncertain did I consider this that I took my son into the cabin and directed him to go in the first boat that should take any of the crew, and divided my money with him to enable him to pay his passage home from New York if I should be unable to follow him. The boat was so small that only six or seven persons could be taken at a time. A second boat was got out, but she was only in season to make one trip. After the first boat load the women had more confidence and no resistance was made.

Having seen every soul safely transhipped, without getting one of them into the water, I prepared to leave myself. This was of course not quite so easy or safe as being lowered by others, and those in the boat seemed a little alarmed for fear I should swamp them. Making a rope fast on board, I got over the side, holding on by it, and directing those in the boat when to haul near, I lowered myself into her and bore off. This was the first trip of this boat, being the last put out, and she was in charge of the carpenter. As soon as I got into her, he desired

me to take charge of her, as he was unused to the management of a boat and I did so. I have been used to a boat almost from infancy, but I found it required great care to keep her from being capsized or filled by the sea as it rolled by us. The ship had drifted by this time a quarter of a mile off or more. We had rather overloaded our boat. It was so dark we could not see one fourth of the distance between the two ships. But we got safely alongside and on board.

I publicly stated soon after my arrival home that I was heartily welcomed on board the Rochester by Capt Britton. It was about eight o'clock when I got on board. I was immediately invited into the cabin. Having stated to Capt. Britton that I had a son among the crew, he was immediately sent for. We met there. The scene had changed since I divided money with him on board the Dorchester. We shook hands but neither spoke. Our emotions were too deep for utterance. The next day I saw all my passengers and looked after their comforts as well as I could and they all seemed grateful for my attentions. The crew were completely worn out. Some of them could not stand when they got their boots off. Several of them had their wrists and arms very sore with chafes and bruises. A week or ten days' rest, however, restored all to comfortable health. We were on board the Rochester 27 days and arrived in New York on the 11th of January.

It is interesting to trace the providences of God and see how He brings about events. The Rochester left Liverpool six days after we did. The ship St. George was put up in opposition to the Rochester and sailed in company with her. In fact she was to run a race with her across the Atlantic. A few hours out, say about 30 miles from Liverpool, the wind came ahead for them to pursue the usual course out—the channel south of Ireland. Both ships continued turning to windward until dark. Then Capt. Britton, in order to get clear of the St. George, shaped his course out the north channel, or north of Ireland, a very unusual thing in winter and not often in summer. From the moment the ship's course was altered, Capt. Britton had a fair wind until he came up with us, and from the time he cleared the land he did not change his course till he saw the Dorchester. Coming out the north channel brought Capt Britton directly in our tracks. Had he been detained only two hours by calms or head winds on his passage, we should not have seen him or he us. Again, we tried hard on Saturday to get our ship's head round to the south so as to make some progress in that direction. Had we succeeded we should have been out of the track of the Rochester and perhaps never have been seen or heard of. "Verily it is not far man that walketh to direct his steps." "Whoso is wise and shall observe these things, even they shall understand the loving kindness of the Lord."

Yours truly,

EBEN CALDWELL.

Ipswich, March 19, 1845.

APPENDIX III.

THE ROLL OF IPSWICH SOLDIERS AND SAILORS IN THE CIVIL WAR, 1861-1865.

IPSWICH SOLDIERS IN THE SPANISH WAR, 1898, AND ON THE MEXICAN FRONTIER, 1916

Col. with names of towns	Name	Age	Date of Muster	Company and Regiment	Termination of Service to Vet. Res. Corps.
	Abbott, Alvah A.	42	Aug. 22, '63	B. 40th	of service. of service. of service.
	Akerman, Joseph L.	41	Aug. 9, '63	K. 2nd	
	Andrews, Calvin	18	Sept. 24, '63	D. 48th	
	Andrews, Charles H., Sergt.	37	May 25, '61	C. 2nd	
	Andrews, Daniel O.	29	Nov. 27, '61	H. 24th	
	Andrews, Eben A., Captain	24	Mar. 19, '63	L. 1st H. A.	
	Andrews, George N.	24	July 12, '61	I. 16th	
	Andrews, Isaac M.	38	Sept. 24, '62	D. 48th	
	Andrews, John J.	30	Feb. 8, '65	E. 19th	
	Andrews, Luther B.	31	Oct. 10, '61	I. 23d	
	Andrews, Luther B.	32	Sept. 24, '63	D. 48th	
	Andrews, Luther B.	33	June 20, '64	1st New Orleans Inf.	
	Andrews, Prince A.	19	May 25, '61	F. 2nd	
	Atkinson, Samuel D.	29	Sept. 24, '62	D. 48th	
	Bailey, Amasa F.	33	Feb. 25, '62	A. 1st Bat. H. A.	expiraton of service, expiraton of service, expiraton of service, absent, sick.
	Bailey, John	36	Aug. 22, '63	F. 9th	
	Bailey, John	36	June 22, '64	F. 32nd	
	Bailey, Oliver A.	29	Sept. 24, '61	C. Engr. Troop, N. C.	
	Bailey, Oliver A.	20	Feb. 22, '64	Reg. Army	
	Bailey, Oliver A.	31	Feb. 21, '62	A. 1st Bat. H. A.	
	Baker, Francis H.	20	Feb. 25, '63	Navy Master's mate.	
	Baker, George H.	23	Feb. 28, '63	F. 43rd N. Y.	
	Baker, George W., artillerist	29	Feb. 29, '64	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	
	Baker, John R., Sergt.	40	Sept. 24, '62	D. 48th	
	Baker, William F.			U. S. Navy	

Bamford, Charles W., Corp.	19	Feb. 23, '43	L. 1st Reg. H. A.	Feb. 27, '64, to re-enlist.
Bamford, Charles W., Corp.	21	Feb. 23, '44	L. 1st Reg. H. A.	{ Com. Sergt. April 1, '65.
Barker, John A.	43	Oct. 9, '61	I. 23d	{ Aug. 16, '65, expiration of service.
Barton, John F.	33	Aug. 8, '63	K. 2nd	Died Aug. 30, '64, Phil., Pa.
Barton, William R.	36	Aug. 24, '63	A. 1st Bat. H. A.	May 28, '64, expiration of service.
Batchelder, Charles P.	18	Feb. 28, '62	L. 1st Reg. H. A.	Feb. 24, '65, expiration of service.
				Feb. 22, '64, to re-enlist. Died of wounds, Wash- ington D. C., Aug. 23, '64.
C.	21	July 5, '61	H. 11th Missour	
at Sergt.	20	Nov. 5, '63	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	Aug. 16, '65, expiration of service.
M.	35	Feb. 28, '62	L. 1st Reg. H. A.	Feb. 22, '64, to re-enlist.
M.		Feb. 22, '64	L. 1st Reg. H. A.	Transferred Dec. 28, '64 to V. R. C.
		Mar. 18, '62	L. 1st Reg. H. A.	Mar. 7, '65, disability.
			U. S. Navy	
Geo. N. Brown	18	Jan. 10, '63	A. 3rd Reg. H. A.	Transferred Sept. 19, '64 to Navy.
Jt., musician	21	Aug. 21, '63	F. 9th Reg. H. A.	Transferred Apr. 29, '64 to Navy.
Boynton, Charles	27	Feb. 20, '62	A. 1st Bat. H. A.	Oct. 9, '63, disability.
Boynton, Warren	26	Feb. 28, '62	A. 1st Bat. H. A.	Feb. 29, '64 to re-enlist.
Boynton, Warren, Sergt.	27	Mar. 1, '64	A. 1st Bat. H. A.	
Bradstreet, George S.	31	Feb. 26, '62	A. 1st Bat. H. A.	
Bridges, Gelois F.	23	Oct. 16, '61	I. 23d	
	27	Oct. 16, '61	I. 23d	
	22	Oct. 29, '63	D. 48th.	
	23	Nov. 27, '63	D. 1st Bat. H. A.	
A.	18	Sept. 28, '61	I. 23d	
	24	July 6, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	Oct. 13, '64, expiration of service.
	27	Sept. 24, '62	D. 48th	July 8, '64, expiration of service.
	23	Feb. 16, '62	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	Sept. 3, '63, expiration of service.
		Feb. 22, '64	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	
	18	Sept. 28, '61	I. 23d	
	19	July 5, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	
	19	Feb. 24, '64	4th Bat. L. A.	
	23	Sept. 24, '63	D. 48th	
	23	Nov. 20, '63	H. 3d Reg. H. A.	
		Sept. 27, '65	H. 3d Reg. H. A.	
	24	Aug. 1, '61	16th	
				1st Sergeant.
				staff officer
	21	Sept. 24, '63	D. 48th	
		June 24, '63	G. 7th Cal.	
	27	Oct. 12, '63	B. 7th Cal.	
	43	Jan. 1, '62	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	
	30	Sept. 24, '62	D. 48th	
	31	Nov. 20, '63	H. 3d Reg. H. A.	
Brown, Edward				
Brown, George A.				
Brown, George A.				
Brown, Henry A.				
Brown, Irving				
Brown, Jeremiah W.				
Brown, Jesse F., Corp.				
Brown, Jesse F., 1st Sergt.				
Brown, Jesse F., 2nd Lieut.				
Brown, John B., 1st Lieut.				
Brown, Leverett, Sergt.				
Brown, Leverett, 1st Lieut.				
Brown, Luther C.				
Brown, Tristram				
Brown, Walter				
Brown, Walter				

Name	Age	Date of Muster	Company and Regiment	Termination or Service
Burnham, Abraham	43	Sept. 28, '61	I. 23d	July 21, '62, disability.
Burnham, Nathaniel	41	Sept. 28, '61	I. 48th	Sept. 8, '63, expiration of service.
Burnham, William H.	31	Feb. 20, '62	L. 1st Reg. H. A.	Jan. 8, '63, disability.
Butler, Alonzo	31	May 26, '61	F. 2nd	May 23, '64, expiration of service.
Butler, John F.	37	Dec. 21, '62	B. 1st Bat. Fron. Cav.	June 30, '65, expiration of service.
Butler, John F.		Feb. 5, '64	A. 1st Bat. H. A.	Mar. 4, '64, to re-enlist.
Butler, Pierce L.		July 5, '61	A. 1st Bat. H. A.	Oct. 20, '65, expiration of service.
Butler, Pierce L.		Nov. 25, '63	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	Died of disease, Jan. 22, '65, Ipswich.
Buzzell, George	19	Dec. 31, '64	L. 4th Cavalry	Nov. 14, '65, expiration of service.
Buzzell, Isaac	25	July 5, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	Nov. 4, '63, to re-enlist.
Buzzell, Isaac, Corp.	27	Nov. 6, '63	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	Aug. 16, '65, expiration of service.
	28	Sept. 28, '61	D. 48th	
	28	Sept. 28, '61	B. 23d	
	31	July 5, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	
	33	Nov. 26, '63	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	
	43	July 5, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	
	24	May 25, '61	F. 2nd	
	23	Dec. 30, '63	L. 1st Reg. H. A.	
	23	Mar. 20, '62	L. 1st Reg. H. A.	
	20	July 5, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	
	24	Nov. 5, '63	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	
	24	Sept. 28, '61	I. 23d	
		Jan. 10, '63	I. 23d	
	21	Jan. 10, '63	A. 3d Reg. H. A.	
	27	Sept. 28, '61	D. 48th	
	26	Aug. 28, '62	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	
	45	Sept. 22, '61	I. 23d	
	39	Oct. 18, '61	I. 23d	
	31	Aug. 8, '62	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	
	34	April 5, '65	C. 62nd	
	34	Feb. 21, '62	A. 1st Bat. H. A.	
	33	Mar. 1, '64	H. 58th	
	36	Aug. 8, '63	K. 2nd	
	36	Aug. 8, '63	K. 40th	
	36	Sept. 8, '62	K. 40th	
	33	Sept. 8, '63	K. 40th	
	64	Sept. 16, '61	U. S. Navy ship Vm-	
	19	April	connes	
	20	Sept. 14, '62	D. 48th	
Condon, Thomas E., Corp.				Sept. 13, '63, expiration of service, wounded at Port Hudson, June 17, '63.

Ge.
Station, Va.

C.

COCHRAN, CARLTON
Cogswell, William
Conant, Alvin T.
Conant, Cyrus W.
Conant, George W.
Condon, Patrick
Condon, Thomas E.

Conlace, John	24	July 12, '63	G. 20th	Dropped June 12, '65
Cotton, Charles T.	23	Sept. 24, '63	D. 48th	Sept. 3, '63, expiration of service.
Cotton, Charles I.	24	Dec. 30, '64	B. 1st Bat. Fron. Cav.	June 30, '65, expiration of service.
Cotton, John E.	18	Nov. 5, '62	U. S. Navy	Sept. 2, '63, expiration of service.
	41	Oct. 1, '62	C. 53d	April 27, '62, disability.
	42	Oct. 1, '62	L. 23d	Sept. 3, '62, expiration of service.
	18	Dec. 1, '63	E. 58th	Sept. 3, '62, disability.
	44	Apr. 1, '64	A. 160th O. Nat. Gds.	Mar. 20, '63, expiration of service.
	45	July 6, '61	K. 1st Reg. H. A.	Died Fort Saratoga, Washington, July 14, '64.
	24	Dec. 30, '64	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	April 11, '64, disability.
	28	July 21, '61	B. 1st Bat. Fron. Cav.	June 30, '65, expiration of service.
	29	Dec. 3, '63	A. 17th	Aug. 3, '64, expiration of service.
	22	Dec. 4, '63	C. 22d	July 11, '66, dis. by order War Dept.
			G. 1st Reg. H. A.	Died of wounds July 12, '64, Phil., Pa.
Dent, William	18	Oct. 16, '61	U. S. Navy	Dec. 2, '62, to re-enlist
Dow, Charles H.	25	Dec. 8, '63	L. 23d	Killed June 3, '64, Cold Harbor, Va.
	22	May 6, '61	F. 2nd Reg. H. A.	July 15, '62, disability in Co. E.
	25	Feb. 24, '61	L. 1st Reg. H. A.	Oct. 4, '61, disability.
	27	Mar. 26, '63	U. S. Navy Ship Agamemnon	Feb. 12, '63, disability.
Dunnels, Henry F.	24	Aug. 8, '62	K. 2nd	Oct. 7, '65 to reduce naval officers, disabled Aug. 4 at Deep Bottom, Va.
Dunnels, John M.	21	Aug. 8, '62	K. 2nd	May 28, '64, expiration of service.
Ellisworth, Thomas F., Corp.	23	Dec. 24, '63	K. 2nd	Dec. 30, '63, to re-enlist
Ellisworth, Thomas F., 2nd Lieut.	21	Oct. 24, '63	E. 58th	Jan. 1, '64, promo. in 5th.
Ellisworth, Thomas F., 1st Lieut.	22	June 20, '64	D. 1st Bat. Fron. Cav.	First Lieut., June 20, '64.
Ellisworth, Thomas F., Captain	21	Dec. 1, '64	D. 1st Bat. Fron. Cav.	Captain, Dec. 1, '64.
Ellisworth, William M.	21	Jan. 2, '65	I. 23d	June 18, '65.
Estes, Charles W.	28	Dec. 3, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	Oct. 13, '64, expiration of service.
Estes, William A.	19	July 5, '61	I. 23d	June 20, '65, expiration of service.
Evans, Eben, see Eben Evans Fowler	20	Sept. 28, '61	I. 23d	Died Sept. 5, '64 at Andersonville, Ga.
Fellowa, Daniel H.	20	July 5, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	Oct. 13, '64, expiration of service.
Fellowa, Daniel H., Sergt.	23	Nov. 6, '63	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	Nov. 5, '63, to re-enlist
Fellowa, Daniel H., 2nd Lieut.	24	May 11, '64	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	2nd Lieut., May 11, '64.
Fellon, Andrew F.	29	April 3, '66	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	1st Lieut., April 3, '65.
Flake, William	18	Sept. 26, '61	B. 2nd	Aug. 16, '65, expiration of service.
Flagg, Joseph	31	Nov. 14, '66	I. 23d	April 3, '63, disability.
			A. 1st Reg. H. A.	July 16, '65, expiration of service.
				Aug. 16, '65, expiration of service.

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Name	Age	Date of Muster	Company and Regiment	Termination of Service
Forbes, Henry	23	Oct. 1, '61	I 23d	Oct. 13, '64, expiration of service.
Foss, Jonathan F.	24	July, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	July 8, '64, expiration of service.
Foster, Cyrus	39	Sept. 3, '62	K. 40th	Mar. 25, '64, expiration of service.
Foster, Edwin K.	24	Sept. 24, '62	D. 48	Sept. 3, '63, expiration of service.
Foster, Richard R.	18	July 26, '61	C. 19th	Dec. 26, '63, to re-enlist.
Foster, Samuel P.	26	Aug. 8, '62	K. 2nd	May 23, '64, expiration of service.
Foster, Solomon F.	26	Nov. 6, '62	F. 48th	Sept. 3, '63, expiration of service.
Foster, Walter C.	26	Oct. 15, '61	F. 23d	Sept. 30, '62, disability.
Fowler, Eben Evans*	30	Sept. 23, '61	I. 23d	Oct. 13, '64, expiration of service.
Fowler, John J.	24	July 5, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	Nov. 23, '63, to re-enlist.
	24	Nov. 24, '63	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	Transferred to V. R. C. Jan. 2, '65.
Goodhue, Nathaniel	23	Sept. 24, '62	D. 48th	Sept. 2, '63, expiration of service.
Goodwin, George W.	19	July 5, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	Nov. 24, '63, to re-enlist.
Goodwin, George W., Sergt.	21	Nov. 25, '62	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	Aug. 15, '65, expiration of service.
Goodwin, Sylvester	23	Aug. 8, '62	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	Transferred to V. R. C. July 3, '63.
	23	July 5, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	Nov. 4, '63, to re-enlist.
	23	Nov. 5, '62	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	Killed in action May 19, '64, Spottsylvania, Va.
Grant, George F., 1st Lieut.	35	July 5, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	2nd Lieut. Aug. 2, '63.
Grant, James H.	18	April 9, '63	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	May 17, '65 as 2nd Lieut.
Grant, James H.	23	Jan. 10, '63	A. 3d Reg. H. A.	Transferred to Navy, July 25, '64.
Grant, James O.	28	Aug. 21, '63	B. 3th	Transferred to 32d Mass. June 9, '64.
Gray, William	28	Dec. 22, '62	D. 48th	in of service.
Gray, William	25	Dec. 30, '62	B. 1st Bat. Fron. Cav.	ion of service.
Gwinn, William H., Sergt.	34	Feb. 16, '62	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	illat.
Gwinn, William H., 2nd Lieut.	26	Feb. 22, '64	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	wounds, Petersburg, Va.
	26	July 6, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	2nd Lieut. Nov. 23, '61.
	26	Nov. 23, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	Jan. 29, '63, resigned.
	26	Dec. 4, '63	H. 3d Reg. H. A.	Sept. 13, '65, explr. of service.
Hall, John	30	April 25, '63	A. 3d Reg. H. A.	Deserted June 12, '63.
Hall, William H.	18	May 25, '61	F. 2nd	Transferred Feb. 15, '63 to 5th U. S. Army.
Hardy, Charles A.	31	June 15, '61	F. 7th	June 27, '64, expiration of service.
Hardy, Clarendon B.	18	July 5, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	July 8, '64, expiration of service.
Hardy, Freeman	19	July 8, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	July 8, '64, expiration of service.
Hardy, Freeman, Sergt.	28	Dec. 30, '64	B. 1st Bat. Fron. Cav.	June 30, '65, expiration of service.
Hardy, Joshua M.	28	Feb. 20, '62	L. 1st Reg. H. A.	Mar. 30, '64, to re-enlist.
Hardy, Joshua M.	28	Mar. 31, '64	L. 1st Reg. H. A.	Deserted Aug. '64, while on furlough.

* He enlisted and failed to pass the medical examination. He enlisted elsewhere under the name, Eben Evans, and was accepted and served through the War.

Hardy, Otis C.	18	Jan. 10, '63	A. 3d Reg. H. A.	Sept. 18, '65, expiration of service.
Harris, Aaron W.	18	Oct. 13, '62	B. 44th	June 18, '63, expiration of service.
Harris, Edward, Corp.	27	Aug. 28, '61	I. 19th	Died Bolivar, Va., Oct. 27, '62.
Harris, George	27	Aug. 8, '62	H. 2nd	Dec. 30, '63, to re-enlist.
Harris, George, Sergt.	29	Dec. 31, '63	I. 19th	May 31, '65, expiration of service.
Harris, George W.	20	Dec. 26, '61	L. 2nd	Sept. 21, '63, disability.
Harris, George W.	20	Mar. 29, '64	F. U. S. Infan.	Aug. 18, '65, expiration of service.
Harris, James L.	21	July 5, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	Deserted Jan. 19, '63. Enlisted in Navy under an assumed name.
Harris, Mark	34	Nov. 5, '61	H. 2nd	Nov. 4, '64, expiration of service.
Haves, Nathaniel	21	Nov. 30, '63	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	Nov. 4, '64, expiration of service.
Henderson, George	21	Nov. 30, '63	L. 1st Reg. H. A.	Nov. 4, '64, expiration of service.
Henderson, Moses K.	34	July 10, '63	2nd Co. Sharp Shoot.	Mar. 2nd, 86th U. S. C. T.
Henderson, Moses K.	18	April 22, '61	U. S. Navy	Died at sea.
Hills, Albert P., Musician	18	Sept. 28, '61	Act. Master's Mate on the Violet, Portsmouth, Mackinaw.	Oct. 37, '70, hon. discharged with rank of mate.
Hills, Albert E.	40	Oct. 10, '61	I. 23d	
Hitchcock, Henry A., Sergt.	18	Jan. 10, '63	A. 3d Reg. H. A.	Oct. 13, '64, expiration of service.
Hobbs, John, Capt.	46	Oct. 11, '61	I. 23d	Oct. 13, '64, expiration of service.
Hobbs, Valorous C., Sergt.	23	July 5, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	Sept. 18, '65, resignation.
Hobbs, Valorous C., Sergt.	23	Nov. 30, '64	B. 1st Bat. Fron. Cav.	July 27, '62, to re-enlist.
Holland, Charles L.	21	Feb. 26, '62	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	Nov. 4, '63, disability.
Holmes, Otis S.	21	July 5, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	June 30, '65, expiration of service.
Holt, Augustus P.	26	Nov. 24, '63	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	Feb. 21, '65, expiration of service.
Horton, George	32	Aug. 6, '63	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	Nov. 28, '63, to re-enlist.
Hovey, John T.	18	Apr. 29, '63	A. 3d Reg. H. A.	June 7, '65, vice.
Howard, Frank	21	Oct. 10, '61	I. 23d	Navy.
Howe, Levi L.	29	Feb. 22, '62	A. 1st Bat. H. A.	Transferred
Howe, Levi L.	37	Mar. 1, '64	A. 1st Bat. H. A.	Wounded at
Hubbard, John	37	Aug. 17, '63	H. 16th	July 8, '62.
Hull, Edward G., Sergt.	27	Sept. 28, '61	I. 23d	Feb. 29, '64, service.
Irving, George W.	21	Oct. 17, '61	I. 23d	Oct. 20, '65, et. Res. Corps.
Irving, Leander, Sergt.	19	Dec. 4, '63	H. 3d Reg. H. A.	Transfer, Fe
Irving, Washington	33	Dec. 4, '63	H. 3d Reg. H. A.	Sept. 27, '62.
Jewett, Henry B.	18	July 28, '61	C. 19th	Dec. 2, '64, expiration of service.
Jewett, John H.	20	Sept. 28, '61	I. 23d	Died April 5, '64, Getty's Station, Va.

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Name	Age	Date of Muster	Company and Regiment	Termination of Service
Jewett, John J.	21	Aug. 8, '62	K 2nd	Died of wounds July 5, '63, Gettysburg, Pa.
Jewett, Lorenzo T.	19	Aug. 8, '61	A 1st Reg. H. A.	Died of wounds, May 26, '64, Spottsylvania, Va.
Jewett, Thomas L. Jr., Corp.	26	Sept. 23, '61	I 23d	Oct. 26, '62, disability.
Jewett, William H.	43	Dec. 3, '61	C 19th	Oct. 29, '62, disability.
Johnson, Joseph, Corp.	33	Nov. 29, '63	H 3d Reg. H. A.	Sept. 13, '65, expiration of service.
Johnson, Nathaniel A.	43	Aug. 28, '61	C 19th	Transfer, Sept. 1, '63 to V. R. C., died at Ipswich, May 17, '64.
Kederack, Celestia	19	Aug. 8, '62	D 32d	
Kimball, Rev. John C.	29	Aug. 8, '62	Chaplain 8th Mass.	
Kimball, Daniel B.	26	Aug. 8, '61	K 2nd	Mar. 28, '64, expiration of service.
Kimball, John H.	18	July 5, '61	A 1st Reg. H. A.	July 8, '64, expiration of service.
Kimball, Joseph E.	35	May 21, '61	B 1st	Jan. 10, '64, pron. in Cold Vols.
Kinsman, J. Farley	13	Sept. 24, '62	D 48th	Sept. 8, '63, expiration of service.
Knox, James H.	17	Jan. 1, '63	U. S. Navy	
Knox, Rufus	22	Aug. 16, '61	K 2nd	May 11, '64, expiration of service.
Lakeman, Asa	24	July 21, '61	A 17th	Drop
Lakeman, Farley B.	41	Sept. 24, '62	D 48th	Sept.
Langdon, George W.	30	Feb. 21, '63	A 1st Bat. H. A.	Feb.
Langdon, George W., Corp.	32	Mar. 1, '64	A 1st Bat. H. A.	Oct.
Lavalette, Charles C.	26	Nov. 12, '61	C 32nd	Jan.
Lavalette, Charles C.	21	Jan. 6, '64	C 32nd	June
Lavalette, Philip C.	23	July 6, '61	H 1st Reg. H. A.	Dec.
Lavalette, Philip C.	23	Dec. 7, '63	H 1st Reg. H. A.	Died
Lavalette, Pike N.	18	July 5, '61	A 1st Reg. H. A.	Died
Lefflan, John M., Corp.	26	June 11, '63	A 3d Reg. H. A.	Sept.
Leonard, Isaac M.	30	July 6, '61	A 1st Reg. H. A.	Nov.
Leonard, Isaac M.	30	Nov. 28, '63	A 1st Reg. H. A.	Tran.
Lindberg, Marcus	42	Dec. 22, '63	D 48th	Sept.
Lindberg, Marcus	42	Oct. 19, '63	H 3d Reg. H. A.	Accid.
Lord, Caleb H., 1st Sergt.	20	Aug. 8, '62	K 2nd	mustered in.
Lord, Caleb H., 1st Sergt.	22	Dec. 21, '63	K 2nd	Dec. 30, '63, to re-enlist.
Lord, Caleb H., 1st Lieut.	22	May 24, '64	K 2nd	1st Lieut. May 24, '64.
Lord, Charles W.	28	July 5, '61	A 1st Reg. H. A.	Died of wounds, June 29, '64.
Lord, Henry A.	41	Nov. 23, '63	A 1st Reg. H. A.	June 22, '65, expiration of service.
Lord, Moses G.	43	Aug. 8, '63	K 2nd	Transfer Feb. 8, '64 to V. R. C.
Lord, Nathaniel	44	Aug. 8, '63	K 2nd	May 9, '63, disability.
Lord, Robert	39	Sept. 24, '62	U. S. Navy	
Lord, William 4th, 1st Lieut.	31	Aug. 8, '62	D 48th	Sept. 8, '63, expiration of service.
Low, Winthrop	31	Aug. 15, '63	K 2nd	Sept. 22, '62, disability.
Lucy, Daniel	32	Aug. 15, '63	K 2nd	May 26, '64, expiration of service.

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Mann, Josiah H.	22	Sept. 12, '63	A. 44th	June 12, '63, expiration of service.
Manning, Joseph S.	18	Nov. 25, '61	K. 23d	Aug. 15, '64, expiration of service.
Maxell, John C.	19	May 25, '61	H. 9th	Deserted Aug. 4, '61.
McDonald, William	20	Aug. 20, '63	G. 32d	Transferred June 10, '64 to 32nd.
McDonald, William	18	July 5, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	June 16, '65, disability.
McGregor, Alexander	20	Nov. 24, '63	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	Nov. 23, '63, to re-enlist.
McGregor, Alexander B.	27	Mar. 11, '61	L. 1st Reg. H. A.	Aug. 15, '65, expiration of service.
McGregor, Alexander B.	27	Mar. 11, '61	L. 1st Reg. H. A.	Accidentally killed at New Haven, Conn., Oct. 26, '64.
McGregor, Parker, Corp.	24	July 5, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	Killed at Petersburg, Va., June 16, '64.
McGregor, Parker, Corp.	27	Nov. 24, '63	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	Sept. 2, '63, expiration of service.
McGregor, Parker, Corp.	44	Sept. 24, '62	D. 48th	Sept. 3, '63, expiration of service.
McGregor, Parker, Corp.	23	Aug. 21, '63	1st Bat. H. A.	Transferred June 10, '64 to 32nd.
McGregor, Parker, Corp.	21	Oct. 9, '61	H. 32d	June 29, '65, expiration of service, absent, sick.
Merrill, Dennis	21	July 6, '61	I. 23d	Dec. 10, '62, disability.
Merrill, Samuel H. H.	27	Nov. 9, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	July 8, '64, expiration of service.
Montgomery, John H.	23	Aug. 18, '62	L. 23d	April 21, '63, disability.
Moore, Charles A.	23	Aug. 18, '62	G. 2nd	May 23, '64, expiration of service.
Moore, Richard	34	Aug. 1, '63	EL 9th	Oct. 16, '64, order War Dept.
Morley, George W.	19	Sept. 24, '63	D. 48th	Died July 19, '63, Baton Rouge, La.
Morris, Charles H.			U. S. Navy	
Morris, George			U. S. Navy	
Morris, William			U. S. Navy	
Murby, John	24	July 5, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	July 3, '64, expiration of service.
Murby, Thomas	40	Dec. 2, '63	{ A. 1st Reg. H. A.? 4 Bridge Con. Corps	
Newman, Benjamin B.	18	Jan. 10, '63	A. 3d Reg. H. A.	
Nichols, Albert N., musician	14	July 5, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	vice.
Nichols, Augustus	22	Mar. 15, '63	U. S. Navy	vice.
Nichols, Edward F., Sergt.	22	July 5, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	
Nichols, William O.	26	Aug. 8, '63	K. 2nd	vice.
Nichols, William O.	22	Sept. 24, '63	D. 48th	
Nichols, William O.	22	May 14, '61	L. 32d	
Nichols, William O.	24	Feb. 20, '62	L. 1st Reg. H. A.	
Nichols, William O.	24	Feb. 20, '62	L. 1st Reg. H. A.	
Nichols, William O.	24	July 6, '61	L. 1st Reg. H. A.	
Nichols, William O.	24	Feb. 24, '62	L. 1st Reg. H. A.	
Nichols, William O.	24	Dec. 4, '63	H. 3d Reg. H. A.	
Nichols, William O.	23	Aug. 7, '62	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	
Nichols, William O.	20	July 5, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	
Nichols, William O.	23	Nov. 25, '63	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	

Name	Age	Date of Muster	Company and Regiment	Termination of Service
O'Connell, Michael	18	Mar. 4, '64	Reg. Army	
Otis, George W.	26	Feb. 29, '62	A. 1st Bat. H. A.	Died Nov. 18, '63, Ipswich, Mass.
Parker, William H.	27	Aug. 11, '63	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	'ice.
Patterson, Walter	35	July 5, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	'ice.
Patterson, William		Nov. 25, '63	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	received at Peters-
Peabody, Thomas	36	Oct. 9, '61	I 23d	
Peabody, William G.	38	July 1, '62	B. 7th	'vice.
Peatfield, Joseph S.	18	June 4, '63	L 33d	'C.
Peatfield, William P.	18	Oct. 5, '61	I 23d	'N. C.
Perkins, Josiah A.	29	Mar. 9, '64	I 23d	'ice.
Perkins, Nathaniel C.	43	Nov. 7, '63	A. 1st Bat. H. A.	
Pickard, David	44	Aug. 8, '63	K. 2nd	
Pickard, Samuel R.			Name on Soldiers' monument	
	30	July 5, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	July 8, '64, expiration of service.
	20	Jan. 2, '65	D. 1st Bat. Fron. Cav.	
	19	Oct. 10, '61	L 23d	
	21	July 5, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	
	22	Sept. 24, '63	D. 48th	
	24	Dec. 23, '63	D. 48	
	19	Dec. 31, '64	M. 3d Reg. Cav.	
	24	Sept. 24, '61	D. 48th	
	26	July 5, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	
	22	Nov. 25, '63	A. 1st Bat. H. A.	
Foot, David H.	32	May 9, '63	A. 1st Bat. H. A.	
Poor, George	23	Oct. 5, '61	I 23d	
Poor, Thomas W.	20	July 5, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	y 18, '63.
Porter, Charles	18	May 16, '63	A. 3d Reg. H. A.	
Potter, Asa T.	49	Feb. 21, '63	A. 1st Bat. H. A.	
Potter, Asa T., Sergt.	31	Feb. 29, '64	A. 1st Bat. H. A.	
Potter, Asa T., 2nd Lieut.		May 23, '64	A. 3d Reg. H. A.	
Potter, Asa T., 1st Lieut.	21	Oct. 13, '64	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	
Potter, Daniel J.		July 5, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	
Ready, Michael	30	Aug. 7, '63	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	Dec. 28, '63, to re-enlist.
Ready, Michael	30	Dec. 28, '63	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	Transferred to V. R. C. Oct. 8, '64.
Ready or Ready, Thomas	30	Oct. 24, '63	B. 48th	Sept. 3, '63, expiration of service.
Reiter, Edmund	38	Aug. 7, '63	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	Dec. 28, '63, to re-enlist.

Reiley, Edmund	Dec. 23, '63	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	Aug. 16, '65, expiration of service.
Richardson, Alfred C., musician	Oct. 14, '63	D. 48th	Died Aug. 8, '63, Baton Rouge, La.
Roberts, Edward T.	July 31, '61	2 Battery L. A.	Aug. 16, '64, expiration of service.
Roberts, George B., Corp.	May 23, '61	G. 1st	Dec. 20, '62, disability.
Roberts, George W.		U. S. Navy	
Roberts, John S.	July 26, '61	C. 19th	Dropped Oct. 13, '62.
Ross, Edward	Nov. 9, '61	L. 23d	Sept. 25, '62, disability.
Ross, William P.	Nov. 27, '62	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	Jan. 22, '65, exp. of service.
Rowe, George	Oct. 1, '61	L. 23d	May 25, '62, disability.
Russell, Edward W.	Feb. 21, '62	A. 1st Bat. H. A.	Feb. 29, '64, to re-enlist.
Russell, Edward W., Sergt.	Mar. 1, '64	A. 1st Bat. H. A.	Oct. 20, '65, exp. of service.
Russell, Henry F., Artificer	Dec. 4, '63	H. 3d Reg. H. A.	Sept. 18, '65, expiration of service.
Russell, John W.	Dec. 4, '63	H. 3d Reg. H. A.	Sept. 18, '65, expiration of service.
Sampson, Amos W.		U. S. Navy	
Sargent, George H.	Oct. 5, '61	L. 23d	Aug. 8, '63, disability.
Sargent, Kendall	July 5, '61	A. 4th Reg. H. A.	May 1, '62, disability.
Scanks, Daniel B.	Sept. 21, '62	D. 48th	Died April 20, '63, Baton Rouge, La.
Scanks, Jacob	July 22, '61	H. 17th	Dec. 4, '63, to re-enlist.
Scanks, Jacob, Corp.	Dec. 6, '63	H. 17th	July 11, '66, expiration of service.
Scanks, Jacob P.	Sept. 24, '63	D. 48th	Sept. 3, '63, expiration of service.
Scanks, Jacob F.	Dec. 4, '63	H. 3d Reg. H. A.	May 30, '65, disability.
Scanks, John G.		Name on monument,	
Schaffer, William		service not known	
Schaffer, William	Aug. 21, '63	K. 9th	Transferred June 10, '64 to 32d.
Schofield, Cornelius	June 10, '64	L. 32nd	June 5, '65, expiration of service.
Schofield, Cornelius	Aug. 2, '62	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	Dec. 26, '63, to re-enlist.
	Dec. 27, '63	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	Died of wounds received at Petersburg, June 16, Aug. 13, '64.
Shattuck, James	1861	F. 14th Me.	
Shattuck, Milton B., 1st Lieut.	July 5, '61	U. S. Navy	
Shattuck, Milton B., Sergt.	Jan. 26, '65	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	Major, Dec. 31, '62.
Shattuck, William W.	Jan. 27, '65	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	
Shattuck, William W.	July 5, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	Brevet Col.
Shattuck, William W.	July 6, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	13.
Shattuck, William W.	Oct. 20, '63	G. 3d Reg. H. A.	2.
Shattuck, William W.	Oct. 16, '61	L. 23d	3.
Shattuck, William W.	Jan. 3, '64	L. 23d	
Shattuck, William W.	Sept. 24, '63	D. 48th	
Shattuck, William W.	Sept. 28, '61	L. 23d	
Shattuck, William W.	July 5, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	
Shattuck, William W.	Jan. 13, '65	H. 17th	
Shattuck, William W.	Sept. 21, '63	10th Bat. L. A.	

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Name	Age	Date of Muster	Company and Regiment	Termination of Service
Smith, Charles D.	28	Aug. 21, '63	E. 9th	Va.
Smith, Charles W.	26	Oct. 8, '63	B. 1st Bat. H. A.	
Smith, Edward F., Sergt.	20	July 6, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	
Smith, Edwin F., Corp.	18	July 6, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	
Smith, George R.	20	Nov. 5, '63	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	
Smith, Henry R.	22	Oct. 10, '61	I. 23d	
Smith, James S.	19	Dec. 10, '61	H. 19th	
Smith, John A.	39	Dec. 30, '61	D. 1st Bat. Fron. Cav.	
Smith, John H.	32	Jan. 2, '66	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	
Smith, Rufus G.	20	July 5, '61	E. 1st Reg. H. A.	
Smith, Thomas R.	24	Aug. 8, '62	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	
Smith, William H. H.	23	Aug. 7, '62	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	
Smith, William H. H., Sergt., Cambridge	25	Feb. 29, '64	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	
Stevens, Henry	43	Aug. 9, '62	A. 32d	
Stevens, Henry	40	Aug. 9, '62	A. 32d	
Stevens, William	19	April 7, '63	A. 3d Reg. H. A.	
Stevens, William Jr.	19	Aug. 25, '61	F. 2nd Reg. H. A.	
Stone, Daniel W.	44	Aug. 29, '62	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	
Stone, Lorenzo R.	23	Aug. 3, '63	K. 2nd	
Stone, William L., Corp.	16	Sept. 24, '62	D. 48th	
Sweet, Elbridge G.	24	Dec. 30, '64	B. 1st Bat. Fron. Cav.	
Sweet, Elbridge G.	23	Sept. 24, '61	D. 48th	
Sweet, Elbridge G.	24	June 20, '64	D. 48th	
Taylor, Edmund L.	21	Aug. 15, '63	I. 1st New Orleans Inf.	
Taylor, Edmund L.	45	July 11, '64	C. 18th	
Taylor, Trowbridge C., musician	21	Sept. 28, '61	E. 11th	
Teague, Theodore P.	21	Dec. 31, '64	A. 23d	
Tennay, Albert	21	Aug. 8, '62	D. 4th Reg. Cav.	
Tennay, John E.	21	Dec. 21, '63	C. 2nd	
Terhune, Henry, Corp.	33	Nov. 20, '63	H. 3d Reg. H. A.	
Terhune, Henry, Corp.	33	July 6, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	
Thompson, Charles H.	26	Nov. 5, '63	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	
Thompson, Charles H.	21	Aug. 12, '61	U. S. Navy	
Thurston, Timothy J.	40	Sept. 28, '61	I. 23d	
Thurston, Timothy J.	40	Dec. 7, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	
Tibbetta, John L.	39	Dec. 31, '63	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	
Tibbetta, John L.	39	Aug. 28, '61	C. 19th	

Transferred
July 14, '65
April 16, '62
Nov. 14, '65
Dec. 30, '63
July 14, '65
Sept. 18, '65
Nov. 5, '63
Aug. 16, '65
Oct. 26, '63
Oct. 5, '63

> 11th Reg.
service.

service.
service.

service.
service.

Discharged
Dec. 30, '63, to re-enlist.
Died of disease Oct. 19, '64 at Alexandria, Va.
April 23, '63, disability.

Todd, Thomas M.	22	May 25, '61	F 2nd	Transferred Feb. 23, '63 to gunboat service.
Tonge, Henry F.	27	Dec. 30, '64	E. 3d Reg. R. I.	U. S. Vet. Vol.
Towle, Jennes	19	Sept. 24, '62	D. 48th	Sept. 2, '63, expiration of service.
Tozier, John M. H	27	Oct. 18, '61	L. 2d	Died Oct. 20, '63.
Tranter, William	27	April 5, '62	K. 2nd Reg. H. A.	of service.
"	20	July 5, '61	A. 53d	of service.
"	20	Nov. 6, '62	C. 53d	of service.
"	20	June 26, '61	D. 12th	of service.
"	29	Feb. 20, '62	L. 1st Reg. H. A.	V. R. C.
"	29	May 26, '61	F. 2nd	of service.
Tyler, Coleman J.	13	May 26, '61	F. 2nd	of service.
Wade, David L.	41	Aug. 8, '62	K. 2nd	Died of wounds received at Gettysburg, Pa.
Waite, Charles W.	16	Dec. 4, '62	U. S. Navy	Jan. 15, '64, expiration of service.
Wait, Joseph Jr.	19	Sept. 24, '62	D. 48th	Sept. 2, '63, expiration of service.
Wait, Luther	21	July 5, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	Nov. 2, '63, expiration of service.
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Wallace, Richard	31	Dec. 3, '62	D. 48th	Sept. 2, '63, expiration of service.
Watts, James W., Corp.	23	July 5, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	Mass.
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Watts, James W., 2nd Lieut.	25	July 20, '64	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	2nd.
Webber, James W., 1st Lieut.	32	July 9, '64	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	1st I
Webber, Moses	32	Aug. 8, '62	K. 2nd	Feb.
Wells, Samuel G.	20	July 5, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	cut.
Wells, Samuel G.	20	Dec. 4, '63	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	e.
West, John	44	Jan. 30, '65	Vet. Res. Corps	Ga.
Whelden, Edward	30	Dec. 24, '63	M. 2nd Reg. H. A.	f. service in Co. H. D. C.
Whipple, Daniel M., Corp.	23	July 20, '62	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	'64. Washington, D. C.
Whitola, John W.	20	Feb. 22, '64	L. 1st Reg. H. A.	
" (Roxbury)	19	Jan. 13, '64	M. 1st Reg. Cav.	
" Farrler	20	Sept. 12, '62	E. 5th Reg. H. A.	of service.
" H.	20	Dec. 12, '61	L. 1st Reg. H. A.	f. service.
Worcester, James T.	26	July 10, '62	E. 32nd	
Worcester, Leigh R., 2nd Lieut.	20	Sept. 24, '62	D. 48th	June 2, '65, order War Dept.
Worcester, Leigh R., 2nd Lieut.	27	July 6, '61	A. 1st Reg. H. A.	Sept. 2, '63, expiration of service.
Worcester, Leigh R., 2nd Lieut.	23	Sept. 24, '62	D. 48th	Nov. 22, '61, resigned.
Worsley, Pardon E., Corp.	19	Dec. 4, '63	L. 1st Reg. H. A.	Sept. 2, '63, expiration of service.
Worth, William K., Corp.	19	Sept. 28, '61	I. 2d	Sept. 13, '65, expiration of service.

800 IPSWICH, IN THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY.

The War with Spain was precipitated by the blowing up of the U. S. warship "Maine" in Havana harbor, on February 15, 1898. By Act of Congress on April 19, Spain was ordered to withdraw from her possessions in the West Indies, and diplomatic relations were severed at once. The Peace Protocol was signed on August 11, 1898.

Ipswich volunteers were in the Navy and Army. It has been found impossible, however, to secure an official Roll. There is no record in the Adjutant General's office, which indicates the place of residence of soldiers and sailors. The local Ipswich newspapers of that year contain no complete list. The Town Records give no clew. The following tentative List has been prepared by the help of Thomas H. Reedy and others, who were in the campaign, and have contributed the names, which they recall.

Abbott, Roger,	Navy	Heard, John,	Army
Abbott, Wayne,	Navy	Howe, Samuel,	
Appleton, 2nd Lieut. Randolph M.,	U. S. Marine Corps	Howe, Theodore C.,	Navy
Caldwell, J. Warren,	Navy	Kimball, Clement,	Army
Cross,	Army	Kimball, Kenneth,	Army
Dort, George,	Navy	Mack, Ernest,	Army
Doyle, Thomas A.	Army	Moore, John,	Navy
Ellsworth, Everett A.,	Navy	Reedy, Edward F.,	Army
Forbes, J. C.,	Navy	Reedy, Thomas H.,	Army
Harris, Frank,	Army	Robbins, Fred,	Army
Haskell, William,	Army	Scott, John,	
Hatch, Ralph A.,	Navy	Witham, Daniel,	Army
		Worcester, George,	

Guard duty on the Mexican frontier was performed by the National Guard during the summer of 1916. The Roll of the Ipswich men is as follows:

INFANTRY, CO. H. 8TH MASS. REG.

Gilbert, Eugene V. H.,	Sergeant	Dort, Garland H.,	Private
Cowperthwaite, Elmer S.,	Corporal	Saunders, Charles T.,	Private
Mallard, Charles A.,	Corporal	Scahill, Chester A.,	Private
Mallard, Frank W.,	Corporal	Wallace, Dennison,	Private
Perkins, Terrence H.,	Corporal	Warner, Dennis J.,	Private

ARTILLERY, 1ST MASS. F. A.

Bruce, Floyd R.,	Sergeant	Le Vole, Henry,	Private
Bamford, Rodney C.,	Corporal	Morgan, Frank H.,	Private
Bruce, Wallace,	Private	Webber, Ellery S.,	Private
Conant, Carl W.,	Private	Winch, Roger,	Private
Drapeau, Arthur,	Private		

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An attempt has been made to group under each name the items which occur in various chapters. The similarity of name in successive generations, however, renders the result only approximately correct. The part which Ipswich, then including Essex and Hamilton, had in the French and Indian War was so interesting and important, that the names of soldiers and sailors and their service have been gathered in Appendix I. Reference to this list is made under the caption, F. and I. War.

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